

THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
BIHAR AND ORISSA  
RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL.  
XXIII

1937



PATNA

PUBLISHED BY THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

Price Rs. 20

THE ALLAHABAD LAW JOURNAL PRESS, ALLAHABAD  
M. N. PANDEY - PRINTER



# JOURNAL

OF THE

## BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

March 1937

### CONTENTS

#### *Leading Articles*

	PAGE
I. Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet ( <i>continued from Vol. XXI Part I</i> ) [with 6 plates and a Table of Figures] <i>By Mahāpāṇḍita Rābula Sāṅkṛityāyana</i> ..	1
II. Hindu Conception of Moral Science <i>By Professor C. C. Sinha</i> .. .. .	58
III. Sanskrit KṢ in Pāli <i>By Dr. S. M. Katre, M. A., Ph. D.</i> .. .. .	82
IV. An Account of Fīroz Shāh Tughluque (in continuation JBORS Vol. XXII Part III Page 274) <i>By Prof. K. K. Basu, M. A., T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur</i> .. .. .	97
V. Date of Kanishka Vindicated <i>By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. A., D. Phil.</i> .. .. .	113
VI. Notes on the Cult of Godling Nāga in South Bihar and on a Rain-compelling Rite connected therewith <i>By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L.</i>	118
VII. Branding Seals of the Second Century A. D. (with plate) <i>By K. P. Jayaswal</i> .. .. .	128
VIII. Jaina Image of Maurya Period [with 4 plates and 1 map] <i>By K. P. Jayaswal</i> .. .. .	130

<i>Miscellaneous Articles</i>		PAGE
I.	Identification of Nāgadvīpa By <i>Vasudera S. Agarwala, M. A., Curator Curzon Museum, Muttra</i> ..	132
II.	The Śuddhiratnākara, An Unpublished Smṛiti Manuscript of Mithilā By <i>Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, M. A., B. L., Kāvyatīrtha</i> .. .. .	138
III.	A Note on the Vestiges of Totemism among the Binds of Bihar By <i>Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L.</i> .. .. .	143
IV.	Numismatic Notes 'On Some Hindu Coins of Pre-Christian Centuries' By <i>K. P. Jayaswal</i> .. ..	148

*Reviews and Notices of Books*

*By Professor A. Banerji-Sastri*

I.	Municipal Administration and Finance in Pre-British days By <i>B. G. Bhatnagar, M. A., The Indian Press, Ltd., 1936</i> .. .. .	150
II.	Studies in the History of Bengal Subah. 1740-70. Vol. I Social-Economic By <i>Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Published by the University of Calcutta, 1936</i> .. .. .	150

*Notes of the Quarter*

I.	Proceedings of the Council Meeting held on February 14, 1937 .. .. .	153
II.	Annual Report for 1936-37 .. .. .	157
III.	Statement of Accounts from April, 1936 to February 28, 1937 .. .. .	163
IV.	Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting held on March 17, 1937 .. .. .	166
V.	His Excellency's Speech introducing the Lecturer .. .. .	168
VI.	His Excellency's Speech at the close of the lecture of the Rev. A. B. Govinda .. .. .	171

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

JUNE 1937

### CONTENTS

#### *Leading Articles*

	PAGE
I. The organization of Public Services during the Mughal Period, 1526 to 1707 A. D. By Pro- fessor Sri Ram Sharma .. .. .	175
II. The Gāthās of Zarathuštra, Yasna Hā 29. By Pro- fessor Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph. D. (Marburg) ..	232
III. The <i>Aya</i> Months. By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri ..	261

#### *Miscellaneous Articles*

I. Ancient Indian Coins. By Sir Richard Burn, Kt.	269
---	-----

#### *Reviews and Notices of Books*

*By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. A., D. Phil.*

I. The Mahābhārata. Fascicule 8, Virāṭaparvan. For the first time critically edited by V. S. Sukhthan- kar. Poona. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. 11½ × 9, pp. I-LX, 1-363. .. ..	273
I. List of members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society on the 31st December, 1936.	276



# JOURNAL

OF THE

## BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

### SEPTEMBER 1937

### CONTENTS

#### *Leading Articles*

	PAGE
I. The Mālavas, 4th century B. C. to 4th century A. C. (with Appendix) <i>By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.</i> .. .. .	287
II. The Saltpetre Industry of India in the Seventeenth Century with special reference to Bihar <i>By Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M.A.</i> .. .. .	319
III. The Dynastic Name of the Kings of the Puṣyamitra family <i>By J. C. Ghosh, M.A.</i> .. .. .	353

#### *Miscellaneous Articles*

I. On the Cult of the Godling Kāsī Bābā among the the Binds of Bihar <i>By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.</i> .. .. .	365
---	-----

#### *Reviews and Notices of Books*

*By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. A., D. Phil.*

I. The Test of Man being the Puruṣa-Parīkṣā of Vidyāpati Thakkura. Translated into English by Sir George Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E., The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1935 ' .. .. .	377
--	-----

	PAGE
II. The Child in Ancient India. By Kamalabai Deshpande, G.A., Ph.D., Venus Stores, Poona, 1936 ..	360
III. Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume. Published under the auspices of The Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association and Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, 1936 ..	381

*Obituary Notice*

Kashi Prasad Jayaswal .. .. .	382
-------------------------------	-----

*Notes of the Quarter*

I. Letter from the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference	386
II. Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on August 15, 1937 .. .. .	388
III. Annual Accounts for the year 1936-37 .. .. .	394

*Appendix*

I. Vigrahavyāvarttanī. By Āchārya Nāgārjuna, with the Author's own Commentary. Edited by K. P. Jayaswal and Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana .. .. .	1
--	---

JOURNAL  
OF THE  
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY  
DECEMBER 1937

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. A letter to the Secretary By <i>Sir E. A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (Retd.), The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London</i> .. ..	397
II. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal By <i>Dr. Rajendra Prasad, M.A., M.L., D.Litt., Sadaqat Asbaram, Patna</i> ..	399
III. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the Barrister and Man. A Character-sketch By <i>P. C. Mannuk, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Patna</i> .. .. .	403
IV. Some Remarks on the Models of the Bodh Gayā Temple found at Nar-Thang By <i>C. E. A. W. Oldham, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.), London</i> .. .. .	418
V. Virakal and Sati Memorial Stones at Buddhpur and Burām (With Plates) By <i>E. H. C. Walsh, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.), London</i> .. ..	429
VI. The Devicandragupta and its Author By <i>Dr. Sten Konow, Oslo</i> .. .. .	444
VII. The Pilgrim's Way By <i>Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.</i> .. .. .	452

	PAGE
VIII. A Proto-Indian Icon (With Plate) By Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Bombay .. .. .	472
IX. Chaṇḍeśvara's Vivādaratnākara By Mahāmbopā- dhyāya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Allahabad .. .. .	491
X. Devanāgarī and Muhammadan Rulers of India By Dr. Hiranand Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt., Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, Baroda ..	492
XI. Śuṅga Sculpture from Patna Mosque (With Plate) By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil., Patna College, Patna .. .. .	498
XII. Rajah Jhao Lal of the Oudh Court By Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Patna College, Patna ..	502
XIII. A Note on a Curious Custom of the Santal Par- ganās By Sarat Chandra Mitra, Esq., M.A., B.L., Calcutta .. .. .	524
XIV. Adhyardhaśataka of Mātricheṭa, Edited By Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana, Patna .. .. .	I



# JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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VOL. XXIII ]

1937

[ PART I

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## Leading Articles

### SECOND SEARCH OF SANSKRIT PALM-LEAF MSS. IN TIBET

[ WITH PLATES ]

*By Rābula Sāṅkṛityāyana*

When on the 16th February, 1936, I left for Tibet, I was still very weak after having suffered from a severe attack of typhoid and my friends' advice was against undertaking such an arduous journey. But on the last occasion I was not able to copy the last chapter of the *Pramāṇa-vārttika-Bhāṣya* by Prajñākara-gupta which had the original *Kārikās*. The *Pramāṇa-vārttika*-text was already in the press. Though the missing portions of the other three chapters I had restored from Tibetan into Sanskrit, the missing part of the fourth chapter I did not like to restore as the original was available. I reached Nepal on the 18th February. There was ample time to recoup my health since generally the Tibetan

passes are open by the end of April.

I left Katmandu on the 15th April. My pecuniary resources were very meagre consisting of a hundred rupees in all, plus 4 dozen film packs, two cameras, and some provisions. But I had resolved to copy as much as I could. I took my old traversed road to Nenam, the seat of the frontier Tibetan Magistrate, which I reached on the 23rd April. One of the two magistrates recently had been to Nepal where he saw me. There is a strict order to officials on the frontiers not to allow any Indian to pass in, but in my case the two magistrates had to make special concessions, as they knew my object and that I am known to many big officials and noblemen in Lhasa, having twice visited that sacred city.

I departed from Nenam on the 27th and after crossing Thong-la and other passes, reached Sa-skyā on the 6th May. Early in the morning, streams were still frozen when I entered that sacred seat of the famous Buddhist teachers who, in the past, did splendid work for Buddhistic studies, translations of scriptures and even for the spread of Buddhism in the far-off Mongolia. Like other parts of Tibet, this locality is also devoid of vegetation. A few poplars and willows in palace-gardens have had just a few buds on their branches and there was yet no green foliage to be seen. My former host Kusho Do-ni-chhen-po greeted me with a broad smile when he saw me.

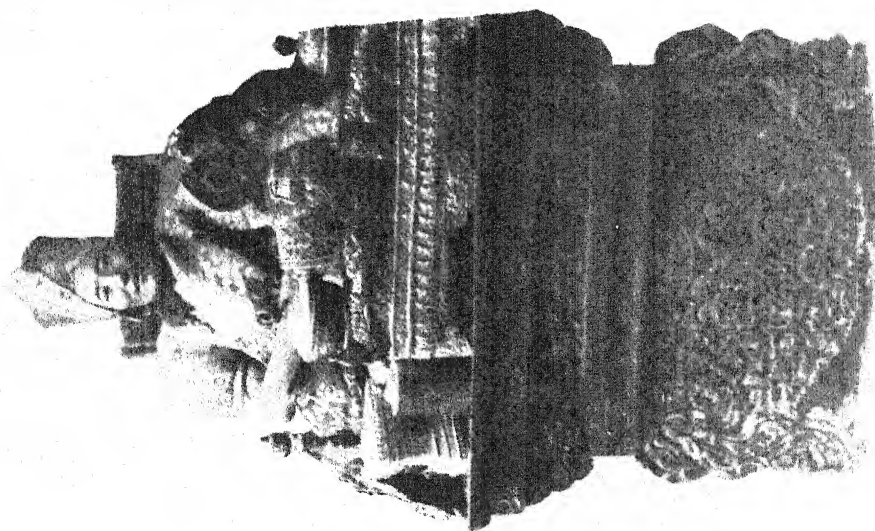
Now the first task before me was to copy the last chapter of the *Pramāṇa-Vārttika-Bhāṣya*. At that time I thought I would have to stay for a fortnight. I had least suspicion that Sa-skyā will take about three months





Inscribed Indian Bronze, 7th Cen. (Sa-skyu)

K. P. J.



Jam-Yang-Kun-dub Hierarch of Sa-skyu

J. B. O. R. S. 1967

to finish my work there. The same day I visited the Phun-chhog and Dol-ma palaces, the heads of which ascend the throne of Sa-skya hierarchy alternately. I was sorry to find that the Lama of Dol-ma Palace who was the last hierarch and had greatly helped me when last time I visited Sa-skya, was no more. His two sons and their kind-hearted mother welcomed me with open hearts and showed great sympathy for my work like the late Lama. The childlike simplicity of the head of Phun-chhog Palace who is to succeed to the throne, is unforgettable. Since last time whenever I visited him he tried his best to make me quite at home. He has a very inquisitive mind. He asked so many questions about my last journey to Japan, and Buddhism, and then ships, railways, aeroplanes, radios, and what not. The Sa-skya hierarchy is not only the head of one of the four most important Buddhist sects, but they have got a big state in which they enjoy the right to rule.

On the 8th, the MS. was brought and I began to copy it. It took 11 days to finish the chapter containing more than 5000 ślokas. In five days more I compared the portion of the third chapter which was published in the JBORS. vol. XXI, Pt. II and also the new copy. On the 25th, I went to the two palaces to bid good-bye to them. The hierarch-designate told me in so many words that there must be more Sanskrit palm-leaf MSS. in Sa-skya. But the Sa-skya monastery is not a small temple. There can reside more than 4000 monks in its dormitories and chapels. There are many big cathedrals. Many of them have got several thousand volumes of Kan-jur, Tan-jur and other MSS. In such a jungle of books even for dozens of men, it is

difficult to hunt for any particular book in a few days. At the end he said 'But you must see Chhag-pe-lha khang Library-temple' which has got many precious manuscripts originally possessed by the great hierarchs of Sa-skya from the eleventh century onward. The formal accession was to take place in January and so the ruling power was still exercised by the present head of Dol-ma Palace. I went to see the mother and her elder son. For more than two hours she kept me busy in tasting many Tibetan dishes, sweetmeats, fruits from distant Kansu and Eastern Tibet and also some European sweetmeats which were presented to them by the late Mr. Williamson (British Political Agent), when he visited Sa-skya. I felt sorry when I recalled to my memory my last visit to Gantok where I met this kind English gentleman. Though our meeting was brief, he showed many pictures of Tibet he had collected in his journeys and also talked sympathetically about things Tibetan. I hoped to show some of my collections to him on my return journey but that hope was not to be fulfilled as he died last winter in Lhasa.

When I said that the 'Library-temple' might have some Sanskrit MSS. not only the mother and her two sons but even their old chamberlain said, 'Ah, no, we never heard that it contains any Indian MSS. But still if you want, we will open it.' A search was to be made for the key. The next day (the 25th May) we went to the Lh-khang-chhen-mo built by the hierarch Phags-pa (1251-80 A. C.) the preceptor of the Chinese Emperor Kublai Khan. Before entering the 2nd courtyard, on the left side of the gate there is a big staircase of more than 50 steps, leading to the first floor.

It is so steep that often the descent is terrifying. After reaching the first floor when you turn towards the right you come across firstly an unassuming room, the front side of which is made of coarse wooden planks. From its outward shape no one can suspect that it is a store-house of such precious volumes of Indian and Tibetan MSS. The red seal was broken and the archaic lock was opened. And the single panelled door was opened with a slight push and a cloud of dust arose. Our throats were choked with the thick dust and for a moment we could not see what was in the interior. The whole floor was covered with a thick layer of dust about one-third of an inch. We halted for a moment to let the dust subside. Then we saw in the three sides of the room (about 20'  $\times$  25') encircling rows of open racks, where volumes on volumes of MSS. were kept. Most of these MSS. were wrapped in cloth. It did not take much time to find the place where palm-leaf MSS. were kept, thanks to their quaint size. Moreover the present Tibetan custodians think it superfluous to spend a single penny to wrap them with cloth. In the middle of the left row I saw one palm-leaf MS. and then after more search I discovered 25 bundles of palm-leaf Sanskrit MSS. There was also one paper MS. of the *Kālacakraṭīkā*. I saw two or three other Sanskrit paper MSS. in Ngor and Ṣhalu monasteries. They were not imported from India but were written by Indian refugees who went to Tibet after the Muhammadan conquest of Bihar. But that shows the possibility of finding some valuable texts on paper. In that room there were many thousand volumes of Tibetan paper MSS. Most of them were wrapped in cloth. I had a cursory glance at them but to

scrutinise the whole lot was beyond my power. If a thorough search had been made I would have got a few more Sanskrit MSS.

On that day I had just a look at those palm-leaf bundles and it is beyond my power to describe my joy when I saw among those 25 volumes the MS. of the complete *Pramāṇa-Vārttika-Bhāṣya*, a portion of *Dharma-kīrti*'s own commentary on the first chapter of the P.V. and a complete sub-commentary on the same by *Karṇakagomin*, and also the *Yogācārabhūmi*, a very important work of *Asaṅga* which gave another name to his Buddhist philosophical school. Now there was no question of leaving *Sa-skya* soon. I took two bundles with me containing works relating to the *Pramāṇa-Vārttika*.

As I had not sufficient photographic materials with me—specially I had no washing chemicals—so I resolved to copy all these works. From next day I began my work. My companion *Mr. Abhaya Singh Perera* also took a portion of it to copy but the high altitude (14,715 feet) of *Sa-skya* and the Tibetan cold was an unfamiliar thing with him and so he could not write much and his health deteriorated so much that I was forced to send him to *Ta-shī-lhun-po*. For some days I also had headache and once I got some pain in my throat and I was afraid lest my old trouble of tonsils might recur. But in the end all was well. I wrote 500 ślokas (16000 letters) daily. The copying work was finished on the 9th July, 1936. It took twelve days more to compare the MS. and make a descriptive catalogue of all the palm-leaf MSS. in the 'Library-temple.'

I took a photograph of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and also copied 153 verses of the *Adhyardhaśataka* (अध्यर्दशतक) by



Mātrceta.

Now I was free to leave for Ngor (established 1429 A. C.). Of all the monasteries, I found Ngor with its large collection of Indian MSS. most difficult to inspect, on account of its Khan-po-in-charge's unruly Steward. In reality he was the master and not the Khan-po (Dean). At times I was thinking that it might not be possible for me to get a chance of seeing the important MSS. of that monastery. The Steward was present in Sa-skyā and the heads of the two palaces also requested him to help me. But he was in no mood to move. He promised that he was coming soon to Ngor, but I had very little faith in his word.

Travelling in Tibet is a very dangerous affair if one has not got sufficient companions and some fire-arms. The Ku-chhung-rin-po-chhe (younger brother of the head of Dol-ma Palace) was often advising me—'Do not travel alone, the Tibetan passes are infested with robbers, they will kill you.' Both the palaces offered their mules and men to take me to the Ngor, Ṣhalu and Ta-shi-lhun-po monasteries. I accepted the offer of Phun-chhog Palace. The kind hierarch and his much more kind-hearted Dā-mo (lady) made all arrangements for my journey. He gave his own head cook, a very stalwart, young monk, whose sight was enough to frighten any passer-by with bad intentions. He also gave three of his best mules, two for our riding and one for the luggage. For the help and kindness which I received from the present hierarch I cannot be sufficiently grateful. In fact of all the people with whom I came in contact in Tibet, I found him the noblest Tibetan gentleman. I can never forget his ever-smiling face

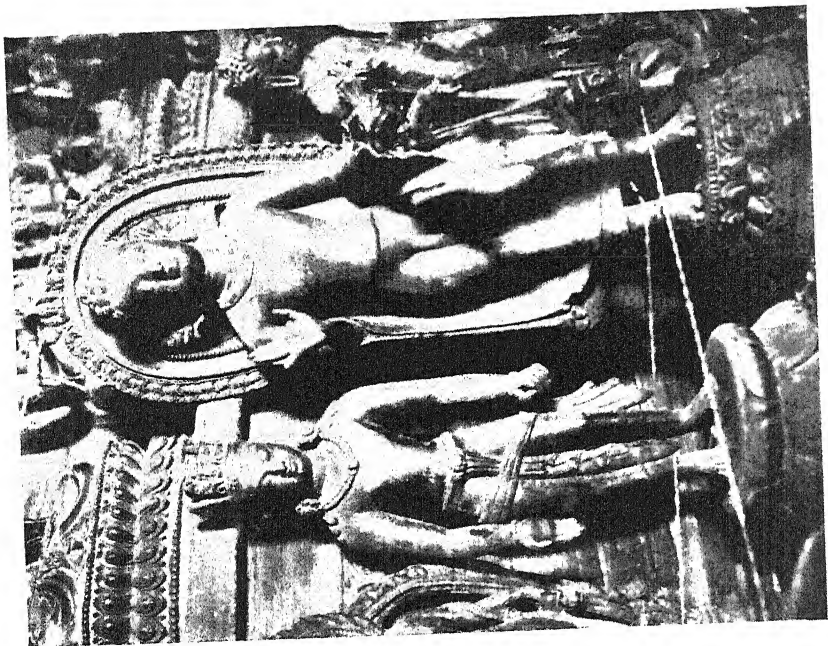
and his simple courtesy. I reproduce his photograph in gratitude.

We left Sa-skyā at noon on the 23rd July. When we reached the foot of the hill my companion's mule began to jump, and twice he was thrown on the ground. It was impossible to ride on it any longer. We transferred our loads on to it, but the second animal which was a pung-ḍe (cross between horse and she-ass) had also the same propensity. Fortunately some Sa-skyā muleteers were returning to their home and we changed our pung-ḍe with theirs. Before we crossed the next pass Sho-nga-la there was a heavy down-pour of rain. Next day we were travelling close to the bank of a stream which had assumed the proportion of a mountain torrent owing to the fresh rain. In one place our mules fell down into the stream and it was a nerve-wrecking experience to witness the box which contained the precious copy of the MSS., my three months' labour, thrown into the water. We hurried to bring it out and my mental agony was not over, till I examined and found nothing damaged.

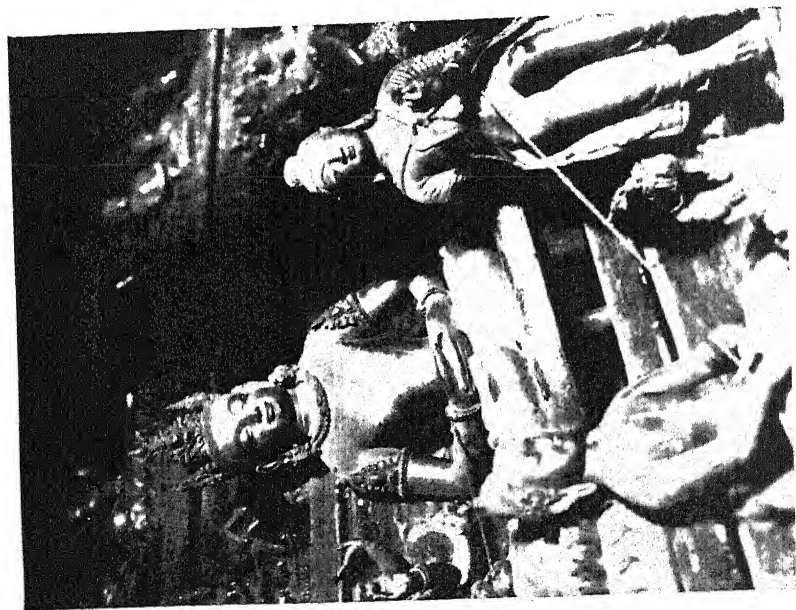
On the 25th we were to cross the Tsha-rong-Chhu which is a considerable river and in the rainy season, often for days, becomes difficult to cross. There are no hide-canoes, so one has to search for some fordable place. It took more than two hours to find some suitable place to cross over. The water was thigh-deep. While crossing it one corner of a box was under water, but here too no damage was done to the valuable contents.

We reached Ngor on the 26th. The steward still did not arrive. I saw the other monk-officials of the





Indian Bronze Images (Sa-skyä)



Indian Bronze Images (Sa-skyä)

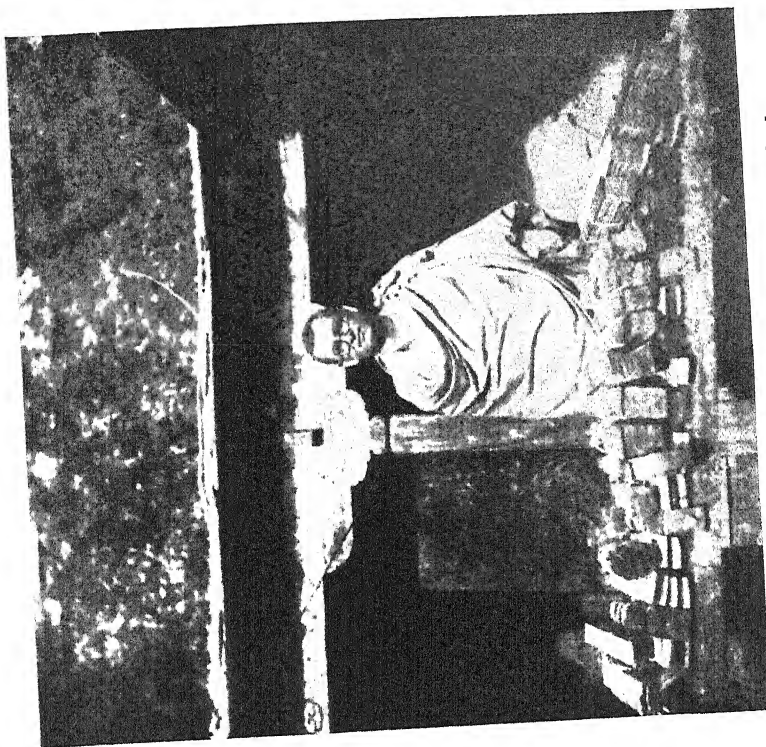
great monastery. The two old Khan-pos of Khang-sar College were very pleased to see me again. They had been always eager to help since my last visit to this great monastery, but the steward who was in charge of the precious treasures was absent, so they could not help me.

Next day (27th July), I went to Şha-lu (established 1040 A. C.) which is only six hours' journey by short cut, but in one place the path is very dangerous. There are four passes but they are not so difficult. Our friend Ri-sur-rin-po-chhe was present when I reached the old monastery. I had no intention to stay longer in that monastery for the present, as I had not the necessary photographic materials with me. When I was coming from Ne-nam the Nepalese photographer of Shi-gar-tse was also travelling in the same company. I talked to him if he could accompany me to take photographs of the MSS. in some of these monasteries. He promised and after reaching Sa-skyä, I wrote to my friends in Calcutta to send photographic materials. The money which I had with me was not enough even for travelling expenses. But there were Sahu Dharmaman's firms in Tibet. This devoted Buddhist and his enthusiastic sons have been always ready to help me since my first journey to Tibet. I always dislike to borrow money from others, but in Tibet I was forced to abandon this personal predilection. Not to borrow meant to throw back the fruit of my search into these forbidden treasures of the Tibetan monasteries. I had already received information that some parcels had come to Shi-gar-tse. The purpose of this preliminary visit to Şha-lu was that I should see the other MSS. which last time I was not able to see, and ascertain the number of plates which will be required.

The monastery of Şha-lu contains many things of antiquity. In its ancient chapels there are many bronze images originally taken from India and Nepal. On the walls of one of the chapels there are fresco paintings. The names of some of the artists are also inscribed on their works. But Indian manuscripts are not kept in this monastery. About a mile from the main monastery hidden by the mountain creeks, there is a small monastic establishment called Şhu-lu-ri-phug which is a branch monastery of Şha-lu. The founder of this new establishment was the great scholar Bu-ston (1290-1364 A. C.). After his retirement from Sa-skya, the sylvan solitude of this place attracted him so much that he made it his residence. The main chapel and some other buildings were built by Bu-ston himself. During the rainy season all the monks of Şha-lu came to reside here for their retreat. Indian MSS. are kept in a very dark small room inside the main temple. On the 28th I went to the Ri-phug with the five custodians. The seals were broken and the door was opened. As in Chhag-pe-lha-khang, here too, they have got many hundred Tibetan MSS. The shape of some of them is quite like palm-leaf MSS. We made a search first in the racks and we got a few. Next we opened some of the wooden boxes which are there and we found altogether thirty-nine bundles of Indian MSS. including those which I saw in my last journey. There was another small room inside it, the door of which was locked and sealed. It was sealed with the seal of the Tibetan Government, so unless you have their permission, it cannot be opened. I was told that it contains many sacred things belonging to Indian and Tibetan Buddhist



Autograph of Vibhūti-chandra



Palm-leaf MSS. being examined by Rāhula  
Sāṅkṛityāyana at Sa-skya





saints. It might contain some Indian MSS., but there is not much possibility of it as these MSS. are not held in the same esteem as some pieces of garments, begging bowls, or other things originally belonging to some sacred personality.

I gave a cursory glance at the MSS. and I was very much delighted to see Manorathanandin's glossary on the *Pramāṇa-Vārttika*. It is a paper MS. written in Vibhūticandra's own hand. Vibhūticandra was a young scholar from Vikramaśīlā University, who followed his teacher Śākyaśrībhadrā, the last hierarch of Vikramaśīlā, in his exile after the destruction of the famous institution by the Muhammadans. First they went to Jagattalā in Eastern Bengal and perhaps after the destruction of it, they went to Nepal, wherefrom they were invited by the head of the Sa-skyā monastery. Thus they went to Tibet in 1203 A. C. Apart from Vibhūticandra there were Dānaśīla and other scholars who accompanied Śākyaśrībhadrā. The complete palm-leaf MS. of the *Pramāṇa-Vārttika-Bhāṣya* (*Vārttikālāṅkāra*) which was discovered in the Sa-skyā monastery originally belonged to Dānaśīla, and the fragmentary MS. of the same book at Sa-skyā was in Vibhūticandra's handwriting. I was quite familiar with his writing. At the end of the MS. of Manorathanandin's gloss Vibhūticandra wrote these verses :—

At the end of the MS. of the प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्ति—

(1) To his teacher (शाक्यश्रीभद्र):—

परमाराध्यतमेषु विश्वजनाराध्यतमेषु सकल...गुरुषु सकलजनालोके (?)  
स्थितगुरुषु जगदर्थसिद्धिचित्तेषु सर्वसङ्गरहितेषु धर्मराज्याभिषिक्तेषु सर्व-  
स्वर्यविमुखेषु [अनर्घरत्नत्रयगुरुषु त्रिरत्नगुरुषु सर्वपारमितान्वयगुरुषु सुचिरारा-  
धितगुरुषु सम्भारद्वयसम्भरणपरेषु विश्वनैःस्वाभाव्यदर्शेषु करुणामहादेवी-

परिरम्भमुदितेषु] तृष्णात्यन्तविरतेषु प्रज्ञायत्तावृत्तिषु त्रिजगदनायत्तेषु । काश्मीर-  
पैण्डपातिकसत्पण्डितचक्रपुण्डरीकेषु श्रीमद्गुरुचरणेषु हि वी (? वि) भूतिचन्द्रस्य  
सप्रेण (? सप्रेम) . .

(2) As a farewell to some king (perhaps Grags-pa-  
gyal-tshan of Sa-skya):—

यत्र महाश्रीर्द्धीरपि तत्र तदयं राजा वेत्ति मद्रुक्तं ॥  
कल्याणमित्रं त्वमसि मादृशां दशदिग्दृशां ॥  
एवमेव सदा रक्ष समयं गुणाधीन (sic) ॥  
अपारपीनसेनाद्वयप्रजारक्षणदक्षिणः ।  
लक्ष्मीं परंपरीणां त्वं पुत्रपौत्रीयतां नय ॥

*compare*

अलमतिविषमत्वाद् द्वेषतृष्णोपसत्त्वात् परिणतिकटकुत्वात् सङ्गमैस्त्वत्प्रजानां (I)  
इति यदि शतकृत्वस्तत्तदालोचयामस्तदपि तमुपकारं विस्मरेन्नान्तरात्मा (II)

सिद्धं चिन्तादिकं सर्व्वं सम्वासोपि तदावद्योः (I)

[ शिष्यते परिवर्त्तनं । ]

स्वदेशमेव यास्यामि सन्तु सन्तः सुखं सदा (II)

संयुज्यन्ते वियुज्यन्ते जन्तवः कर्म-वायुना ।

न स्याद् यद्द्वेषलेशोपि स्थास्याम्प्रस्मिन् वशी भृशं (I)

(3) He resolves to come back home:—

यद्यस्त्यत्र समीहा वः किम्बिलम्बावलम्बनैः

स्थविरादिषु चे (?) मे विलभि (?) नीथामादाय गच्छत त्वरितं ।

देशं किमिह स्थित्वा प्रमादबहुला हि परदेशाः ॥

पापादृते धनं कष्टं पापं कष्टतरं धनात् (I)

तेन मे न धं धन्यधान (?) स्थितस्य च (I)

(4) As a farewell to his teacher:—

स्फीतं सम्बद्धं च सुचिरं चीवराहारपुस्तकैः ।

धर्मपालीकृतो धायान्मादृशस्त्वां विहाय यत् ।

[ महं त्वां त्यक्त्वापि यत् । ]

उपकृतो पि हि यद् धायान्मादृशश्चरणात् तव (I)

त्वत्पाश्वर्यपरिवर्त्तिन्याः पर्षदोऽश्चिसम्भवः (II)

वैसु (?) म्यं स ममक्षोभोर (?) धृतिश्चात्र कारणं (I)

सर्वस्वं गुरुद्वतत्सुतगणः कर्म स्वकं मामकं ।  
किन्धान्येन धनेन सज्जनजनेनासक्त्यपुण्यान्वयैः ।

×

(5) Medical prescription on the first cover:—

४८ अस्ति आदि आदर्श पत्रं ७५ दत्तं (म?) ४ कस्तूरी गुग्गुलुञ्चाभ्रं  
पदस्य हस्ता १० ॥ लोरोपाके

Quotations from some texts:—

यः संक्लेशगणं जिगाय सकला यं लक्षणश्रीः श्रिता (१)  
दत्तं येन शिरःकरादि विबुधा यस्मै नमः कुर्वते ।  
यस्मान्मारबलं विभेति निखिला यस्य प्रशस्या गुणाः (१)  
दोषा यत्र न सर्वजन्यकरुणावश्याय तस्मै नमः ॥

(6) प्रमाणभूताय जगद्धितैषिणे प्रणम्य शास्त्रे सुगताय तामिने ।  
प्रमाणसिद्धयै स्वमतात् समुच्चयः करिष्यते विप्रसृतादिहेतवः ।

—the first verse of the प्रमाणसमुच्चय by Diināga.

(7) Pages of each chapter of प्रमाणवार्त्तिकवृत्ति MS.:—

सर्वज्ञसिद्धि	प्रथम प २०	वातपित्ताश्लेष्मणं
	प्रत्यक्ष प ५५	मरुत्तेजःअ(? जोऽ)म्भोरूपत्वात्
	स्वार्थ प ८०	
	परार्थ प १०५	

From a palm-leaf now in the library of B. & O. R. Society:—

भोटङ्गत्वा ततः स्थित्वा श्रुत्वा सर्वम. . . नं (१)

पश्चात्प्रेपालतः स्थित्वा पत्रीयं प्रहिता मया (१)

तदीयं वर्णनं काव्यं पण्डितेन विभूतिना ।

आत्मशास्तरमावास्थे (?) संघं बोधयितुं कृ(त)म् (१)

नो मद्यपोहं न विकालभोजी मांसघ्न मां संभजते कदाचित् ।

तीव्रव्रतेनै(व) श्रुतं कथ(ञ्)चित्तल्लोकपाला मुनयः प्रमाणं (१)

These verses show that Vibhūticandra was not happy in his exile. At one time he bade adieu to the land of snow and on his way to India he came down to Nepal

from where he wrote a letter to some one, the introductory verse of which is preserved in the palm-leaf. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, palm-leaf was the only writing material used in India. But the Indian scholars who went to Tibet at that time have freely used paper. It was natural, for palm-leaf is not available in Tibet unless it is imported from India and close relations with China had made the use of paper more prevalent in Tibet. I also noted the small palm-leaf MS. of the *Pramāṇa-Vārttika* text in which unfortunately the first chapter is missing.

On the 29th I reached Shi-gar-tse. The parcels of photographic materials had not yet arrived from Gyan-tse, so I had to wait for them. During my last visit I had heard about some palm-leaf MSS. in the monastery of Ne-ri-ri-ṭhog (wrongly written Nga-ri-ri-phug in my last note). On the 2nd August I visited that place which is about six miles from Shi-gar-tse in the valley of the Brahmaputra. I was under the impression that the monastery is a branch of Śha-lu and so I thought that it might contain some ancient MSS. But the monastery belongs to the yellow-cap sect and it was established about 30 years ago by Yong-zin-lama, a tutor of the present Ṭa-shi-lama. The MSS. is a copy of the *Pārājika Pāli* in Sinhalese characters which was acquired by the late Lama from some Sinhalese pilgrim in India, when he visited Buddhist sacred places with His Holiness the Ṭa-shi-lama in 1905 A. C.

From the 5th August to 15th August we were busy with taking photographs of the important Sanskrit MSS. in Śhalu-ri-phug. The plates which were sent from India were not ordinary plates. The photographic

knowledge of our photographer friend left much to be desired, so he succeeded in spoiling all the fifty process plates which I had received. Luckily I had asked him to take a few dozens of his own plates which I borrowed from him. But they were not enough to copy all the required MSS. In the meantime, I and Mr. Abhaya Singh were engaged in copying Manorathanandin's commentary. I also wanted to copy the Tarkajvālā, Vighraha-vyāvartanī and Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgādhyāya. I needed more photographic materials for which I sent many letters and telegrams, but I was not sure about their arrival. It was already the middle of August and after one month winter was to begin, so I could not calmly wait. I was very thankful to the custodians of Śha-lu and specially to my friend Ri-sur-lama, who permitted me to take all the four manuscripts with me to Gyan-tse.

Śha-lu monastery is a little more than one mile away from the road Shi-gar-tse-to-Gyan-tse. On the 16th August we started for Gyan-tse where we arrived by the evening of the 17th. I sent a fresh wire and a few days later I learnt that seeing the difficult journey through the Himalayan passes none of the dealers was ready to send the things by V. P. P. Being at the place where they have got Telegraph and British Post Office it was not difficult to arrange the payment through the firm of Dharmaman Sahu, but we had to wait for the arrival of the parcels. In the meantime we were busy in copying the Śha-lu MSS.

After receiving the required materials we left Gyan-tse on the 8th September on our way to Shi-gar-tse. The copying of the three MSS. was finished, so

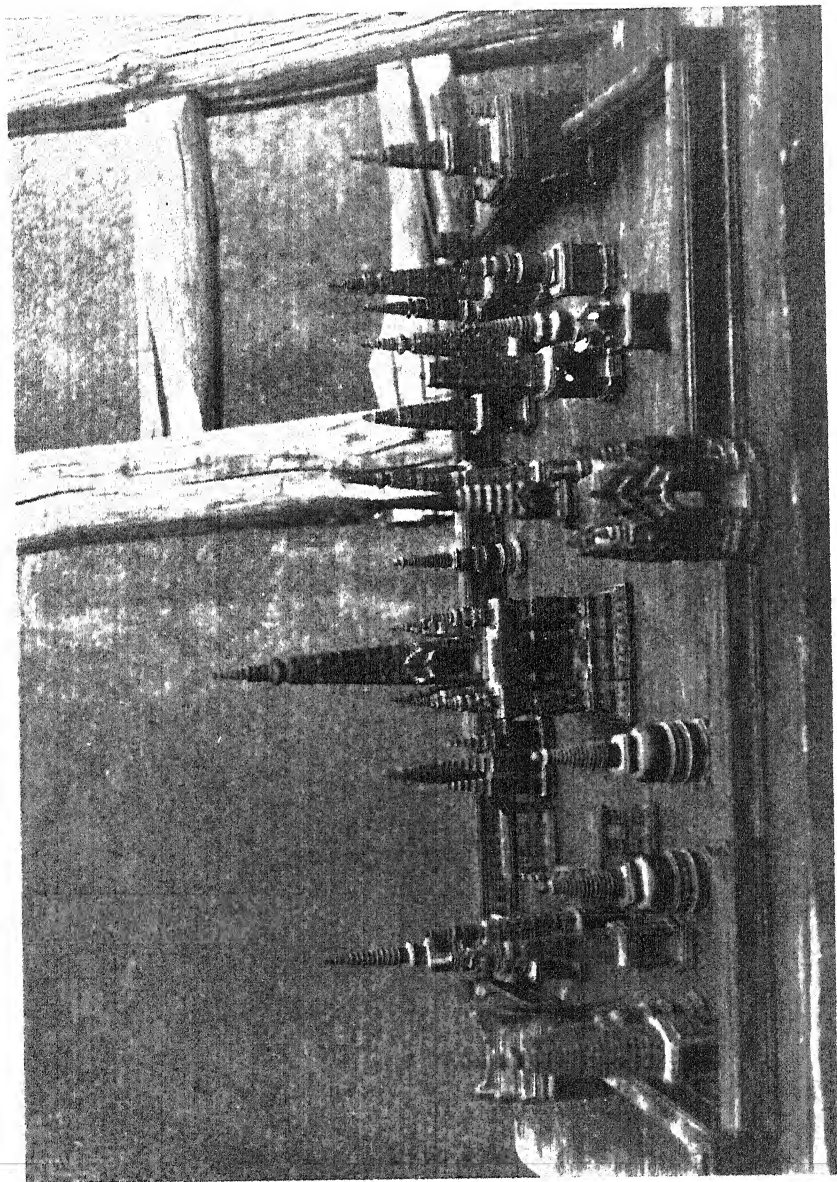
we returned them to the custodians on our way back to Shi-gar-tse. The MS. of the Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya was yet to be finished, so I kept it with me and after copying it, returned it through a Nepalese friend. At Śha-lu I heard that the Steward had come to Ngor and I must hurry up.

To hire the riding or pack animals is not an easy job in Tibet. Often many days are wasted. So we had to wait two days to get the required mules and horses. The time also at our disposal was very short. Already the leaves of poplars, and willow trees were changing their green to yellow. Ngor, Nar-thang, Pos-khang, and Ta-nag monasteries were to be visited. Thinking that it would not be possible to visit personally all the four, I sent Mr. Abhaya Singh to Ta-nag. The information about the MSS. belonging to that monastery as recorded in the present catalogue was brought by Nyāyācārya Abhaya Singh.

On the 12th September we went to Ngor which is only half a day's journey from Shi-gar-tse. To my utter disappointment I found that the Steward had left Ngor five days earlier. His brother Lama Gen-dun was present. After enquiry I found that the key of the MS.-room was with him. I begged him to open the room as the other four custodians had given their consent. The two influential Lamas of Khañ-sar who were themselves among the five custodians also requested and pleaded on my behalf, but he did not comply. The matter went so far that my friends became angry with him and threatened to break the seal and open the room. "We have given our word to the Gya-gar Lama who has taken so much trouble to come to our

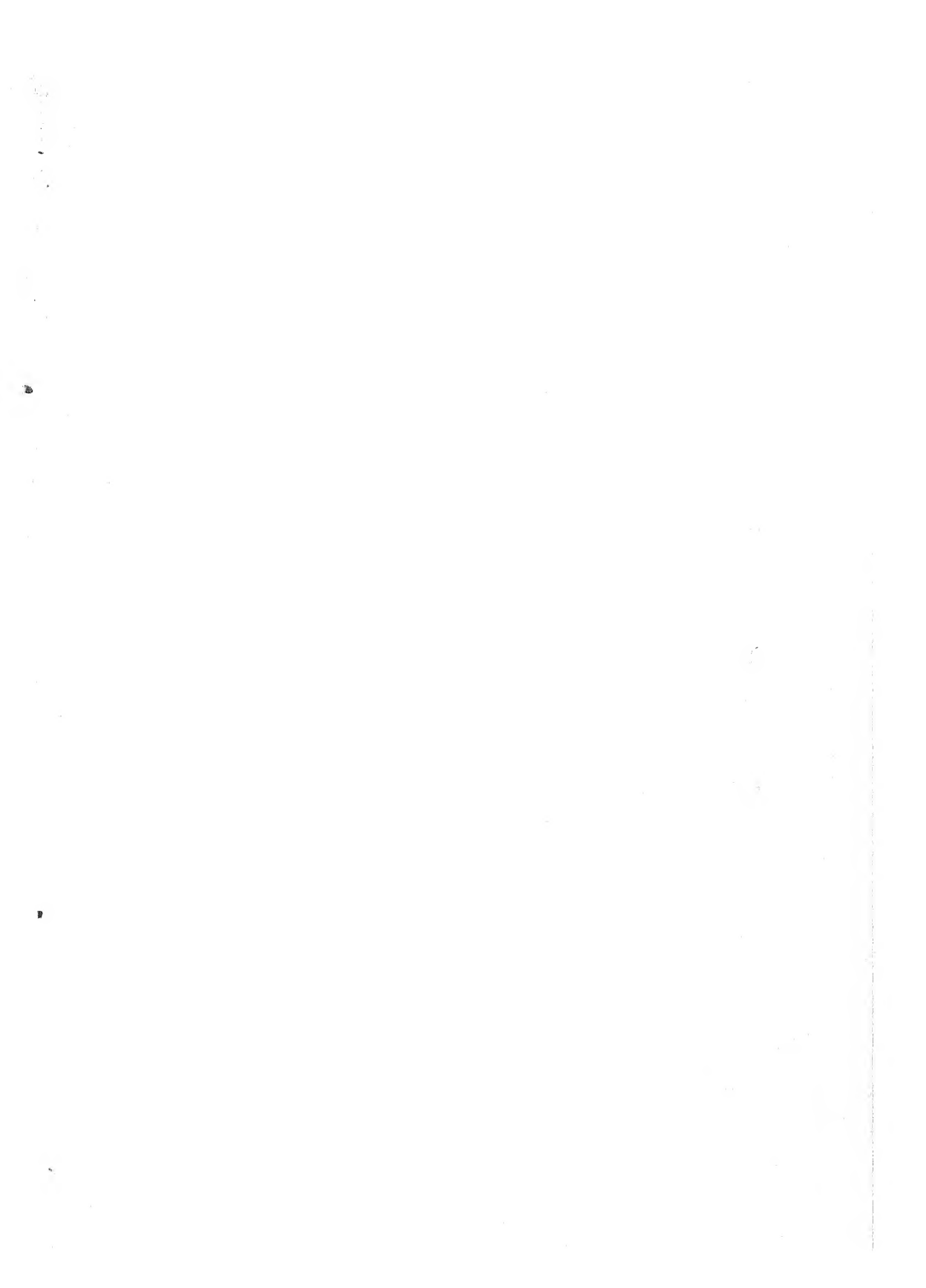


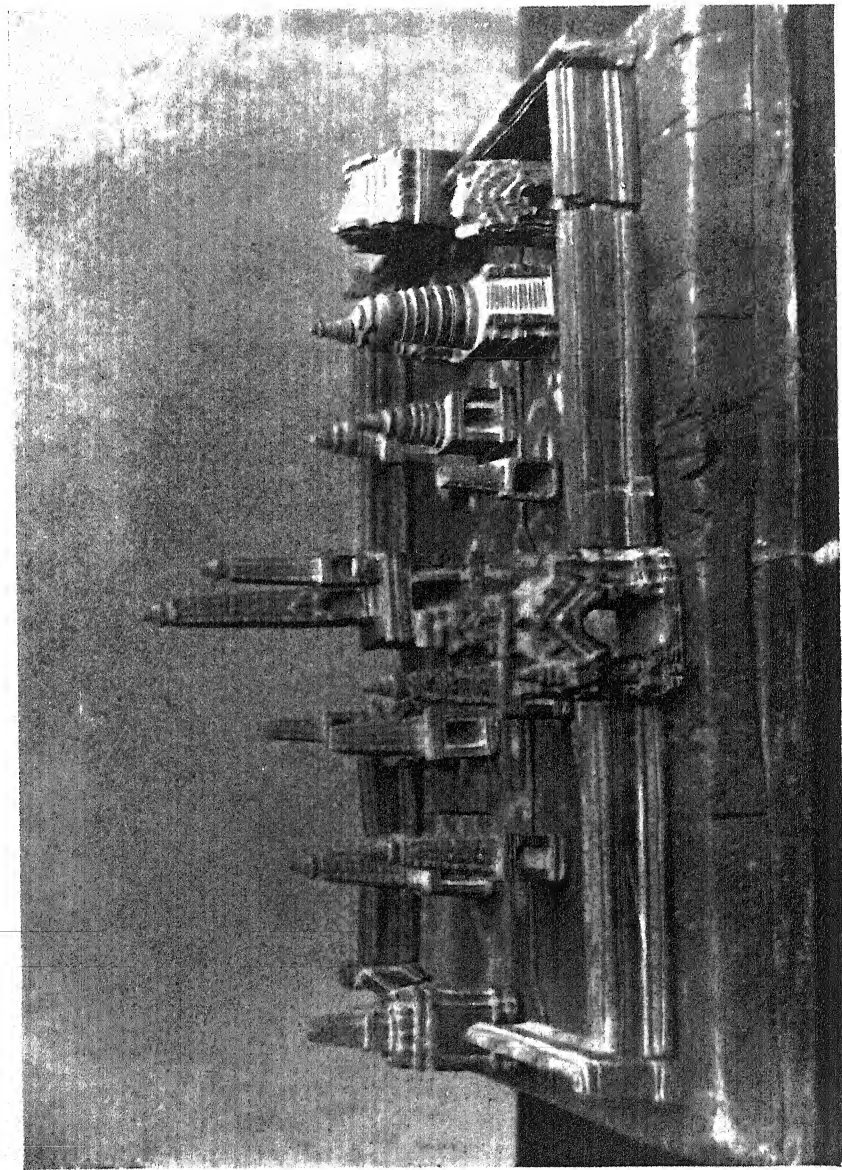
Wooden Model of Mahābodhi



(Nāgārang)







(Narthang)

monastery. We must help his sacred mission of placing the Buddhist scriptures before the Indian people." I persuaded them not to break open the door and instead send a letter to the Steward who was living about a day's journey to come back, and I requested them to send me information about his return.

We stayed for the night, and the next day (13th September) we went to Nar-thang monastery (established 1153 A. C.), famous for its big block prints of Kanjur and Tanjur. I did not hear about the existence of any Indian MSS. in that monastery, but they have many things of antiquity among which are a dozen old paintings on canvas originally imported either from India or Nepal. In technique they resemble the paintings of Ajantā. There is also a twelfth century stone model of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gaya. It is in the black stone of Gaya. Apart from the main temple it has many other chapels and stūpas, the portion of Śūnga railings, the surrounding walls and the three main gates. Unfortunately, the plank on which the whole edifice was fixed is missing, so except the positions of the main temple and three gates (bearing inscriptions in Tibetan letters), we cannot know the position of other monuments. Owing to its antiquity the model is not well-preserved. There is another wooden model which is a copy of the above and is in good preservation. Here too the original plank is missing. The model shows that the Mahabodhi temple had three gates, the main-gate was on the east and there were two gates to the north and the south. The main temple had three doors on its eastern side, two of which were only blind and only the middle one was for entrance. There was also a door on the western side

but this was also blind through which there was no access to the interior. In my last journey I had discovered a "travel-diary" by a Lo-tsa-va (? Gro-bdud-rtse, born 1153 A. C.) from this very Narthang monastery, who was present at Bodh-Gaya when the Muhammadan soldiers came to desecrate and destroy the temple and images of Mahābodhi. He was an eye-witness to this act of destruction. In his notes he describes the position of many sites inside and outside the walls of Mahābodhi. I think this stone model was taken by the same Lo-tsa-va who wrote this note. I took photographs of the models and a few of the paintings but the later did not come out well as we had not the colour sensitive process plates with us.

The next day (14th September) we went to Shigar-tse. I tried my best to visit Pos-khang but it was harvest season so even after promising high rates, I was not able to get conveyance. On the 17th September I received a message from Ngor that the Steward had come and I must go at once. With great difficulty I found two ponies and one donkey for our luggage and next day we went to Ngor. The Steward told me that he would stay only three or four days, so I must finish my work within that time. The same MS.-room was opened. Like Sa-skyā, here too the Indian MSS. are mixed up with Tibetan MSS. numbering about 1,000 volumes. The Sanskrit MSS. which I had separated in my last visit were put in one place. I made a little search for new MSS. in the heaps of the other MSS. and my trouble was well-rewarded when I found a complete copy of Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya by Vasubandhu and a copy of Sarahapa's Dohākośa. For the

next three days we devoted all our time in taking photographs of some of the important MSS.

On the 22nd we again returned to Shi-gar-tse, since I did not abandon the idea of visiting Pos-khang, but the photographer refused to go. I had sufficient plates and washing chemicals, but the plates were not of the size of my camera. Thus I gave up the visit to Pos-khang and left Shi-gar-tse on the 2nd October on my way to Sa-skyā where I reached on the 5th. I was not certain about the photographs of the *Yogācārabhūmi* which I took during my last visit. So I wanted to copy it from the MS. Sa-skyā is 14,715 ft. above the sea-level, so it is colder than Lhasa and Shi-gar-tse. From the 15th October onward, the temperature was so low that even in the noon it was impossible to use my hand, the fingers becoming numbed, and I was forced to warm my hands on charcoal fire. I took a few photographs of the beautiful Indian bronzes, about one hundred and fifty of which are kept in the Gya-gar-lha-khang.

I did not expect that I would not be able to finish the work up to the end of October. It was very cold in Sa-skyā and I had to cross many high passes before reaching the Indian plain. The lord of Dol-ma Palace gave his mules and trusted men to accompany me up to Sikkim. The younger brother, when he knew that I had no lamb-skin trousers, exclaimed, "you will die in these Himalayan passes. Wait for two days more and I will make one for you." When I expressed my inability to stay even for one day he offered his own new lamb-skin trousers which he had never used. Living these days in the warm rooms I had no idea of the temperature of the passes and I realised





the truth of my friend's remarks while passing the last pass La-chhen, though I had covered myself in lamb-skin clothing from head to foot, I was still shivering.

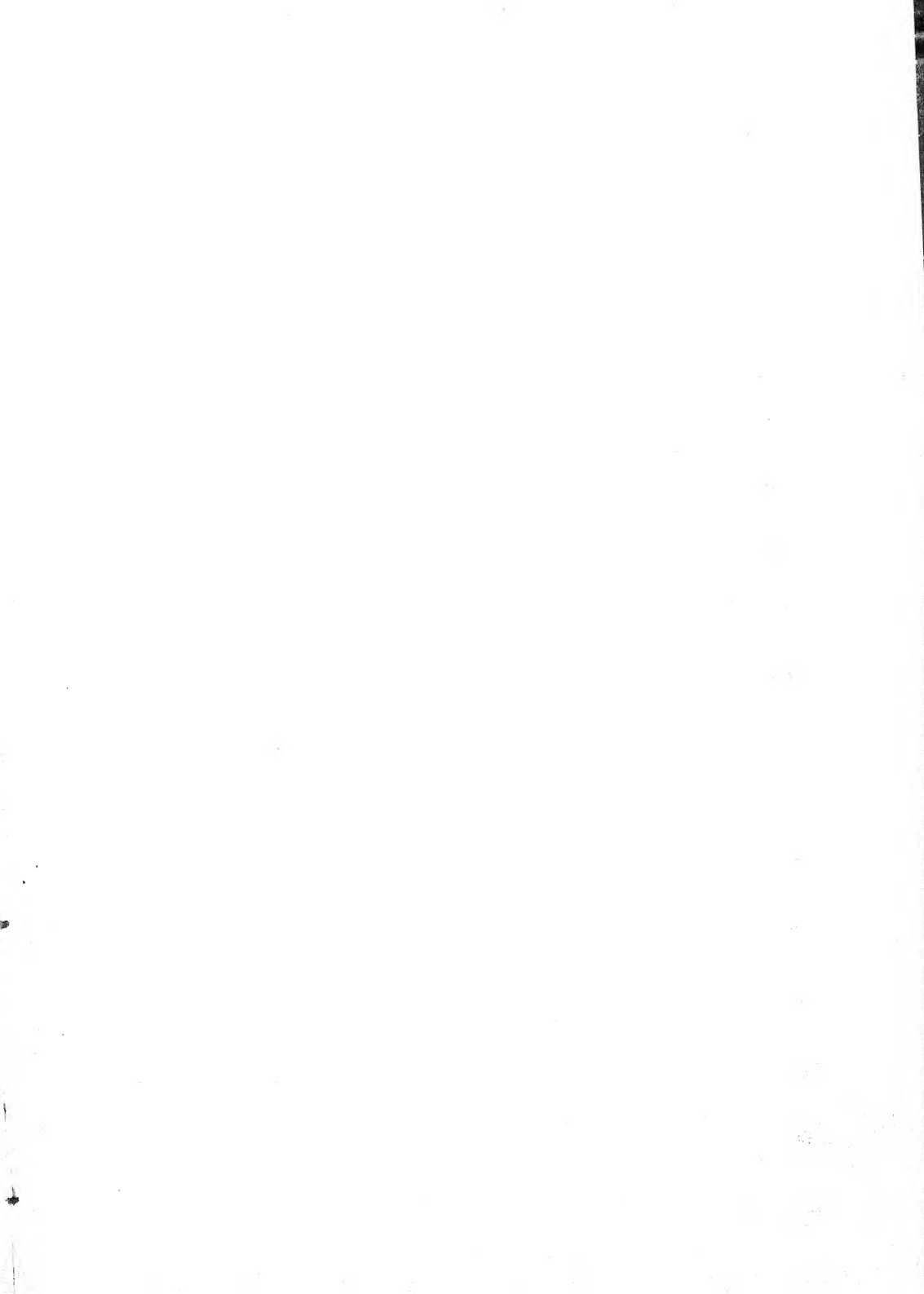
With a thankful heart and many sweet memories I left Sa-skyä on the 30th October and after taking one day's rest at Ma-bja I crossed the boundary of Tibet on the 4th November. On the La-chhen pass, on both sides for miles and miles, the land was covered with white snow. Some days back there had been a heavy snow storm and the pass was closed for a few days. I was among the first batch of travellers who crossed it when it was opened again.





Leaves of illustrated MSS. (Ngor Monastery),  
JBORS, XXI, p. 32, no. 56-58.





# SYSTEM OF FIGURES IN MSS. DISCOVERED.

	999 A.C. Cat. 215.	1082 A.C. Cat. 211.	1093 A.C. Cat. 201.	1126 A.C. Cat. 205.	1134 A.C. Cat. 213.	1282 A.C. Cat. 710.	1377 L.S. Cat. 223.
1	१	१	१	११	१	१	१
2	२	२	३	६२	२	६	२
3	३	३	३	६३	३	३	३
4	४	४	९	४	४	९	४
5	५	५	५	५	५	५	५
6	६	६	६	६६	६	६	६
7	७	७	७	६७	७	७	७
8	८	८	८	८	८	८	८
9	९	९	९	९	९	९	९
10	१०	१०	१०	१०	१०	१०	१०
20	२०	२०		२०	२०	२०	
30	३०	३०			३०	३०	
40	४०	४०			४०	४०	
50	५०	५०			५०	५०	
60	६०	६०			६०	६०	
70	७०	७०			७०	७०	
80	८०	८०			८०	८०	
90	९०	९०				९०	
100	१००	१००				१००	
200	२००	२००				२००	

## VI. Chhag-pe-lha-khang in Lha-Khang-Chhenmo of Sa-skya Monastery.

(Continued From Volume XXI, Part I)

I	1.	180.	प्रमाणवार्तिक-वृत्ति*	T	धर्मकोत्ति	मागधी	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$	11	7,8	Incomplete
	2.	181.	प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्ति-टीका*		कर्णकोमो	"	$32\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	215	7	12,37 missing
	3.	182.	"1	T	"	"	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	6	7	Incomplete
II		183.	प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य <sup>2*</sup>		प्रज्ञाकारगुप्त	"	$22 \times 2\frac{1}{8}$	314	6,7,8	Complete
III		184.	अर्थविनिश्चयधर्मपर्याय <sup>3</sup>	T	..	कुटिला	$21 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	108	7	108,109 miss.
IV		185.	अमरकोशटीका (कात्थयेनु) <sup>4</sup>	T	(सुसूतिचंद्र)	मागधी	$23 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	17	7	Incomplete
	1.	186.	नवश्लोकप्रज्ञापारमिता	T	..	मागधी	$22 \times 2$	1	5	Complete

\*In the press. <sup>1</sup>Left side damaged by water. <sup>2</sup>This MS. originally belonged to

Dānaśrī who accompanied Śākyaśrībhadrā to Tibet in 1203 A. C.

<sup>3</sup>In the colophon—"दियधर्मोयं सा (?) शा) व्यभिक्षुः (sic) धीरशान्तेर्यद्वय पुण्य .....

It is different from the अर्थविनिश्चयसूत्र (47,87, Vol. XXI, Part I).

<sup>4</sup>The latter portion of this MS. is found in the Ngor monastery (ibid 150).

2.	187.	अष्टसाहस्रिकापिण्डार्थं	कम्बलपाद <sup>1</sup>	"	"	3	5	Complete
3.	188.	हेवज्जसाधनोपयिक <sup>2</sup>	रत्नाकरशालि	कुटिला	22 × 2	1-5a	6	"
4.	189.	अष्टश्मशान	..	"	"	-5b	"	"
5.	190.	आर्यागुलीधारणी	..	"	"	-6a	"	"
6.	191.	आर्यागुलीकल्प	..	"	"	-6b	"	"
7.	192.	मंजुश्रीगुह्यचक्र	..	"	"	-16b	"	Incomplete
1.	193.	विनयसूत्रवृत्ति <sup>3</sup> T	गुणप्रभ	मागधी	23½ × 2½	72	7	Incomplete
2.	194.	प्रतिमोक्षसूत्रदीका <sup>4</sup>	..	"	"	3	8	"

V

<sup>1</sup>In the colophon—"कृतिरियं श्रीकम्बलाचार्यपादानामिति ॥"

<sup>2</sup>It begins—"पद्मभरनमितोर्वीविगविक्षिप्तसिन्धुप्रलयधनसमानैरानर्नैर्भुक्तानादं ।

भुजवनपवनास्त्रप्रस्थबन्धं गिरिणां भवतु भयहृदं वस्ताण्डवं हेरुकस्य ॥

अष्टाननस्य रचयामि साधनं प्रतिमुखं त्रिनयनस्य ।

हेवजस्य चतुश्चरणचारिणः षोडश भुजस्य ॥

In the colophon—"कृतिरियं महापण्डितरत्नाकरशालिपादानाम् ॥"

<sup>3</sup>Except in few no leaf number is given. It begins—"....मौ गुणप्रभः । सूत्राणि विनयस्येयं वृत्ति-  
स्तेषां निगद्यते ॥ तत्रेदमादिसूत्रं । अथ निर्यणवृत्तं ॥ अथेति शब्दोधिकारार्थसूत्रमंदर्पसरिसमाप्ते निर्यणवृत्तमाधिकृतं वेदितव्यं ।"  
From its letters, there seem to be two separate MSS., one up to 38 leaves dealing with four  
Pārājikas, and the other 34 leaves deal with Prāyāścittika and others.

<sup>4</sup>It explains Prāyāścittikas.

3. 195. विनयकारिका<sup>1</sup> T विशाख कुटिला 22 × 1½ 14 3½ "

<sup>1</sup>Only, 41, 44, 47, 50-54, 56-59, 60, 62 leaves are existing. The 41st leaf begins—

"कलहोधिकरणमुक्तं शमथस्तस्यान्तधर्मतः । शमनं तत्सप्तविधमुपायप्रभेदतः पुद्गलविशेषात् ।

यः संवृतकायवचा मध्यस्थः पुद्गलः समुत्सहते । स हि सकलसमधये सम्पन्तव्यो यथाव्यायं ॥"

In the leaf 62—

"अनल्पकल्पोपचितकरणमदुचेतसां । अवश्यकरणीयानि येषां दश महात्मनां ॥ व्याकृत्य बोधियस्य चित्तमुपाद्य च स्थिरं । त्रिभागमायुषस्त्यक्त्वा प्रब्रज्य युगमुत्तमं ॥ विनीय बुद्ध वैनैयान् सीमाबन्धम्विधाय च ॥ प्रातिहार्येण<sup>1</sup> चावज्यं देवावतरणेन च । कर्मण्यो (?) तीरदाहृत्य पितरो सत्यदर्शने । प्रतिष्ठाप्य च निर्वाति नाकृतवैतानि तायिनः ॥ नमः संगीतिकारेभ्यो यैर्निमज्जदिदं मुनेः । शासनं भास्वरालोकं रत्नपोतवदुद्धृतं ॥ आर्यानिन्देन संगीतः सूत्रा<sup>2</sup>न्तः श्रुत्वाद्यापि बहुभिर्हिच्छयै जन्मशृङ्खलाः ॥ आर्योपालिना चापि विनयः सम्प्रकाशितः । मन्त्रेणैव निवार्यन्ते येनापायभुजगमाः ॥ भानूकापिटकं प्राह मतिसारार्थकार्श्यपः । सालोक्य इव लोकोयं कृतो येन स<sup>3</sup>मन्ततः ॥ एतद्वाजगृहे सर्व्वं संगीतं पिटकत्रयं । सदेवमनुजस्यास्य लोकस्यालोककारकं ॥ यत्र श्रुतवतामासन्न-हृतां बाहितैरनां । शतानि पञ्च संख्यातानां धर्मसंसाक्षिणाम् ॥ ..... b अयं स द्धु (?) धर्मो मुनिना यदर्थं भ्रान्तं चिरं<sup>4</sup> दीर्यवता भवेषु । चिकीर्षता त्राणविवर्जितानाम् अशेषदुःखोपशमं प्रजानां ॥ शिरांसि च प्रस्फुरिताधराणि स्वमात्मपेशीक्षुतलोहितानि (1) सुतारं च वालेन्दु-कलाभिरामान् समुत्ससर्जप्रतिमो यदर्थं (1) स एष धर्मः (2) सुगतेन देशितो न यावदस्तं<sup>5</sup> संपुनैति सवर्था । विहाय कौपीयमनर्थपातनं शमाय तावत् क्रियतां समुद्यमः ॥ वाचो नृणां सुगतवाचि वरं प्रयुक्ताः काव्यं वरं रचितमण्वपि धर्मयुक्तं । चित्ताभ्युपायविधिरेव च मे जनवद्य इत्येतदयत्कृतमप्यकरोद् विशाखः । यन्मू<sup>6</sup>नं समधिकमन्यथा कृतत्वा पूर्वोक्तादिभिर्हितमाकुलाकुलम्बा । तत् सन्तः प्रकृतिशिवा-शयाः क्षमन्तां किमन्याः पथि विषमे परिस्खलन्ति ॥ ग्रन्थनाद् भिक्षुविनयकारिकामुसमस्रजः । यदवापि मया पुण्यं तेनाहं सह देहिभिः । कामजम्बालविमुखः<sup>4</sup> श्रद्धादिभिरलङ्कृतः । भूयासमिभक्षुरत्येषु जन्मस्वापरिनिवृत्तः । वाचयत पठत सततं चिन्तयत कारिका एताः (1) यदि शीलममलमिच्छथ निर्वाणपुरःप्रवेशम्वा ॥ 5"

VI	196. बोधिचर्यावतार <sup>1</sup>	T (शान्तिदेव)	माणवी	22 × 2	23	6	Complete
	197. त्रिकल्पदेशना	..	कुटिला	"	2	5	"
	198. महाभाषातन्त्रटीका	..	"	23 × 2	10	6, 7	"(?)
VII	199. योगचारभूमि <sup>2</sup>	T (असंग)	"	22½ × 1½	156	7	"
VIII	200. अब्दसाहसिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता- पञ्जिका <sup>3</sup> T (सारतसा)		रत्नाकरशान्ति	23½ × 2	53	7	Incomplete

Here and there the translation of some sentences is found in the MS. It shows that the book was translated into Tibetan, though it is not found in the Tibetan Stangyaur by the name of Visākha.

<sup>1</sup> In the colophon—"द्वयधर्मोयं प्रवरसहायानयायिनो भिन्नुरार्थोभिन्नस्य.....॥ श्रीसद्विग्रहनालीयसम्बत् २६ श्रावण दिने २"

<sup>2</sup> The first and last 3 leaves are partially damaged. It begins—"....(about 18 letters missing) सप्तदश भूमयो द्रष्टव्या (:) कतया सप्तदश । किञ्चोद्धानम् । पञ्च विज्ञानसंयुक्ता मनोभूमिस्त्रया परा । सचित्त-विचाराभ्यां समाधिर्निहिता तत्र ॥ सचित्ता चाप्यविता च श्रुतमन्त्रा समावता । तथा वागवयोपेता योगव्यनुगधा परा ॥ एवं विज्ञान-कायसंप्रयुक्ता भूमिः मनोभू (मिः सचित्तकर्मविचारा भूमिः ।" In the last line of the last page—"इदमुच्यते निर्वृतिपथीय-प्रज्ञप्तिव्यवस्थानं ॥ योगाचारभूमौ निरुमाधिका भूमिः समाज्जा ॥॥

<sup>3</sup> Out of 103 leaves 48 (2-21, 51-55, 57-79) are missing.

It begins—"या नर्वजन्ताः । सर्वज्ञागमिदं (as usual) । आगच्छमानमावधितुं भूमिं परां योगिनीं (1)



IX	201.	"1	"	कुटिला	23 X 2	103	6	Complete (?)
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संसारोदरवर्त्तिदोषनिचये सम्मू<sup>1</sup> च्छितां देहिनः । मंत्रेण दयावता भगवता नेतुं स्वयं सर्वथा(1)प्रज्ञापारमितानये स्फुटतरा टीकाकृता कारिका ॥  
 भाष्यं तत्त्वविनिश्चये रचितवान् प्रज्ञावतामग्नयीः । आर्यसिङ्ग इति प्रभास्वरयशास्तत्कर्त्तृसामर्थ्यतः ॥ भावाभावविभागपक्षनिपुणो ज्ञाना-  
 भिमानोन्नतः । आचार्यो वसुबन्धुरथेकथने प्राप्तापदः पद्धतौ ॥ योगाभ्यासपदार्थतत्त्वमथनाल्लोकोत्तरज्ञानिनः । ज्ञा<sup>2</sup>तस्यार्थविमुक्त-  
 सेनमुधियो यत्नो महान् वृत्तितः ॥ एकान्तोत्पत्तिविपक्षदृष्टिशमने शास्त्रांबुधो बुद्धान् (sic) । यो लोकेशविमुक्तिसेण (sic) ववसा  
 स्थातोऽपरो वार्त्तिके ॥ वक्तुस्तत्र न मद्विधाः कृतिधियोऽपूर्वैक्यञ्चित् क्षमाः । संक्षुण्णो हि दुद्योतमैरुहः कोसौ न वस्तुक्रमः ॥ ज्ञाना-  
 नाहकधर्मतत्त्वविषये जाताभिलाषा वयं । व्याख्यानने परां सदर्शविषयां कर्तुं समर्थयुवताः ॥ तिष्ठन्तु खलु पुनः कौशिक जांबुद्वीप  
 इत्यादि ॥ चातुर्महाद्वीपिकलोकधत्ताविति ॥<sup>3</sup> Then follow the Abhidharma-Kośa-kārikās (Ch. III.)—"लक्ष-  
 षोडशकोद्वेध ० ब्रह्मलोकसहस्रञ्च साहस्ररचूडिको मतः ॥ अध्यमात्रमध्यम्यवक्तुमाह ॥ ॥७" But, it seems the first portion  
 is taken from Haribhadra's commentary, and second portion is from some commentary  
 on the Abhidharmakośa. Here MS. no. 201 is correct. On the last page—"नानाविभ्रमलञ्छनव्यपगमाद-  
 ग्राह्यमग्राहकं । भात्येतत्तथात्मना समरसं यस्यामशेषं जगत् । प्रज्ञापारमिता विकल्पतरणी सा बोधिसत्त्वस्य धीर्दीर्घैः सैव विशुद्धि-  
 पारगमने ताथागती कथ्यते ॥ संसत्यष्टो यदाभिसमयान् यत् सहस्राणि चाष्टौ सूत्रं ततो भगवति मया यश्च लब्धो विभज्य । पुण्यस्कन्धः  
 फलतु स यथा युक्ति मुक्ति प्रज्ञानां । निःसीमानां मम च वसितां (sic) विस्कार्यक्रियासु (॥) अनुपमगुणमृष्टा निर्मलाशेषवर्णा हरतु  
 भवरतिम्बो भारती गौतमस्य । भवति महति वीर्त्तिर्या दया स्नेहपूणं जनमनसि तदन्तर्ज्योतिषः संक्रमाय ॥"<sup>4</sup> प्रज्ञापारमितायाः प्रमिताया  
 दशशतीभिरध्याभिः । सारतमेत्यभिसमयस्फुटा घना पञ्जिकेयम् ॥" In the colophon—" ? सम्वत् आ तो ३ (213 N. E.=  
 1093 A. C.) श्रीहर्षदेवराजे श्रीगण्डगुल्मविषये । कुलपुत्रकायस्थः श्रीजीवधरशिंह<sup>5</sup>स्य पुस्तकोपमिति ॥०॥

<sup>1</sup> It begins—"..... भवति बहुतराके (?) केवलं यस्य लोके दिनमुदयसमृद्ध्या रात्रिस्तड्यमेन । प्रतिविषय-

202. अध्याद्वंशतक<sup>1</sup> T

मातृवेद

कुटिला

21½ × 2

5

6 Complete

विसारी शुद्धिमानस्तु वज्रः स गुणानुनिधेर्वी जायतां बुद्धबोधः ।.....! यस्याः कतिपयवर्णा धृताः कर्णपुटरपि । बोधेर्भवन्ति वीजानि जिनमाता जयत्यसौ ॥ मैत्रेयस्य विमोरलङ्कृतिर्मयः पोतो यदर्थर्णवे (1) निष्णीतं बहुविस्तराकृतिसमर्थस्या निजानेरपि । व्याचष्टे वचसा स्फुटेन लघुना मन्दोपि रत्ना क रः<sup>2</sup> (1) प्रज्ञापरमिता ..... न महता तामष्टसाहसिकां ॥ अथ कस्माद्विं व्याख्यायते ।....” On the last page—“प्रज्ञापरमितायाः ० (as above) स्फुटघटना पञ्जिकैर्ध मे ॥ अधिगमतनुं प्रत्येतन्मतथागतमानरं न नमतु न संस्कारस्रोतः शतातिशयोक्तं । विपुलसरसश्चित्तोत्पादादुपैति य(?) द्रम्यु(क्ष)प्राद्यदमृतमयं निष्पद्यन्ति पदं गुणसागरं ॥ अथ्यटान् भिर्यदभिसम्यै (?) साधु सम्मात (sic) मस्यां (1) तस्या (?) ख्यानात् कुशल ममल यन्मयानन्तमाप्तं । तन्मे वीधिं फलनु महतीं विश्वकृत्वेपु शक्तां (1) मुक्तिं यानैस्त्रिभिरपि यथा भाजनञ्च प्रजानां ॥.....सारतमानानि पञ्जिकायां रत्ना क र शा न्ति विरचितायां.....”

<sup>1</sup>On the cover leaf—“वृत्तशतकस्तोत्रं” । It begins—“सर्वदा सर्वथा सर्वे यस्य दोषा न सन्ति ह । सर्वे सर्ववृत्तिसारेण यत्र व्यवस्थिता गुणाः ॥ तमेव शरणं गन्तुं तं स्तोतुस्तमुपासितुं । तस्यैव शासने स्थातुं त्याज्यं यद्यस्ति चेत्तना ॥” There are 153 verses divided into 13 Chapters (परिच्छेद) —

- |                     |          |                  |    |                |    |
|---------------------|----------|------------------|----|----------------|----|
| 1. उपोद्धानपरिच्छेद | 9 verses | 6. करुणास्तव     | 9  | 11. दुष्करस्तव | 11 |
| 2. हेतुस्तव         | 17       | 7. वचनस्तव       | 15 | 12. कौशलस्तव   | 11 |
| 3. निरुपमस्तव       | 15       | 8. शासनस्तव      | 10 | 13. आनुष्यस्तव | 19 |
| 4. अद्भुतस्तव       | 10       | 9. प्रणिधिस्तव   | 10 |                |    |
| 5. रूपस्तव          | 6        | 10. मागवितारस्तव | 11 |                |    |

All but last two verses are in अनुष्टुप । The last two are—“न ते गुणाड्ढावयवोपि कीर्त्तितः परा च न स्तुष्टिरवस्थिता हृदि । अकर्षणैव महाहृदाम्भमां जनस्य तर्पाः प्रस्र(?)मं व्रजन्ति ह ॥ (१५२) फलोदयनास्य शुभस्य कर्मणो मन्निप्रसादप्रतिभेद् (sic) भवस्य मे । असाद्वितक्काकुलमारुन्नेरितं प्रयानु भित्तं जगतो विधेयतां ॥ (१५३)

X	203.	दासरसायन <sup>1</sup>	नागार्जुन	"	22 × 2	4	5	Complete
XI	204.	चान्द्रव्याकरण <sup>2</sup>	T चन्द्रगोनी	"	22 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 2	57	6	Incomplete
	205.	" <sup>3</sup>	"	"	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2	14	6,7	"
XII	206.	(अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता- टीका)	? सायधी	"	21 × 2	8 <sup>4</sup>	6	"
	207.	युक्तिप्रदीप <sup>5</sup>	.. कुटिला	"	22 × 2	3	7	Complete

In the colophon—"अध्यर्द्धशतकं समाप्तम् ॥ कृतिराचार्यमातृचेतस्य ॥ ये धर्माः.....॥ देयधर्मोयं<sup>5</sup> प्रवर महायानजा(?या)यिनां परमशाक्यभिक्षु(सु) न य श्री भि न (स्य....A.C.) यदत्र पुण्य.....॥"

<sup>1</sup>The opening is—"दासरसायनं ज्ञात्वा रोगवार्द्धक्यनाशनं । तस्य सुख(वि)दोषार्थं टीकां वचिम् यथाश्रुति ॥ प्रथमं तावदाचार्यनागार्जुनपादाः करुणापरवत्स(?श)तया सत्वानां सिद्धिं समीहमानाः स्वेष्टदेवतानामस्कारपूज्वकं दासरसायनं कुर्वन्ति स्म ॥ बह्विस्त्यादि" The last verse is—"सत्यहितं कथितं परमार्थ<sup>4</sup> कल्पवरं कथितं शु(?सु)करञ्च । तेन भवत्वचिरेण जनोयं रोगविमुक्तो जिनेषु च भक्तः ॥ इति दासरसायनं समाप्तम् ॥७॥"

<sup>2</sup>The last two leaves are not numbered, and they belong to a later chapter. In the 57th leaf second chapter ends. In the colophon—"चान्द्रव्याकरणे द्वितीयोऽध्यायसमाप्तः ॥०॥ सम्बत् २४६ (N. E.=1126 A. C.) आपाढमासे अष्टम्याम् ॥"

<sup>3</sup>A portion of second chapter (212-14).

<sup>4</sup>From 3 to 10 leaves.

<sup>5</sup>It is a small treatise on Vajrayāna—The opening verse is—"श्रीमद्गुरोश्चरण नीरजरेणबुद्धं सकत्या सदा अ(? )मल गुणं शिरसा प्रणम्य ॥ कल्याण सत्य (sic) वरसातन (sic) सिद्धयुगायं वक्ष्ये विपक्षतिमिरापहयुक्ति म्र(? ) दीपं ।" Then—"ये तावद् वदन्ति बालाः सकलविकल्पालजडीकृता वि (sic) सम्यगुरुपदेशप्राप्तिमात्रेण बुद्धत्वं सिद्धं भवति ।"

XIII	208. गुह्यसमाजमण्डलोपायिका <sup>1</sup>	भद्रपाद	"	"	1	6	Incomplete
XIV	209. दशभूमिकसूत्र <sup>2</sup> T	..	"	24×2½	57	7	"
XV	210. गण्डव्यूहसूत्र <sup>3</sup> T	..	"	24½×2¼	481	6	"
	211. सङ्गमपुंडरीकसूत्र <sup>4</sup> T	..	कुटिला	23×2	137	6	Complete

The names of नागार्जुन (pp. 1b, 2a), श्री इन्द्रभूतिपाद (p. 2b) and भद्रपाद (p. 3a) are cited as authority. There are also quotations from बोधिव्यवितार (p. 1b<sup>2</sup>), and, मायाजालमहातन्त्र (p. 2a).

<sup>1</sup>On the page 2b one song of Saraha is—"विष्णु ध्याणें विष्णु पायाज्जे गेहवसन्ते समधर भज्जे । जइ वड्ढ विनय रमन्ते न मुच्छइ । भणइ सरह् परि आण को वुच्चइ ॥" The last verse—"कृत्वा विमार्गपतितान् प्रति युक्तिदीपं मित्याभिमान-तमसाविहितान्धकारान् । प्राप्तं मया यदमलं सुकृतं समासात् सत्त्वास्तोज्जनिभूतो निखिला भवन्तु ॥३॥

<sup>2</sup>In the end only last leaf is found where the author says—"अनुत्पुच्छन्दा इत्येकैः जनैः साङ्गे-चतुष्टयैः । कृतेयं मण्डलोपयिका लोके आलोककारिका ॥.....कृतिराचार्यभद्रपादानां ॥<sup>5</sup> ये धर्माः ॥ देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमहाभासयागिनः परोपाशकश्रीनारायणस्य ॥.....॥ श्रीमद्विग्रहपालदेव (III, 1050-76 A.C.?) स्व राज्ये सम्बत् ८ फाल्गुन द्वि (१०)"

The first three and the 58th leaves are missing, but there is a numberless torn leaf which is either no. 2 or 3.

<sup>3</sup>Only 12th leaf is missing. In the colophon—"देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमहाभासयागिनः सम्मयमहाविहार-समावासित<sup>5</sup>-श्रीकीर्तिचन्द्रज (1182-1216 A.C.) स्व यदव..... । महागजाधिराजपरमेस्वरगुणैर्निरुद्धश्रीमदनमल्लदेवस्य राज्ये लिखायितमिति सम्बत् ४०२ (? N. E. = 1282 A.C.?) नादावधुक्तजाल्मन्त्रान्वयविति ॥"

<sup>4</sup>In the colophon—"सम्बत् आ २ (202 N. E. = 1082 A.C.) चंद्रमास द्विवा पूर्णिमायां । वृहस्पतिदेवे । हस्ततन्त्रे ॥०॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरश्रीमन्गङ्गदेवस्य विजयराज्ये वर्तमाने । देव धर्मायं प्रवरमहाभासयागिनो

XVI	212.	" <sup>1</sup>	..	रंजन	22×2	158	5	"
XVII	213.	पंचरक्षा <sup>2</sup>	T	..	मागधी	22×2	77	Incomplete
XVIII	214.	अष्टसाहसिका प्रज्ञापारमिता	T	..	रंजन	22×2	206	6
					(ordinary)			Complete
XIX	1. 215.	" <sup>3</sup>	..	"	"	228	6	"

श्रीचक्रवाटीमहादेवीमहाविहार्यशाक्यभिक्षुणीयेमेन्द्रनाथाया यदत्र .....। ये धर्माः...। श्री इन्द्रमूलस्थानाधिवासी अम (1) त्व परमोपासक श्रीगुणाकरजीवभल्लोकेनस्वयं लिखितमिति ॥०॥०॥" It is one of the most beautifully written Kufila MSS.

<sup>1</sup>In the colophon—"पूर्णं वेद्य (?पङ्ग) युतो (? ) वर्षे शते शारदसङ्गते। मासे मृ ष्टा(? ) द्धिते रम्ये मृगाङ्ककरमण्डने। नवम्यां रोहिणे ऋक्षे प्रभातावर्क दिने शुभे। कृतारिवलदेवाहये क्षितिं रक्षति क्षमाधिपे। वार्त्तकल्याण गुप्तेन का<sup>1</sup>रिते सुगतालये। माहेन्द्रमतिविख्याता बुद्धधर्माङ्कधारिणी ॥ सद्धर्मपुण्डरीकचन्द्रवलगदितं सूत्रराजं वरिष्ठं यानैकस्यानु-मंसञ्जिनयुतप्रवरैः सेवितसैककल्पम्। सम्प्राप्या धर्मा मे परहितनिरतैर्यस्य सन्दर्शनेन (1) श्रीमत्सद्धर्मैरत्नप्रवरमलिश्चित्तवै-सत्त्वार्थकृत्यैरिति ।"

<sup>2</sup>In the colophon—"श्रीमत्त्राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीमाणदेवस्यविजयराज्ये सम्बत् आ ५८ (258N.E. = 1138 A.C.) पोषकृष्णत्रयोदश्यां सोम<sup>3</sup>.....नक्षत्रे योगसिद्धिसुभानुकूलेनलिखित समाप्तीकृतम् ॥ देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमहायानयायिनी परमोपासकः वट्टाहुठकुत्तान्मस्य यदत्र .....।"

<sup>3</sup>In the colophon—"सम्बत् अतोते (119 N.E. = 999 A.C.) मार्गेश्विरशुक्लदिवा पूर्णमास्यां प्रतिष्ठापितः श्रीगण्डीगुल्मकनिवासिनसु<sup>4</sup>वर्णकारश्रीराणकस्य यदत्र .....॥ महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनरेन्द्रदेवभटारकस्य श्री उदयदेवयो भटारकस्यो उभयराज्य<sup>4</sup> लिखितमिति। जयदेवकृते रम्ये दुर्पीवी सक्त्त (?) के शुभे। विद्यागुप्तस्य हस्तेन लिखित्वा शास्त्ररत्नम् इति ॥"

<sup>1</sup>In four volumes which are separately paged. (I, 286; II, 259; III, 345; IV, 270). Except the third volume which has 6 lines, in all other volumes there are 7 lines in each page. On page 186a—"श्रीकीर्तिचवजेन शोद्धिते (? शोधितं) पुस्तकम् (? क) मिदं". This book was specially written for कीर्तिचवज (Tibetan Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, the third Sa-skya hierarch, 1182-1216 A. C.), and the above writing is, by his own hand, as he is Lotsava (co-translator) of several works, so he had some knowledge of Sanskrit. Perhaps he compared this MS. with some other one, as there are corrections by the same hand in the MS. In the colophon of the second volume (page 262 a)—"देय धर्मोपश्रवस्वस्वहायानयाथिनां श्रीउत्तरापथ सस्वय अधिवाशिन पण्डितश्रीकीर्तिचवजस्य यदत्र .... ॥ श्रीनेपालमण्डलकाष्ठमण्डप-पाधिवासिन गन् उपाध्यायेन लिखितं ॥ श्रयोऽस्तु ॥ सम्वत् ४०३ (N. E.=1283 A. C.) फाल्गुणशुक्लपूर्णिमास्यां शनिश्चरवाशरेः ॥ श्रीमहाराजा-धिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकः श्रीश्रीअनन्तमालदेवस्य विजयराजे लिखितं पुस्तकमिदं ॥" In the colophon of the third volume (page 345 a)—"देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमहा (यान) या<sup>4</sup>धिन श्री नवमलके श्रीमदेन्द्रियदेवराज्ञसंस्कारित श्रीय (? ज) य मनोहरवर्म्म महाविहाराद्विवाशी गृहाश्रमभिक्षवाचार्यकायस्थ सुगतरखितेन लिखित-मिदं ..... ॥ श्रीनेपाल हायण ४०४ (N. E.=1284 A. C.) फाल्गुनी शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदश्यान्तिथौः मयनक्षत्रे । वृत्तियोगे बृहस्पति-दिने लिखितेति ॥ श्रीमतः राजाद्विराज्यगुणवत्सावतारश्रीश्रीम (द) नन्तमालराजे लिखितमिति ॥" In the colophon of the fourth volume (page 270 a). .... परित्तः सत्तात्रिंशत्तितमः समाप्तमिति ॥ ॥ उदकानलचौरैर्यथो मूर्षिकेभ्यस्तथैव च । रक्षितव्यप्रयत्नेन यथा कष्टेन लेखितः ॥ देयधर्मोयश्चप्रवरमहायानयाथिनः हिमवन्तपार्वे शाक्यभिक्षुश्रीकीर्तिचवजपण्डितस्य परमकल्याण-मित्रस्या । ...<sup>16</sup> सम्वत् ४०३ (N. E.=1283 A. C.) प्रथमाषाढशुक्लपूर्णिमास्यां शनिश्चरवाशरे । महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-भट्टारक श्रीम (द) नन्तमल्लदेवस्यविजयराजे । श्रीने (पा) लमण्डलकाष्ठमण्डप नामाधिवाशिन उपाशकनारायणेन लिखितं ॥"—The fourth volume is written in good hand.

XXIV-XXVI 217.	" 1 2	..	रंजन (ordinary)	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$	201-692	Incomplete
XXVII 218.	" 1 3	..	"	$21 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	1-260	"
XXVIII 219.	" 1	..	"	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	257	"
XXIX 220.	" 1	..	"	$22 \times 2$	1-226	"
XXX 221.	" 1	..	"	$21 \times 2$	1-260	"
XXXI 222.	" 1	..	"	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$	571-781	"
223. शुद्धाचार <sup>4</sup>		वाचस्पतिमिश्र	मैथिली	$15 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	113	Complete
224. प्रज्ञापारमिता leaves		..	मागधी		32	Incomplete
225.	"	..	रंजन, कुटिला, मागधी		10	"

<sup>1</sup>Character is similar to No. 215.

<sup>2</sup>In three volumes.

<sup>3</sup>Three kinds of numbering—(a) 1-121 in old numbers, (b) 1-69 in old numbers.

(c) 1-67 in figures by later hand.

<sup>4</sup>The opening verse is—"सुरद्विषे नमस्कृत्य श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा । धर्मशास्त्रं समालोच्य शुद्धाचारो वितन्यते ॥"  
In the colophon—"इति महामहोपाध्यायसन्निधौ श्रीवाचस्पतिविरचितोऽयं शुद्धाचारः समाप्तः ॥ ०॥ ल सं० ३९७ (=1517 A.C.) (Lakṣmaṇa Sena era=1119-20 A.C.) फाल्गुन शुदि ६ बुधे विजयपुरतगरे सद्गुपाध्यायश्रीमण्डनशर्मणा लिपिरियं ॥"

XXXXIV	226.	अष्टसाहसिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन (ordinary)	22½ × 2	16	7	Incomplete
XXXXV	227.	विज्ञासमुच्चय <sup>1</sup> T	(शान्तिदेव)	सागधी	22½ × 2	1	2	"
	228.	पोषधानुशंसा etc.	..	कुटिला, सागधी		6		"
	229.	Miscellaneous leaves	..			38		
	230.	Tibetan leaves.	..			14		
XXXVI	231.	संस्कृतपुस्तक <sup>2</sup>	..	Tamil	21 × 1½	117	6	"
	232.	"	..	"	"	14	"	"
	233.	"	..	"	"	10	5, 6	"
XXXVII	234.	वेस्तन्तरजतक <sup>3</sup> (?)	..	Sinhalese	18½ × 1½	50	7	"
	235.	.....नुसंसा <sup>3</sup>	..	"	"	47	7	"
XXXVIII	236.	कालचक्रीका <sup>4</sup> (विमलप्रभा) T	..	"	"	"	"	"

<sup>1</sup>Only 2 lines. In the colophon—"पुण्यवृद्धिः समाप्तः । समाप्तश्चायं बोधिसत्त्वविनयः ॥ अनेकसूत्रोद्धृतः ॥ विज्ञासमुच्चय इति ॥ श्रीमत्कुम(र) रपालदेवराज्ये सम्बत् ३ अग्रहणदिने १"

<sup>2</sup>In Tamil Grantha, frequency of visarga shows that the books are in Sanskrit. They might be some important work on Buddhist philosophy.

<sup>3</sup>These two MSS. are in Sinhalese language. No. 234 has no first page, and the end I can read only—"भोगिना वेस्तन्तर १" No. 235 open with—"नमो तस्स भगवतो अरहतो सम्मासम्बुद्धस्स । सञ्जी(?)आदसानुसंसा(?)". During the time of Grag-pa-igyal-tshan (1182-1216 A.C.) Anantaśrī a Sinhalese monk visited Tibet and this MS. belonged to him.

<sup>4</sup>A paper MS.



## VII. Shalu Monastery (Continued from Vol. XXI, Part I)

XII	I.	237.	प्रमाणवास्तिकवृत्ति <sup>1</sup>	मनोरथनन्दी कुटिला	$26\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	105	7	Complete
	2.	238.	न्यायविन्दुपंजिका T	धर्मोत्तर मागधी	$24\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	43	6	"
XIII	I.	239.	प्रमाणवास्तिक T	धर्मकीर्ति कुटिला	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	31	7	Ch. 2, 3, 4

<sup>1</sup>The paper MS. begins:—

“विमुक्तावरणक्लेशं दीप्ताखिलगुणश्रियं । स्वैकवेद्यात्मसम्पत्तिं नमस्यामि महामुनिम् ॥

स्वयमपि कृतिनामहेतुरन्यैरपि गमितो बहुविस्तरैर्न्येयम् । तदपि च सुगमो न मद्विधानामिति विवृतिच्छलतः करोमि चिन्ताम् ॥

[अहमपि न निर्जकलामलुब्धो न च परकृत्यरसाभिलाषयुक्तः । फलति पुनरियं परार्थवाञ्छाव्रततिरभीष्टफलानि पुण्यभाजाम् ॥]

न यदिह तन्न न्याय्यं तेनोदितेन च किं फलं । यदिह बहुशस्तस्या वृत्तौ गुणः कथं कस्य कः । यदि परमसौ व्याख्येयार्थग्रहस्य विरोधिनी (1) विवृतिरचानामात्रैस्तस्मात् कृतोत्र मयादरः ॥

आचार्यं श्री मनोरथं न न्दि कृतायां वास्तिकवृत्तौ चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥ लिखितेयं पंडि(त)विभूतिचन्द्रेण (1203 A. C.). . . .”

2.	240.	प्रमाणवार्तिक (कोडपत्र) <sup>1</sup>	"	$12\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	16	7,9	
3.	241.	क्षणसंग्रहाय	(ज्ञानश्री)	मागधी	$12\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	128	5 Complete
4.	242.	महायानोत्तरतन्त्र-टीका T	(असंग ?)	"	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$	54	6 Incomplete
XIV	1.	विनयसूत्र <sup>2</sup> T	गुणप्रभ	Tibetan	$22\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	62	6 Complete
			(U-chen)	"	"	36	8 "(?)
2.	244.	"	"	"	"	36	8 "(?)

<sup>1</sup> Except 3 leaves all on paper. It is an appendix to XII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Begins—"अथ निदानवृत्तिः । सर्वस्मिन् सन्निपतिते संघे.....रिति पुराकल्पः.....॥ ॥ संघादुपसंपत् ॥"

Tibetan translation is given between the lines, in several leaves. End—"भिक्षुणीविभ

Some of the subjects are—श्रमणरेत्वोपनयविधिः (1b6). उपसंपद्धिः (2a4). प्रत्याख्यानविधिः (8a3).

वधपाराजयिकसमाप्तः (11a5). नैस्सर्गिक विभङ्गः (14a4). समाप्तश्च नैस्सर्गिकः ॥ (18a6). कठिनोद्धारः (35a6). भिक्षुणीविभङ्ग-

सूत्राणि समाप्तानि (37b4). विभङ्गतप्रायाः परिभाषाः समाप्ता (38b1). समाप्तं पोषधवस्तु (39b6). वार्षिकवस्तु (41a4). प्रवारणा-

वस्तु (42a4). कठिनवस्तु (43a2). चीवरवस्तु (44b3). क्षुद्रकादिचीवरवस्तु गतम् (46b6). भेषज्यवस्तु (49a4). कर्मवस्तु (51b3).

प्रतिक्रियावस्तु (53b3). भूम्यन्तरस्थचरणवस्तु (54b4). कर्मभेदवस्तु (55b1). अधिकरणवस्तु (56b6). विनय कर्मसंग्रहकारिकाः

समाप्तः ॥ (62b5). ॥ समाप्तञ्च विनयसूत्रम् ॥ (62b5). कृतिराचार्यगुणभद्रस्य ॥.....शाक्यभिक्षुधर्मकीर्तिना सकलसत्त्वार्थ

लिखितं श्रीमद्वि क्र म शि ला माश्रित्य फाल्गुन (? ण) मासे ॥" On the cover first page—"शी-ल-अ-क-र-म्-त्रि-सू-प"

<sup>3</sup> Begins—"संग्रहायाकरोद्धानि बोधिसत्त्वो गुणप्रभः । सूत्राणि विनयस्येयं वृत्तिस्तेषां निगद्यते ॥" on the page

36b6—"विभङ्गप्रायाः परिभाषा (:) समाप्ताः ॥ ॥ न गोचरेत्यादि पोषध" So the MS. has commentary up to page 38b.

3.	245.	"	(टीका <sup>1</sup> )	गुणप्रस	"	"	9	8	Incomplete
4.	246.	"	" (लक्षण-टीका) <sup>2</sup>	मागधी	"	"	6	7,8	"
5.	247.	"	(लक्षण in Tibetan)	Tibetan	"	"	3	9	"
6.	248.	"	अभिधर्मप्रदीप <sup>3</sup> with विभाषा-प्रभावृत्ति	शारदा	"	22 × 2½	63	9	"

<sup>1</sup>It begins—"क्षयाविमानमेव हीनं ।" (1a7)—"आद्यान्तं दिगन्तं उडुचन्द्रः शास्त्रचित्तैवाहिः सप्यः ॥ मध्यम कावतार ॥" 2ba—"द्वचङ्गुला शोसे विशेषः ।" 3b6—"इह धार्मिकः वात्सीपुत्रीयः ।..... माध्यमिकं यथेत्यादिना दृष्टान्तेन विज्ञानवादिमतमनूद्य एवमित्यादिना दूषयति ।"

<sup>2</sup>The first 2½ leaves are in Māgadhī characters; It begins—"नागरचासौ शुक्लत्वादार्जुनश्चेति-नागार्जुनः ।" On the page 16a word "प्रसन्नपदा" shows that it is a portion of Candrakīrti's commentary on मध्यमककारिका.

<sup>3</sup>Begins—"स्वस्ति ॥ नमस्सर्वज्ञाय ॥ यो दुःखहेतुव्युपशान्तिमार्गं प्रदर्शयामास नरामरेभ्यः । .....तं सत्पथं प्रणिपत्य बुद्धं शास्त्रं करिष्याम्यभिधर्मदीपं ॥" It is with commentary, which begins with—"अत्र षष्ठीसमास-परिग्रहे सति मार्गसत्यं प्रधानं ।" From leaves 1 to 150, following 84 are missing 2-30, 40, 46, 48, 50-52, 54-81, 83-90, 119-25, 127-129, 131-33, 138, 140, 145, 147, 149, Every chapter has four Pādas. The third Pāda of the eighth (perhaps the last) ends at the page 150b. The whole book contained not more than 160 leaves. The ending of Pāda is thus described—"अभिधर्मप्रदीपविभाषाप्रभायां वृत्तौ अष्टमस्याध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादसमाप्तः ।" Some of the subjects—स्कन्ध (P. 1b, Ch. I. 1), इन्द्रिय (p. Ch. I. 2), क्लेश (p. 32a, Ch. I. 3), (विज्ञान) (p. 35 a, Ch. I. 4), इन्द्रियधर्म (p. 38 b, Ch. II. 1), इन्द्रियफल (p. 41 b, Ch. II. 2);

7.	249.	विग्रहव्यावर्त्तनी <sup>1</sup> T	नागार्जुन	Tibetan	22½ × 2½	7	8	Complete
8.	250.	स्फुटपीठादिनिर्णय <sup>2</sup>	"	"	"	17	6,7	" (?)
9.	251.	दोहाकोश टीका <sup>3</sup> T			16 × 1½	1	6	Incomplete

चेतसिकधर्म (p. 43 a, Ch. II. 3); कर्म (p.—103 a, Ch. IV); अनुशय (p. 103 a, Ch. V. 1, 2); आस्रव (p. 115 b, Ch. V. 3); कर्म (p. 119 b, Ch. VI. 1); तत्त्वज्ञान (p. 126 a, Ch. VI. 2), समापत्ति (p. 103 a, Ch. VI. 3); मार्ग (p. 134 b, Ch. VI. 4) प्रज्ञास्कन्ध (p. 138 a, Ch. VII. 1); पुद्गल (p. 139 a, Ch. VII. 2); पृथग्जनगुण (p. VII; VII. 4). समय (p. . ., Ch. VIII. 1); ध्यान (p. . ., Ch. VIII. 3); समाधिगुण (p. 150 b, Ch. VIII. 4).

<sup>1</sup>Begins—"सर्वेषां भावानां सर्वत्र न विद्यते स्वभावश्चेत् । तद्वचनमस्वभावं न निवर्त्तयितुमस्वभावमलं ॥" Some verses are—"प्रत्यक्षेण हि तावत् यद्युपलभ्य विनिवर्त्तयसि भावान् (1) तत्रास्ति प्रत्यक्षं भावा येनोपलभ्यन्ते ।" (p. 243). "अनुमानं प्रत्युक्तं प्रत्यक्षेणामोपमाने च । अनुमानागमसाध्या येर्या दृष्टान्तसाध्याश्च ॥" (245) "अथ तु प्रमाणसिद्धिर्मेवत्यपेक्षैव ते प्रमेयाणि । व्यत्यय एवं पतिते द्रुवं प्रमाणप्रमेयाणि ।" (528). In the colophon—"कृतिरियमाचार्यनागार्जुनपादान (i)... (3) एकत्र श्लोकशत ४५० ॥ ॥ लिखितमिदं श्रीचर्मकीर्त्तिना सर्वसत्त्वहेतोः यथालब्धमिति ॥ ॥ विग्रहव्यावर्त्तनी "

<sup>2</sup>Begins—"नमः श्रीहेवज्राय । श्रीवज्रयोगिनीपादपद्मप्रणतिपूर्वकं । संक्षेपाल्लिख्यतेस्माभिः स्फुटपीठादिनिर्णयः । पीठञ्चैवोपपीठञ्च क्षेत्रञ्चोपक्षेत्रमेव च ।"

<sup>3</sup>Opening verse—"प्रत्यात्मवेद्यैकमनः शरीरम्प्रणम्य वागीशमनन्तसौख्यं । प्रस्थानसंज्ञस्य यथोपलब्धद्वन्द्वकरिष्यते वस्तु-विचारमात्रं ॥ प्रमाणस्थास्त्रसाचिव्यादप ध्रंशोष्वा दृताः । संस्कृते पण्डिताभ्रा प्राय इत्यासी . . . . . ! वरात् कर्तुराचार्य-स्वययथश्रिया । तेनायं लिखनारम्भः क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति साधवः ॥ बलरक्षितनामानं प्रेष्टा धर्मे नियोज्यकुामेन । नाट्यच्छलेन सुधिया कृतमेत-ज्ज्ञानेन ॥०॥ इह खल्वाचार्यं बुद्ध श्री ज्ञानः सलो. . . . . (ना)<sup>2</sup> टचलक्षणेोक्तम्प्रस्थानाभिधानं रूपकञ्चिकीषुविवानायकनिराकृतये सत्य-

XV	I.	252.	वार्त्तिकालंकार <sup>1</sup> T	(प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त) मागधी	24½ × 2	12	7	Incomplete
	2.	253.	" <sup>2</sup>	"	23¾ × 2	11½	7	"
XVI	I.	254.	(स्वाधिष्ठानक्रम) वृत्ति <sup>3</sup> (सरह) बन्धुकीति	"	12 × 2	25	6	Complete

चरितानुवर्त्तनाय च भगवतः श्रीमन्महासुखनाथस्य निर्माणधर्मसम्भोगकायात्मकान् गुणानाशीर्म्मखेन प्रेक्षणक. ....<sup>3</sup> लवक्ष्यमाणार्थं समूचकैनादावेवोच्छाहृदयेन बहुविहेत्यादिनादीपयन्नाह ॥०॥ बहुविहभूषणिवहणिम्मणविवोहिअ भव्व (1) लोअउ णिअरकरणरसिअ परमत्य विलासिणि सत्य णाहुउ । अ. ....<sup>4</sup> णसार वज्जअउ देउ सुहाइ (1) तुम्ह जण सअल मणोहर चित्त णाहुउ ॥

बहुविधभूषणिवहनिर्माणविवोधितभव्यलोक इति । बहुविधो रूपनिवहस्समूहस्तस्य निर्माणं कुलावलोकनजात्य-भिनिष्क्रमण वीधिमण्डा. ....<sup>5</sup> त्नादि । तेन विवोधितो भव्यलोक इति विग्रहः । उत्पादेणि हि बुद्धानान्नाभव्यः फलमश्नुते इति वचनात् ।

<sup>1</sup>Begins from leaf 24, and the last leaf is numbered 58.

<sup>2</sup>Begins from leaf 3 and the last leaf is 162.

<sup>3</sup>Opening verse—"जीयासुः सरहप्रभाकरपरिरिफूर्जद्वचो रश्मयः । प्रज्ञापुङ्गवधूर्यदभ्युदयतो लब्धप्रबोधोदयाः । पक्षापात-विधूतजाड्यविकसन्चेतो ज्ञज्ञ (?) ग<sup>1</sup>सतां (1) सम्यक्तत्त्वमधुप्रभा न रसना निर्द्व (न्द) मुन्माद्यति ॥ अथ श्रीगुरुवरणसरोजप्रज्ञा (? सा) दस-मासादितसदुपदेशभावनाबलसाक्षात्कृतसंन्यद्वयो महात्माऽनल्पकल्पनाप्राहसमाकुलभवजलविमथ्यमध्यासीविदीनजनावलोकनसंजातकरणाति-शयसमावर्जितहृदयः सिद्धार्थार्यश्रीसरहपादः स्वाधिष्ठानक्रममशेषदुःखविपक्षभूतं प्रतिपिपा (इ) यिषुः प्रबन्धमाह ।" It is a short glos-  
sary on SARAHA'S 77 verses in ancient Hindi. In the end—"कृत्वा वृत्तिं प्रबन्धस्य<sup>6</sup> यदलम्भि शुभं मया । तेनास्तु सकलो लोकः प्रबन्धार्थपरायणः ॥ सिद्धाचार्यश्रीसरहपादप्रबन्धवृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ ॥ कृतिरियं पण्डितस्थविरवन्धु कीर्त्ति पादानां ।

XVII I. 255. स्वाधिष्ठानक्रमविवृति<sup>1</sup>

2. 256. अभिसम्बोधिक्रम	T	(आयवेव)	कुदिला & मागधी	12½ × 2	8½	8	Complete
3. 257. पंचक्रमविवृति	T		मागधी	"	2	"	"
4. 258. अनुत्तरसत्त्व विवृति			"	"	2	"	"
5. 259. पंचक्रमविवृति <sup>2</sup>	T	कुलोक	मागधी	"	3½	"	"
6. 260. स्वप्नाध्याय <sup>3</sup>			"	"	10	8	Complete
XVIII I. 261. कान्तनवपञ्चिका <sup>4</sup>	T	त्रिलोचनदास	"	"	2	6	Incomplete
			"	12½ × 1½	122	5	"

<sup>1</sup> It is a commentary on उत्पत्ति क्रम (1b), पिण्डीक्रम (2a), वज्रजाप (3b), चित्तवियुद्धिक्रम (5a), स्वाधिष्ठान-क्रम (7a), प्रभास्वरपदक्रम (7b), युगनन्दक्रम (8a); Begins—"कलाद्वितीयमित्यादिना अन्वकारोद्धारपूर्वकं कमलोदरपतित बोधिवित्तविन्दुनिजात त्रिष्ठ(?) त्वक्कथनद्वारेण उत्पत्तिक्रमं द्योतयति।"

<sup>2</sup> Begins—"भाचार्यानागार्जुननीतिसङ्ग्रहे य आयदेवेन दृतः प्रयत्नः। तत्रातिगम्भीरतरे पदानां मया परार्थेऽत्र क्रियते निबन्धः।" It is a commentary on Āryadeva's पञ्चक्रम. It has 11 Paricchedas. The text deals with Yoga.

<sup>3</sup> Begins—"स्वप्नाध्यायं प्रवक्ष्यामि बृहस्पतिविनिर्मितं। येन विज्ञायते पुनां स्वप्नेषु च शुभाशुभं।" It has only first two leaves.

<sup>4</sup> Begins—"युष्मद् ॥ ननु कथं युष्मदस्मदोः पदमुच्यते। यावता प्रकृतिविभक्तयोः समुदायः पदं।" Ends—"इति त्रिलोचनदासविरचितायां कान्तनवपञ्चिकायां समाप्तः पादः समाप्तः॥"

	2.	262.	" <sup>1</sup>	"	"	"	Incomplete
XIX	263.	काव्यप्रकाश <sup>2</sup>		कुटिला	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	29	"
XX	264.	(वज्रयानग्रन्थ) <sup>3</sup>		(राजानकमम्मट) मागधी	$11\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$	73	8,9
XXI	I.	हेरुकासन		रञ्जन	$14 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$	46	4
	265.	हेरुकासन		दारिकपाद कुटिला	$8\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	13	6-8
	2.	नामसंगीति <sup>4</sup>	T	रंजन	$11 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	17	5
XXII	I.	बोधिसत्त्वभावनाक्रम <sup>5</sup>		कमलशील मागधी	$12 \times 2$	36	6
	2.	कुचकुलसाधन T		Old. मैथिली	"	4	5
							Complete

<sup>1</sup>It is a paper MS. Begins:—"न सखि ॥ इदुदग्निरित्यनेनाग्निसंज्ञा प्राप्ता प्रतिषिध्यते ।" Ends—"इति त्रिलोचनदासविरचितायां दुर्गासिंहोक्तकादन्ववृत्तिपञ्जिकाया नामप्रकरणे द्वितीयः पादः समाप्तः ।<sup>2</sup> शाक्यभिक्षुरल्लविजयेन लिखितं ॥"

<sup>2</sup>One leaf (44) is missing. Ends—"कृतिरियं राजानकमम्मटालकयोरिति ।"

<sup>3</sup>Miscellaneous leaves.

<sup>4</sup>In the colophon which is in कुटिला (वर्तुल) —"देयधर्मोय - 1 यानयाग्नित्या परमोपासिका श्रीकाष्ठ मण्डपे केलाच्छन्दे मल्लनसिंहस्य. ....<sup>2</sup>. .... ॥०॥ महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभटारकश्री (न)<sup>3</sup>रेन्द्र देवस्य विजयराज्ये ॥ सम्वत् आबू ३ (253 N. E = 1133 A. C.) अश्वनि शुक्ल पूर्णमासायां शुक्रदिने मल्लनसिंहस्य नामसंगीति पुस्तकं संपूर्णमिति ॥ श्री स्यं ब्रह्ममायामाती (की) ग्वल पूर्वत विद्यमस्थानाद्वि वासी वनिकपुत्र विसुध्रजीयेन लिखितं ॥" worn out MS.

<sup>5</sup>The first leaf is missing. It is a short treatise on Mahāyāna philosophy. सन्धिनिर्मोचन-सूत्र, लंकावतार and many other texts are quoted. In the end—"भदत्तकमलशीलवि (रचि) तो बोधिसत्त्वभावनाक्रमः समाप्तः ॥"

3.	269.	अमोघपादालोकेद्वरमंडल T	"	"	2	5	Complete
4.	270.	आदिबुद्ध etc.	"	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	11	5	Incomplete
5.	271.	योगसारभाष्य <sup>1</sup>	भास्कराचार्य N.	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	24	5	Complete
XXIII	1.	संघरास्तोत्र <sup>2</sup> T	सर्वज्ञमित्र	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	9	"	"
2.	272.	(बुद्धमन्सार etc.)	कुटिला, साग. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	9	"	"	Incomplete
XXIV	1.	कालचक्रटीका (विमलप्रभा) <sup>3</sup> T	सागधी	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$	20	7	Incomplete
2.	273.	महायानलक्षणसमुच्चय <sup>4</sup>	"	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	4	7	"
3.	274.	वज्रभैरवतन्त्रपञ्जिका <sup>5</sup> T	कुमारचन्द्र	$11 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	4	6	Complete

<sup>1</sup> It begins—"भास्कराचार्यप्रणीतस्य योगस्य संक्षेपेण विवरणं करिष्यामः मन्त्राधियां प्रतिपत्त्यर्थं.....॥ आनन्द-वन्तमद्वैतं विष्णुचिन्मात्ररूपिणं । नत्वा तं संप्रवक्ष्यामि योगसारं विमुक्तये ॥..... सागरं तर्तुकामस्य यथा नोः साधनं भवेत् (1) ससार-तर्तुकामस्य तथा.....श्चित्तनं ॥" In the end—"सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धये योगसारः सुखावहः । ध्यानमार्गप्रविष्टोऽयं संक्षेपेण प्रहसित (?) . .... व्याख्यातः केन भगवद्भास्करपरिव्राजकेनेति 1..... योगसारभाष्यं समाप्तम् ॥" In the next page in a later hand—"योगीश्वरोपिपाकस्य सदसिष्यश्रीयोगीसर्वविपाकस्य पुस्तकं ॥...."

<sup>2</sup> Paper MS. In the end—"कृतिरियं महापण्डितसर्वज्ञमित्रपादानाम् ॥ लिखितमिदं पण्डितावधूतविजयश्रीभिरिति ॥ सम्बत् आ ५७ (257 N. E.=1137 A. C.)

<sup>3</sup> On first two Patalas only.

<sup>4</sup> Begins—"सम्बोधिचित्तमूलाद्य महामैत्रीप्रयोगतः । सर्वधर्मा निरात्मान इति ज्ञात्वाऽधिमुच्यते ॥"

<sup>5</sup> Begins—"श्रीवज्रभैरवं वीरं नत्वा श्रीवज्रभैरवे तन्त्रे कुमारचन्द्रेण पञ्जिका क्रियते लघु ॥ अथेत्यादि । अत इति बृहत्मज्जु<sup>1</sup>श्रीतन्त्रे सर्ववज्रभैरवसाधनान् ।" In the end—"इति सप्तकल्पपञ्जिका ॥ इति श्रीवज्रभैरवमहातन्त्रपञ्जिका समाप्ता ॥ कुमारचन्द्रवत्पुण्यं यत्प्राप्तं पञ्चिकाकृतेः । आस्तां समस्तलोकोऽयं तेन श्रीवज्रभैरवे ।" There is another copy of it, XXXV. 4.



4.	277.	महावज्रमैत्रयन्त्रराज <sup>1</sup>	..	"	7	7	Incomplete
5.	278.	मूलदेववाक्यशास्त्र <sup>2</sup>	..	कुटिला	10	5,6	"
6.	279.	(कामशास्त्र) <sup>3</sup>	..	सागधी	3	8	"
7.	280.	षडंगयोगटीका <sup>4</sup> T	..	कुटिला	7	4,5	Complete
8.	281.	वसुधाराधारणी	..	"	8	5	Incomplete
9.	282.	Miscellaneous leaves			8		
XXV	10.	283.	महामायातन्त्र T	कुटिला	29	4,5	Complete
XXXVI	1.	284.	(तद्धित) पाणिनि	मैथिली	27	6	
	2.	285.	चान्द्रव्याकरणवृत्ति T	सागधी	11	6	Incomplete
	3.	286.	चान्द्रव्याकरण <sup>5</sup> T (उणादि)	कुटिला	45	6	Complete
XXXVII		287.	अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T ..	रंजत	393	4	"

<sup>1</sup> First 7 leaves are missing. In the colophon—"लिखितमिदं पण्डितविमलचन्द्रेण.....!"

<sup>2</sup> One leaf is missing. In the end—"मूलदेवस्य वाक्यशास्त्र समाप्तः ॥ ॥ सम्बत् आ (? 200 N. F= 1080 A. C.) .....<sup>6</sup>.....निशुक्ल तृतीयायां श्री मन्महाराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंहेवविजयराज्ये ॥"

<sup>3</sup> Begins—"इदानीं येन पुनर्वृद्धत्वमिष्यते स उपाय उच्यते ।"

<sup>4</sup> Begins—"अवधारितसमस्तालङ्कारशास्त्रः सुपरिशिलिताशेषकलाकलापो ब्रह्मद्वैतवादी कविरत एवादौ नमस्कृतिन्न चकार ॥ परामृशति साक्षात्करोति .....॥"

<sup>5</sup> Paper MS.

XXVIII	288.	"1	..	"	23×2	199	6 Complete(?)
XXIX	289.	शतसाहसिका प्रज्ञापारमिता <sup>2</sup> T	..	मागधी	24×2½	276	"
XXX	290.	चक्रसंवरविवृति <sup>3</sup> T	भवभट्ट	कुटिला	22½×2	54	"
XXXI	291.	अमोघपाशकल्पराज T	..	मागधी	22½×2½	162	"
XXXII	292.	पंचविंशतिसाहसिका प्रज्ञापारमिता <sup>4</sup> T	..	"	23½×2½	252	Incomplete
XXXIII	293.	कालत्रयवृत्तिपंजिका T	त्रिलोचनदास	मागधी	22½×2	6	Incomplete

<sup>1</sup>Calligraphy of this MS. is not so good, but it is beautifully illustrated. MS. is worn out, and at the end few leaves are missing.

<sup>2</sup>It seems to be a part of the शतसाहसिका of Sa-skya (XX-XXIII).

<sup>3</sup>It begins—"मारां.. रागसन्धी मदनहरहरे माययोद्वे(?) सर्पमस्थाः सम्मोहजाले ग्रहिणवलरिपो गूहमाम-त्तराग्निं । नैरात्ये हेत्वभावे प्रणिधि विगमने चित्तमात्रे रमध्वम् (1) वकैरेवञ्चतुर्भिर्जगदवतु दिशन् हेरुक्श्रीशरीरं ॥" In the end "श्रीचक्रसंवरसरोरुहताड्यातेषु गूढोपदेशमकरन्दरसाकरेषु (1) तत्त्वेषु भृङ्गदयिता इव सामृतेषु श्रद्धां वहन्त्यमलपुण्यमनोनीपाः ॥ वीक्ष्यापरान् कविवरानिह वृत्तिकारान् बुद्धिममापि रमतस्म तदर्थसिद्धौ । पर्वधणं नटति गायति यत्र श्रोत्र्यः ओष(?) क्षतो न किमु तत्र जनोपयोग्यः ॥.....इति श्रीचक्रसम्बरविवृतनावेकपञ्चाशत्तमः पटलः सप्ता(?)मा)प्तः ॥ कृतिरियं पण्डिताचार्यसम्भटपादा-नाम् ॥ देयधम्मोयं प्रवरमहायानया<sup>4</sup>भियनः परमशाक्यभिक्षुधम्मकीर्त्तयेदत्र पुण्यं..... ॥ महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभटारक श्रीमच्छूपालदेवपादीय सम्बन् १ कार्तिकदिन ४ ॥ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं कार्त<sup>3</sup>वोधिवलेनेति ॥ ग्रन्थप्रमाणमस्य सहस्र ३२५ ॥"

<sup>4</sup>In the colophon—"आर्यपञ्चविंशतिसाहसिकायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां प्रथमवण्डसमाप्ता ॥....५...५...देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमहायानयाभियन । परमार्थभिक्षुः श्रीराजेन्द्रस्य.....।"

2.	294.	चान्द्रव्याकरणवृत्ति <sup>1</sup> T	चंद्रगोमी	कुटिला	22½ × 2½	117	7	Complete (?)
XXXIV	1.	295.	चान्द्रव्याकरणटीका <sup>2</sup>	रत्नमति	21½ × 1½	235	7	Incomplete
	2.	296.	" पञ्जिका <sup>3</sup>	पूर्णचन्द्र	" "	234-66	"	"

<sup>1</sup> Leaf No. 6 is missing. Well-written MS., but owing to bad ink in some places it is unreadable. In the end—"प्रत्याख्यानवती ह्येषा वृत्तिः संपूर्णलक्षणा । निष्ठिता कुमत्तध्वान्तध्वान्तिनी विमलाक्षरा ॥ स जयति (ज) योतिर्विवर्द्धनकुमतिमतध्वान्तसञ्चयं हत्वा । प्रतपति वाङ्मयगगने चन्द्र इवाव्याहतरचन्द्रः ॥ जयति ह्यातसत्कीर्तिरचन्द्रः सद्गुणरत्नभूः (1) व्याप्तसमस्तवाङ्मयो वाचस्पतिरिवापरः ॥ सम्बत् ५५४ (N.E. 254—1134 A.C.) चैत्रशुक्लसप्तम्यां श्रीमत् राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभटारकरमशौव मिन्द्रदेवस्य श्री इन्द्रदेवस्य विजयराज्ये लिखितमिति ॥ महापण्डितभवनभद्रस्य पुस्तकोयं ।" In a later hand-writing—"जतुकर्णकुले जाता यो मनोरथदाशतः । राज्यदेवी सुतश्चन्द्रस्तस्या लोकोयमीदृशः ॥ यो राज्यदेवी च मनोरथश्च प्राच्यां जतुकर्णकुले प्रतीतौ । वोढून्तदूतद्वन्द्वधुरमक्षमोऽपि तत्पुत्र इत्येव गतः प्रसिद्धिः ॥"

<sup>2</sup> It begins—"प्रध्वस्ताशेषदोषाय समस्तगुणशालिने । परानुग्रहदक्षाय बुद्ध्यायास्तु नमः सदा ॥ जयति ह्यातसत्कीर्तिरचन्द्रः सद्गुणरत्नभूः । व्याप्तसमस्तवाङ्मयो वाचस्पतिरिवापरः ॥ सिद्धिमित्यादि ।" In the MS. 18 leaves (53-60, 80-89) are missing. Only the end of second Pāda of first Adhyāya is found—"चान्दे व्याकरणे सिधुरत्नमति-कृतायन्दीकाया"; in all other places author is mentioned as simply रत्नमति । Perhaps Ratnamati did not write his commentary on the fourth Pāda of the sixth Adhyāya, so in the present MS. Pūrṇacandra's Pañjikā on that Pāda is added.

<sup>3</sup> Only on the last Pāda of the Cāndravāyākaraṇa. In the end—"चान्द्रव्याकरणस्य स्फुटार्थिनां पूर्णचन्द्रविरचितायाम्पञ्जिकायां षष्ठोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥"

XXXXV	1.	297.	चतुरंगसाधनटीका <sup>1</sup> T (सारमंजरी) <sup>1</sup>	समस्तभद्र	कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	39	7	Complete
	2.	298.	त्रिसमयोपयिक		मागधी	$23\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	6	7,8	" (?)
	3.	299.	रहःप्रदीप (सर्वरहस्यनिबंध) <sup>2</sup> T रत्नाकर- शान्ति		कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	14	7	Complete
	4.	300.	वज्रभैरवतन्त्रपंजिका <sup>3</sup> T कुमारचन्द्र		मागधी	$22\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	"

<sup>1</sup>Some leaves are torn. In the beginning—".....स)माजस्य मञ्जुघोषस्य साधनं । ग्रथितं ज्ञानपादैर्यत्त-  
द्व्याख्या संविधीयते ॥" In the end—"श्रीमन्मञ्जुगिरो निरुत्तर महाकारुण्य रत्नाकर (:) प्रज्ञायास्तु समस्तकल्पविसरज्ञानस्य.....  
जिकं 1.....सारमञ्जरी नाम चतुरङ्गसाधनस्य टीका समाप्ता ॥ कुतिरियमाचार्यश्रीसमन्तभद्रगदानामिति 1.....देयधर्मोयं प्रवर-  
महायानयायिनो रत्नमतिकृते.....॥ श्री म न्न य पा ले व (1036-50 A.C.)स्य प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये सम्बत् ५ ॥ आपाढ  
दिने ६ ॥ प्रमाणमस्य २१०० ॥".....

<sup>2</sup>Begins—"यो योगतन्त्रेषु कृतो रहस्यः स्वकायवाक्चित्तमयैर्विचित्रः । उपास्य तं सर्वैरहस्यतन्त्रे रहःप्रदीपः क्रियते  
निबन्धः ॥ In the end—"तत्त्वानाम्बिवृतौ स्वयम्भगवतस्तन्त्रे रहस्याद्वये भक्त्या यत् पदशः सदर्शकथया पुण्यम्मया सञ्चितं ।  
शान्तन्त्रेन सनातनोत्तममुखं लब्ध्वा पद्मवज्रिणो दुःखावर्त्तवशं वशी क्रमवशादभ्युद्धरेयं जगत् ॥ सर्वैरहस्यनिबन्धो रत्नाकरशुद्धवाक्य-  
रत्नमयः । अथान्तिसूक्ष्मानपि रहः प्रदीपः प्रकाशयतु ॥ श्रीरत्नाकरशान्तिविरचितः श्रीश्रीसर्वरहस्य निबन्धो रहःप्रदीपो नाम-  
परिसमाप्तः ॥०॥" T. रहस्य०

<sup>3</sup>See also XXIV. 4.

5. 301.	कृष्णयमारितन्त्रपञ्जिका <sup>1</sup>	धर्मदास	"	"	32	"	Complete
6. 302.	(गुह्य) समाजमण्डलोपयिक <sup>2</sup>	नागबुद्धि	"	"	7	7	"
7. 303.	वज्रामृततन्त्रपञ्जिका <sup>3</sup>	T विमलभद्र	"	"	7	7	"

<sup>1</sup> Begins—"श्रीमद्यमद्विपमशेषगुणप्रसूति संवर्तकाल.....नीरदनीलकात्तिम् । चक्षुत्रयं कुलिश खड्गधरं सकार्ति चक्राक्षकर्परमृतं शिरसा नमामि ॥" In the end—"श्रेयः शारदचन्द्रवद् यदभवे को नान्ततन्त्रात् स्फुटाद् (।) भूतार्थेस्फुटपञ्जिका लिखनतः श्रीधर्म दा स स्य मे । लोकस्तेन समस्त एव.....भीव भूयाज्जिने (!) भूयासञ्च तदर्थमाहितमनो निर्वर्ति यावन्न सः ॥ परमेश्वरपरमसौगतमहाराजाधि ।"

<sup>2</sup> Begins—"आदिनाथं नमस्कृत्य ह्यद्वयज्ञानविग्रहं । मण्डलाङ्गमहम्बक्ष्ये वज्रशिष्यहितोदयं ।" In the end—"आलोक्य तन्त्राणि गुरुप्रसादाद् बहूनि सम्यक् प्रविचार्य तत्तत्रैः (?) । प्रसन्नसंक्षिप्तपदप्रबन्धैः उक्त्वा विधिं विंशतिधा विभज्य ॥ यः पुण्य<sup>4</sup>शिरमिती निवितो मयाद्य तेन प्रयातु जनता वरवज्रधृक्त्वं । तेनैवमात्मयशसा सहनागबुद्धेः स्थेयाच्चिरं कृतिरियं वरवज्ररत्नमिति । समाप्त्यं समाजमण्डलोपयिका महावज्रधरस्य ॥ कृतिरियं नागबुद्धिपादानमिति ॥.....॥ लिखापिता पण्डितभिक्षुजिनश्रीमित्रेण । ग्रन्थप्रमाणं ४३० (।)"

<sup>3</sup> Begins—"द्यो विध्वस्तसमस्तवस्तुविमलज्ञानोदयानाकुलः (।) प्रज्ञोपायमता कृपा समरसादेको द्वयोद्योते । माम-क्यादिकाक्षपदपदगणैरादृष्ट वज्राम्बुजस्तं नत्वा परमं सुखं जिनमयं वज्रामृतं लिख्यते ॥" In the end—"इति लिखितमन्त्र तन्त्रगर्भं परमसुखाद्वय<sup>4</sup>बुद्धिसिद्धि हेतोः । गुणिषु विमलभद्रनाम्न एतद् यदि रुचिरं प्रियमस्तु नः क्षमतां ॥ अनुष्टुप् छन्दसा चैतत् गण्यमानं चतुःशतं । श्लोकैः कतिपयैर्युक्तं वज्रामृतनिबन्धनं ॥ श्रीवज्रामृतपञ्जिका समाप्ता ॥ कृतिरियमाचार्यविमल भद्रपादानां । लिखापि-तेयं पुस्तिका पण्डितजिनश्रीमित्रेण ॥" T. °टीका

8.	304.	कल्याणकामधेनु <sup>1</sup> T	नागार्जुन	"	"	7	7	Complete
9.	305.	प्रतिष्ठाविधि etc.	..	"	21½ × 2	11	6,7	Incomplete
XXXXVI	1.	कालचक्रदीका <sup>2</sup> (विमलप्रभा) T	..	कुटिला	22 × 2	45	9	"
2.	307.	महाकालचक्र <sup>3</sup>	..	मागधी	22 × 2½	49 × 5	7	Complete

<sup>1</sup>Begins—"प्रणिपत्यामार्गदुर्गतिविनिवारणकारणपरं बुद्धं । कल्याणकामधेनुं विवृणोमि यथास्तमास्मायैः ॥ कल्याण-कामधेनुं वक्ष्ये सिद्धैकवीरमन्त्राङ्कां । विद्याविद्रुमकोपां प्रपञ्चरत्नाङ्कुराङ्कुरितां ॥" In the end—"इत्यार्यनागार्जुनपादविरचितकल्याणिकामधेनुविवरणः समाप्तः ।..... लिखापिता पुस्तिकेयं पण्डितभिक्षुजिनश्रीमित्रेण स्वपरार्थहेतोरिति ॥ ॥ लिखिता च विक्रमशीलविहारावस्थाने महीधरनाम्नेति ॥"

<sup>2</sup>On the page 45a—"लोकधातुर्नामि पटलः ।" So it is only one chapter of विमलप्रभा<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>Some letters of leaves 46-49 were damaged, hence five more rewritten leaves were added at the end by a later hand. In the colophon of the new hand—"इति द्वादशसाहस्रादिवुद्धोद्धृते श्रीमति कालचक्रे ज्ञानपट<sup>7</sup> (लः पञ्चमः ।..... देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमहायानयायिनः शाक्यभिक्षु वि भू ति चन्द्र (1203 A. C.) स्म" There are many notes on the MS. on the back of leaf<sup>7</sup> a—"भगवतो निर्वाणकाल १४१८, शक ११४३, भाद्रपदग्रहणं (future eclipses) ११३३ (शक=1211 A. C.) मार्ग शु ति १५ सोम ११३७ फा ति १५ शनी ति ११३४ फा ति १५ शनी ति १५ शनी ति ११३८ भा ति १५ रवौ चै ति १५ सोम ११४९ श्राव ति १५ शु (?ग) नो आश्व ति १५ शनी ति १५ शक ११५० (श=1228 A. C.) आपा शु ति १५ चं०

3.	308.	योगाम्बरसाधन (महायोगानुबद्ध) <sup>1</sup>	..	कुटिला	22½ × 2¼	10	7	"
4.	309.	(बोधिचित्तवज्रगाथाटीका) <sup>2</sup>	..	मागधी	..	6	6	Complete
5.	310.	(ज्योतिषबैद्यककोडपत्र) <sup>3</sup>	विभूतिचंद्र	"	"	12		"

Also—"कैलाशखण्डे ग दश लानमानं मे वृ मि क सि क पृथिवी वश(? स) वरचैव विवरं वह्निरैव च (1)  
 द ४ ४ ३ ५ ६ ६ नपालाब्देन संयुक्तं कलिकाले गतं विदुः (1)  
 ग ५० २० ८० ० ० ३०  
 मी कु म ध वि तु

These notes are in the hand of विभूतिचंद्र who came to Tibet in 1203 A. C.

<sup>1</sup>In the colophon—"सम्व आ ल ह्य (N. E. 235=1135 A. C.) चैत्रकृष्णद्वितीयायां आदित्यदिने लिखितमिति ॥"

<sup>2</sup>Paper MS.

<sup>3</sup>On 1 b—"वैशाखे पौर्णमास्यां ग्रसनकुजदिने चैकनेत्रतु वर्ष<sup>1</sup> (1) निवर्णने शाक्यसैहे ६२१ शकनूपतिरभूत् सार्द्धमासं हि दशे<sup>2</sup> । पञ्चाशत्तः शतेभ्यो ५००० गतमिदमपरं शेषितन्देशनायाः<sup>3</sup> (1) मानं स्यात् सैहलत्तत् स्मृतमधहरणं निर्विदे च ग्रहादेः ॥ आद्याब्दात् १००<sup>4</sup> पटुशताब्दैः ६०० प्रकटयशानूपः सम्भलाख्येऽभिव्यत् (1) तस्मान्नागैः शताब्दै ८००<sup>5</sup> खलु मखविषये म्लेच्छधर्मप्रवृत्तिः । १७००" On the 2 b—"मन्येत्यादिना कर्मभूमेः प्रमाणादिकमाह (1) उत्तरे मद्यसमुद्रः । दक्षिणे क्षारसमुद्रः । एतयोर्मध्ये सप्तद्वीपसप्तपर्वतसप्तसमुद्रान्विते संस्थिता कर्मभूमिः..... दक्षिणभागे द्वादशखण्डं ।.....<sup>1</sup>तत् उत्तरे भागे कैलाशभूखण्डः । अयमुत्तरे हिमालयेन वेष्टितः । दक्षिणे कैलाशगिरिणा । कैलाशहिमालयोर्मध्ये कैलाशभूखण्डः । एतदष्टदिक्षु बोद्धव्यं ॥ भूमौ ॥ कैलाशा (द्) दक्षिणे यद् द्वादशारं तत्र द्वादशविषयं द्वीपशैलादिसहितं । तस्य द्वादशारं सार्द्धद्वादशसहस्रयोजनप्रमाणं । अस्याद्धं दक्षिणे सपादषट्सहस्रयोजनप्रमाणं<sup>2</sup> (1) अत्र सम्भलाख्यं नाम विषयं पञ्चशतयोजनमानं चतुरस्रं । अत्र मध्ये कलापानामनगरी राजधानी पञ्चयोजनशतप्रमाणा चतुरस्रा । कोटिग्रामसंहिता १....."

XXXVII 1.	311.	तर्कज्वाला (मध्यमकहृदय) <sup>1</sup>	T <sup>1</sup>	भगवद्विवेक रंजत ०	22½ × 2	24	5,6	Complete (?)
2.	312.	अभिधर्मसमुच्चय <sup>2</sup>	T	..	21½ × 2	17	7	Incomplete
3.	313.	(प्रज्ञापारमिता)	..	"	"	10	5	"

<sup>1</sup>Worn out MS., the page numbers are gone. It begins—"अथायमार्गानुगतं समीक्ष्य प्रायेण क्रोकं करुणायमानः (1) कुटुष्टज्वालाशानितुल्यमेतत् चकार शास्त्रं भगवद्विवेकः ॥ अप्रतर्क्यमविज्ञेयमनालयमलक्षणं (1) अनिरूप्यं स्वसंवेद्यमनादिनिधानं शिवं (1) निर्विकल्पं निराभासं निर्दिष्टं (म.....<sup>1</sup>...) यं नाद्वयं ज्ञानं धीप्रचारविवर्जितं ॥ तत्त्वं दिदेश कारुण्याद् यो निरक्षरमक्षरैः (1) भावतोस्तु नमस्तस्मै शास्त्रे वितयवादिने ॥" Some of the names of the chapters, (पच्छेद) are—I. बोधिचिन्तापरित्याग. II. मुनिव्रतसमाश्रय. III. तत्त्वज्ञानावतार. IV. श्रावकतत्त्वविनिश्चय. V. योगाचारतत्त्वविनिश्चय. VI. (सांख्यतत्त्वविनिश्चय). VII. वैशेषिकतत्त्वविनिश्चय. VIII. वेदान्ततत्त्वविनिश्चय. IX..... In the end—"अद्वये व्योमवत्तत्त्वे निनीपुस्तत्त्वमव्ययतां (1) लोकद्वयोपकाराय यस्तव्यो लोक संवृति (1) लो (क-) ज्ञान्तेय प्राह तस्मै लोकविदे नमः ॥ इति मध्यमकस्येदं संक्षेपाद्बुद्धयं कृतं। धीमतां नैकमूत्रान्तविम्बदर्शनदर्पणं ॥ तर्कज्वालानाम सूत्रं समाप्तमिति ॥ ॥ देय धर्मोयं औत्तरापथिकश्रामणेरस्वच्छाय मी कुरं से न स्य ..... " On the back of the last leaf—"जनस्य यो भुक्तिपथानुयायिनी- निराकृतान्तद्वयभुक्तिपथिकां (1) चकार तस्य प्रणिपत्य सा मया विभज्यते मध्यमकानुसारतः। इहायमाचार्यो यथावस्थितप्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद दर्शनासादितप्रीतिविशेषः परंप्रसादायतनं तदधिगम ..... ॥"

<sup>2</sup>Only leaves No. 3-7, 10-14, 16, 17, 31, 33, 36, 42, are found. The MS. begins—"जिह्वाकायमनःसंस्पर्शजा संज्ञा यया सन्निमित्तमपि जानाति अनिमित्तमपि। परीत्तमपि महद्गतमप्यप्रमाणमपि"। On the page 16b—"अभिधर्मसमुच्चये लक्षणसमुच्चयो नाम प्रथमः समुच्चयः ॥" It is one of the three basic texts of Yogācāra School.



4.	314.	गुह्यसमाज <sup>1</sup>	T	..	"	"	10	"	"
5.	315.	(.....सूत्र-टीका) <sup>2</sup>	..	कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	11	4.5	"	"
6.	316.	(.....सूत्र) <sup>3</sup>	..	"	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	9x11	5	"	"
7.	317.	(बोधित्त...) <sup>4</sup>	..	कुटिला	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	6	Incomplete	
8.	318.	त्रिसमयपूर्वसेवाविधि <sup>5</sup>	जयप्रभ	"	"	1	9	Complete	

<sup>1</sup> Leaves No. 3, 4, 5, 39 and 45 only.

<sup>2</sup> Begins—"नैयागिकत्वं दर्शयति । अधिशीलत्वेन शिक्षाद्वयसन्निधयतया शिक्षाद्वयेन च यथाक्रमं असमाहितं चित्तं समाधि(?)वी)यते समाहितं च विमुच्यते एवं सुविमुक्तचित्तः अपायत्युनर्भवाच्च निर्गतो भवति नियत एवं नैयागिकत्वं ह्याचारगोचर-संपन्नत्वेन अनुरूपाकुट्टचारित्रतया भावितं भवति" । Most of the leaves are without number (115, 202, 223, 225, 236, 237 numbers are seen).

<sup>3</sup> Begins—"पयोमी(?)महतीं जने विधी कार्ण्यं न च सत्त्वसंज्ञः । तदभोति सर्वजगतीविदु दक्षणीयः सततं अमोघ परिरुंजति राष्ट्रपिण्डं ॥<sup>1</sup> चिरवद्वदेवमनुजस्ति अपायिसत्त्वा परिमोचितुं य इह इच्छति बोधिसत्त्वः (1) पृथुमार्गधीरुभयदर्शनसत्त्वपातुं प्रज्ञाय पारमित-युक्त दिवा च रात्रि ॥"

<sup>4</sup> Begins—"सर्वधर्मप्रकृतिशून्यताभ्यासे तदनु दानपारमिताऽधिष्ठानेन प्रथमायां भूमौ सर्वधर्मधर्मधातुप्रतिवेधलक्षणे-ज्वयधर्मे ततो द्वितीयादौ भूमौ सम्भारपरिपूरिहेतुभूते शीलादिपारमिता सर्वधर्मसाङ्केतिकज्ञाने नियोजयति"

<sup>5</sup> Begins—"विश्वव्यापिमहोपायं बुद्धं शुद्धं तमापहं । जगदानन्दिनं वन्दे शम(?)सस)द्वम्भुतोत्तमं ॥ वैरोचनीयतन्त्रो तन्त्रोक्त (sic) समस्यस्य मन्त्रिनः ।" On the 1b—"गतसम्भवमुदया चाभिषेकः कार्यः । संहतमुत्तानकरद्वयं कृत्वा अनामिके द्वे विपर्यस्ते करमथ्ये कृत्वा अनामिकाये अङ्गुष्ठप्रेण संश्लिष्टकनिष्ठिकामध्यमे सूच्याकारेण प्रदेशिन्यौ कुञ्चितप्रे कृत्वा मध्यमतृतीयपार्श्वे हिलष्टौ तथागतसम्भवमुद्रा । मन्त्रः पूर्वोक्तएव ।" In the end—"त्रिसमयपूर्वसेवाविधि । कृतिराचार्यजयप्रभस्य ॥"

9.	319.	(साधनयोग- <sup>1</sup>	..	मागधी, कुं०	2	Incomplete
10.	320.	(हेरुक.....टीका) <sup>2</sup>	..	"	4	"
11.	321.	(लक्षणटीका) <sup>3</sup>	..	शारदा कुं०	2	"
12.	322.	(प्रज्ञापारमिताटीका)	..	कुटिला	10	6
XXXXVIII	1.	323.	..	कुटिला	14	Complete
	2.	324.	..	मागधी	14	Incomplete
					9×2½	
					9×1½	

<sup>1</sup> Paper MS. Begins—"भ्यसन् । सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्वानाञ्च स्वपरार्थसम्पदं सुपरिशुद्धामभितन्दन् । यथा समीहितं मन्त्रमद्रुतमविलम्बितमुपाङ्गशुना तावज्जपेद् यावत् खेदो न जायते । श्रान्तस्तु तदैव जपमुपसंहरेत् ।" On the leaf 2a'2—"दिभावनाविकल्पसञ्जातः सञ्जनयेदिति । जपावसानं क्रियां विधात् । किञ्चिज्ज्ञानवशिनमाह । ज्ञाने किञ्चित्समावेशीति ।"

<sup>2</sup> Leaves No. 8, 9, 10, 11 are found. Begins—".....बोधिचित्तिष्प्रपञ्चज्ञानात्सकं । प्रपञ्चाभान्ति । ततः सर्वप्रपञ्चानां तत्राभावात् ।...<sup>1</sup>...महासुखरूपत्वन्तु सामर्थ्यादुक्तं ।" On the page 10a6—"महामायेत्यादि । षण्डलाधिपतिः श्रीहेरुको महामाया तयोरेकस्वभावत्वात् । तयोः प्रयोगः कर्मभिरारलेषुबुवुनादिभिः । योगसंवरं कारयेत् ।"

<sup>3</sup> Begins—"समूहानीतभावेन धीमद्गोत्रमकृत्रिमम् ॥७॥ प्रकृतिस्थं च यद्गोत्रमानीतं नियतं च यत् । अस्मिन् सति प्रत्ययस्याच्छब्दात्मा चित्तसम्भवः (1) अविकल्पस्थविषयो नाभ्यासार्थो (?) हि जातु चित् ।.....कारणत्वेपि तेनायं बोधिसत्त्वार्थ-गोचरः ॥"

<sup>4</sup> In the colophon—"पुण्यभद्रेण पुस्तकं ॥ लिखितमिदं देवभद्रेण ।.....पुण्यभद्रस्य पुस्तकं अतीव

शुद्धः कृतं ।"

3. 325. तारास्तुति (चन्द्रदास)टीका<sup>1</sup> कुटिला " 6 9 "

1 Begins—"आदिमध्यावसानश्रीरम्यगुणकारं । यो हि तस्मै नमो बुद्धधर्मसङ्घायप्रवर्तिने ॥ भगवत्यार्थताराया या-  
भिष्टुतिरुदाहृता । आच(र)्यं च द्र द्र सेन तट्टीका स्थायते मया ॥ अयमाचार्यश्चन्द्रदासः समुद्रे पोताब्धः समीरणादिभिः पोतेषु विशीर्यमाणेषु  
महत्या भक्त्याऽर्पितारायाः स्तोत्रार्थाभिधानार्थमादौ सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनाद्यवद्योतयन् सकलजगत्पयातिशायिनं<sup>2</sup> गुणानामभिधानप्रतिज्ञा-  
मुच्चचार । तद्वचनातिशयेन तद्देशाज्जलमपसरार । चन्द्रमण्डलाद् वायुना नीलाभ्रवृन्दमिव जलापसरणाच्चन्द्रपूव्वीस्थो द्वीपः सम्वृत्तस्"  
Prayer is in the form of *dvipadī Giti*—

"सुखद (?) चक्रचारुचूडामणि रश्चिरमरीचिसञ्चय-(1) प्रचुरशिखाप्रचारपरिचुम्बितचञ्चितचरणचन्द्रके ।

जगति चराचरेऽपि साचीकृतचकितकृपालुलोचने । स्तुतिवचनोपचारमुचिताचरितं रचयामि देवि ते ॥१॥

..... 1b नखरकठोरकोटिकटकुट्टितकारिकतटाटनोत्कटा (1) प्रविकटशधिरपटपटपाटलिता ।

अटवीविलुण्ठकाः विकटसटाट्टुहासघटितावटतटभटनोद्वटास्(1)त्वज्जुषि झटिति यान्ति सटिनः कुण्ठादपि कुण्ठित (sic)

कुण्ठाशक्तितां ।(२)

..... 2b मलिनमहाकपोलतलविगलितमत्तजलमलनविह्वलाः (1) स्वलदलिजालवलहलकोलाहलललितविलासलासिनः ।

विचलितकर्णतालपवनाहतललित विलेपधूलयः । पथि न गजाश्चलन्ति कुलशैलतुलास्तव लामलालिताः ॥ (३)

..... 3a मास्तथातजातरभसोच्छ्वलदनलशिखाकदम्बक (1) प्रतिहतपुरपुरनिध्निहाहारवत्वरश्मितदिगन्तभैरवः ।

उद्धतधूम्रधूमधूलीधुतबद्धधमान्धकारकं (1) त्वन्नातिनीतिगतिरेति शमं बहुशो हुताशनः ॥ (४)

..... 3b चलितलतावितानकुटिलोद्गमदुर्गमगहनवर्त्तिनः (1) समदि पुरो नरस्य तारेति मनागपि नामधारिणः ।

स्फीतफणघोरफूत्कारपरिस्फुरतानलस्फुट- (1) स्पृष्टुरुविस्फुल्लिङ्गविस्फारिणि फणिनि विषं विनश्यति ॥ (५)

..... 4a क्षणकृतकोपकम्पकरकषितखरकरवालनिर्ममल- (1) व्यतिकरकरालविकरालमहाबलभुजागर्गलः ।



VIII. Rta-nag Thub-stan<sup>1</sup> Monastery (Tsang)

I	331.	(लंकावतार ?) सूत्र T	..	रञ्जन	22×2	250	6	Incomplete
II	1.	332. ....सूत्र	..	"	22½×2½	50	5	"
	2.	333. ....सूत्र <sup>2</sup>	..	कुटिला	21½×2	2	5	"
	3.	334. ....तंत्र <sup>3</sup>	..	"	16¾×2½	15	3	"

IX. Ngor Monastery (*Continued from JBORS., XXI, Part I*)

XL	335.	अभिधर्मकोशभाष्य T	वसुबन्धु	मागधी	12×2½	Complete
XL	336.	बोहाकोन T	सरह	कुटिला	10×2½	"

<sup>1</sup>About 20 miles N. W. of Shi-ga-rtse.<sup>2</sup>The MS. has the pictures of Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, the Buddhas and some Tāntric gods in Yab-Yum posture. Corrections and additions are made in Kutilā script.<sup>3</sup>Paper MSS.

Some of the names of Pāṭalas are—प्रतिष्ठा (I), देवता (III), अभिवेक (IV), विशुद्धि (IX).

## MSS. Photographed or copied

Subject	Name	Author	Size in Slokas	Complete	Incomplete
Poetry	१. x अध्यर्धशतक S	मातृचेद	153	"	
	२. दोहाकोश Ng	सरह	60	" (?)	
	३. सुभाषितरत्नकोश Ng	भीमार्जुनसोम	1,500	"	
Prosody	४. छन्दोरत्नाकर Ng	रत्नाकरशान्ति	700	"	
Philosophy	५. (दर्शन) S	Unknown	6,000	"	
	६. अभिधर्मकोशकारिका Ng वसुबन्धु		550	" (?)	
	७. " भाष्य Ng	"	15,000	"	
	८. अभिधर्मप्रदीप Sh	Unknown	1,500	"	
	९. अभिधर्मसमुच्चय Sh	असंग	250	"	

x Books with this sign (x) are copied, others are photographed.

S=MS. belonging to Sa-skya, Ng=Ngör, Sh=Sha-lu.

१०.	" भाष्य Sh	(यशोमित्र)	4,000	"	"
११.	x तर्कज्वाला Sh	भाव्य	1,000	"	"
१२.	दर्शन Sh	Unknown			
१३.	मध्यान्तविभंगभाष्य Ng	वसुबन्धु	1,000	"	"
१४.	महायानोत्तरतन्त्र Ng	सैत्रेय	500	"	"
१५.	" टीका Sh	यशोमित्र	200	"	"
१६.	x योगाचारभूमि S	असंग	8,000	"	"
१७.	वज्रसूची Ng	अश्वघोष	150	"	"
१८.	x विप्रह्वयवर्त्तनी Sh	नागार्जुन	450	"	"
१९.	विशिकाविवृति Sh	Unknown	150	"	"
२०.	अयोहसिद्धि Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	1,200	"	"
२१.	अवयविनिराकरण Sh	"	200 (?)	"	"
२२.	अगमप्रामाण्यनिरास Sh	Unknown	50	"	"
२३.	क्षणभंगसिद्धि Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	1,000	"	"
२४.	x क्षणभंगाध्याय Sh	ज्ञानश्री	3,000	"	"
२५.	चित्ताद्वैतप्रकरण Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	700	"	"
२६.	तर्करहस्य Ng	Unknown	2,000	"	"
२७.	नैरास्यसिद्धि Ng	जितारि	50	"	"
२८.	(न्यायटीका) Ng	Unknown			"

२९.	न्यायविद्वन्दीका Ng	दुर्वैकमिश्र	५,०००	"	"
३०.	प्रज्ञालङ्कार Ng	Unknown	६०	"	"
३१.	प्रमाणवार्तिकदीका Ng	"	..	"	"
३२.	x प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य S	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त	१५,०००	"	"
३३.	x प्र० वा० वृत्ति Sh	मनोरथनन्दी	१०,०००	"	"
३४.	x प्र० वा० स्ववृत्ति S	धर्मकीर्ति	८००	"	"
३५.	x प्र० वा० स्व० दीका S	कर्णकगोमी	८,०००	"	"
३६.	प्रमाणात्तर्भवप्रकरण Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	२००	"	"
३७.	वादरहस्य Sh	Unknown	३,०००	"	"
३८.	व्याप्तिनिर्णय Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	१,०००	"	"
३९.	सर्वज्ञसिद्धि Sh	"	१,०००	"	"
४०.	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिसंक्षेप Ng	शङ्करचन्दन	१००	"	"
४१.	सहोपलम्भासिद्धि Ng	जितारि	१००	"	"
४२.	सामान्यनिराकरण Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	७५०	"	"
४३.	स्थिरसिद्धि दूषण Sh	"	८००	"	"
४४.	हेतुविद्वन्दीका Ng	दुर्वैकमिश्र	५,०००	"	"
४५.	उपसम्पवाजति Ng	(विनय)	७०	"	"
४६.	प्रातिमोक्षसूत्र Ng	"	४००	"	"
४७.	" दीका S	Unknown	१००	"	"



४८.	भिक्षुविनय S	Unknown	200	"
४९.	विनयकारिका S	विशाल	150	"
५०.	विनयक्षुद्रक Sh	(विनय)	3,000	"
५१.	विनय(लोकोत्तरवादि-) Ng	( " )	1,200	"
५२.	विनयसूत्र Sh	गुणप्रस	500	"
५३.	" वृत्ति Sh	"	300	"
५४.	" " S	"	300	"
५५.	श्रावणेरकारिका Ng	जयरक्षित	300	"

## HINDU CONCEPTION OF MORAL SCIENCE

By PROFESSOR C. C. SINHA

*Man is an Epitome of the Universe.*

The following are the five aspects of man :—

(“Pañchakośo hi Sarvapiṇḍa-Pratiṣṭhitah”)<sup>1</sup>.

The nutrimentitious involucrum : The Physical Body, constituted of material elements. (Annamayah Kośah).

The tenuous involucrum : The Vital Body which guides the senses. (Prāṇamayah Kośah).

The Mental Body, the perceiver of sense objects. (Manomayah Kośah).

The cognitional involucrum: The Intellectual Body. It discriminates and reasons upon the materials supplied by the Mental Body. (Vijnānamayah Kośah).

The Beatific involucrum: The Divine Body. It is the sheath of bliss. It generates pleasure in the bodies mentioned above. (Ānandamayah Kośah).

These five bodies correspond to the five planes of the universe :—

1. Mineral Kingdom.
2. Vegetable Kingdom.
3. Animal Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Sūrya Gītā; Śambhu Gītā; Pañchadaśī, ch. I. 34, 35, 36.

4. Human Kingdom.
5. Divine Kingdom.

*Man is an End to Himself.*

Man is superior to other living creatures (Jaṅgamaṣu viśeṣeṇa manuṣyaḥ)<sup>1</sup>. Living creatures, other than man, lack discriminative knowledge of right and wrong. (Na teṣāṁ sadasajjñānam viveko na cha)<sup>2</sup>.

Man is a moral being (Manuṣyeṣu dharmādharmaṁ pravartate)<sup>3</sup>. In man

Mind is superior to senses (Indriyebhyo manaḥ pūrvam)<sup>4</sup>.

Intellect is superior to mind (Buddhiḥ paratarā tataḥ)<sup>4</sup>.

Intuition is superior to intellect (Buddheḥ paratarāṁ jñānam)<sup>4</sup>.

The Divine in man is superior to intuition (Jñānāt paratarāṁ mahat)<sup>4</sup>, and this is the goal of human evolution. For,

It is the highest good; (Yallābhānnāparo lābhaḥ)<sup>5</sup>.

It is the highest happiness; (Yatsukhānnāparaṁ sukham)<sup>5</sup>.

It is the highest knowledge; (Yajjñānānnāparaṁ jñānam)<sup>5</sup>.

It transcends sense-experience; (Atīndriyam)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam, Bana Parva 32. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Devī Bhāgavatam—Part I, ch. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śānti Parva 294. 29. Devī Bhāgavatam, Book III. ch. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śāntiparva 204. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ātmabodhaḥ.

<sup>6</sup> Yogaśīkhopaniṣat.

It is intuitive; (Buddhigrāhyam)<sup>1</sup>.

It is imperishable; (Anakṣaram)<sup>1</sup>.

The Divine in man becomes manifest (Devatāstat-prakāśante)<sup>2</sup> when the senses have been controlled (Nigrihītendriyasyāsyā)<sup>2</sup>, when the mind has been regulated (Kurvāṇasya mano vaśe)<sup>2</sup> and when the intellect has been disciplined (Buddhiṃ nigrihṇīyāt)<sup>2</sup>.

*Man is a Moral Being.*

Man is a moral being because his activities are not limited to self-preservation (Śarīrayātrapi cha te na prasidhyedakarmanah)<sup>3</sup>, but he is able to form ideas of what is good and bad (Dharmā-dharmāu cha nirṇīya)<sup>4</sup> and to avoid that which is bad (Adharmam tyaktumīśate)<sup>4</sup>.

In him his conative energy takes the direction of

- A. Volitional Activity.
- B. Intellectual Activity.
- C. Moral Activity.

A. Volitional Activity : Consciousness of his volitional activity has the following forms—

He thinks that his senses themselves do their respective works. (“Indriyāṇīndriyārthe-su Vartante” iti dhārayan)<sup>5</sup>.

He thinks that an internal deity in him makes him work. (Kenāpi devena hṛidi sthitena yathā niyuktosmi tathā karomi)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Yogaśikhopaniṣat.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śānti Parva, ch. 215. sl. 18-20.

<sup>3</sup> Gītā. Mahābhāratam, Bhīṣma Parva 27. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Dhīśa Gītā, ch. III.

<sup>5</sup> Gītā.

<sup>6</sup> Śāktānandatarāṅgiṇyuddhṛitaṃ Yamalavachanam.

He thinks that nature makes him work.  
(Prakṛityaiva cha karmāṇi kriyamaṇāni  
sarvaśaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

He thinks that God or his destiny makes  
him work. (Nāhaṁ karteśvaraḥ kartā  
karma vā prāktanam mama)<sup>2</sup>.

He thinks that it is he who works but the  
consequence of his action rests with God.  
(Udyamaḥ prāṇibhiḥ kāryyo yathā buddhi  
yathā balaṁ, paraṁ phalanti karimāṇi  
tvadadhīnāni Śaṅkara)<sup>3</sup>.

He thinks that it is he who works but with  
the help of his senses using them as his  
instruments. (Kriyamāṇendriyaiḥ karmāṇ-  
yahaṁ karomi)<sup>4</sup>.

He works but indifferent to success or failure.  
(Sidhyasidhyoḥ samo bhūtvā)<sup>1</sup>.

He works with a view to the highest good  
unperturbed by any disturbance. (Svaya-  
muchchalite dehe dehī nityasamādhinā)<sup>5</sup>.

Action done from the sense of duty. ("Karma  
kartavyam" ityeva vihiteśveva karmasu)<sup>6</sup>.

Action for the sake of action. (Akāmayā-  
nasya cha sarvakāmaḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

Action for the sake of knowledge and for its  
development. (Sahāyatām vrajet karma

<sup>1</sup> Gītā.

<sup>2</sup> Annapūrṇopaniṣat.

<sup>3</sup> Skanda Purāṇam.

<sup>4</sup> Nirālambopaniṣat.

<sup>5</sup> Saubhāgyalakṣmyupaniṣat.

<sup>6</sup> Triśikhī Brāhmaṇopaniṣat.

jñānasya hitakāri cha)<sup>1</sup>.

Action is God. (Karma Brahma vijānāti)<sup>2</sup>.

He is simply the seer of action and never its doer. (Sākṣyahaṁ kiñchidapyatra na kurve nāpi kāraye)<sup>3</sup>.

B. Intellectual Activity : Consciousness of his intellectual activity passes through the following stages of development (saptānām jñāna bhūmīnām)<sup>4</sup>—

1. Jñānadā : It implies—

Introspection (Antardṛṣṭim labheran)<sup>4</sup>.

Speculation about Truth (Tattvajijñāsavaḥ)<sup>4</sup>.

Speculation about the origin of the World—  
Cosmogony. (Sṛiṣṭim nirīkṣya tasyāścha kartāram)<sup>4</sup>.

Consciousness of Self. (Ātmajñānīyavijasya prarohah)<sup>4</sup>.

Disappearance of ignorance. (Mūlamajñānavṛkṣasya sarvathā sithilāyate)<sup>4</sup>.

2. Sannyāsadā : It implies—

Discrimination of virtue and vice. (Dharmā-dharmaucha nirṇaya)<sup>4</sup>.

Rejection of vice. (Adharmaṁ tyaktumiśate)<sup>4</sup>.

3. Yogadā : It implies—

Acquisition of moral energy. (Prāpyā Sakti)<sup>4</sup>.

Habit of self-control. (Chittavrittinirodhasya)<sup>4</sup>.

Knowledge of difference in identity. (Ekatat-tvasya prithaktvena)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Devī Gītā.

<sup>2</sup> Jīvanmukta Gītā.

<sup>3</sup> Avadhūtopaniṣat.

<sup>4</sup> Dhīśa Gītā, ch. III. cf. Yogavāsīṣṭha.

Appearance of 'Elativ sense.' (Pratyakṣam nanvalaukikam)<sup>1</sup>.

4. Līlonmukti : It implies—

Unreality of the phenomenal world. (Māyā-vilasitam chaitaddṛīṣyate sarvameva hi)<sup>1</sup>.

Aversion for the unreal. (Na tatra me abhilāṣosti)<sup>1</sup>.

Knowledge of *Onta* or essence of reality. (Tattvaṁ vai prakṛitirviduḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

5. Satpadā : It implies—

Disappearance of dualistic conception. (Abhedajñānamāptum)<sup>1</sup>.

Knowledge of the self-existent. (Sadbhāvasya jñānam)<sup>1</sup>.

6. Ānandapadā : It implies—

Bliss. (Ānandaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

Knowledge of parallelistic monism. (Ekādhāre tu jaḍam cha chetanam)<sup>1</sup>.

7. Parātparā : It implies—

Identity of Self and God. (Brahmāsmīti matiḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

Disappearance of difference. (Bhedajñānala-yena)<sup>1</sup>.

Unity in plurality. (Ekatvapradaśakam)<sup>1</sup>.

According to Viṣṇu Gītā the following are the three stages of intellectual development (Tisro bhūmyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ)<sup>2</sup>—

First stage : Inferential knowledge of the universe and its creator (Jagataścha jagatkarturjñānam)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dhīśa Gītā, ch. III.

<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇu Gītā, ch. VI.

and indifference to enjoyment. (Bhogaparāṇmūkhaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

Second stage: Complete knowledge of mind and body. (Kṣetra-kṣetrajñayostathā samyagjñānam)<sup>1</sup>.

Third stage: Knowledge of absolute monism. (Advaitasattvaṁ hi jñānenānubhavan)<sup>1</sup>.

C. Moral Activity: Man is a Moral Being, because (1) he can will what is good (Śubhechhā)<sup>2</sup>; (2) he has the power to judge and do what is right (Vichāraṇā)<sup>2</sup>; (3) to control his senses (Tanumānāsī)<sup>2</sup>; (4) to know what is true and real (Sattvapattiḥ)<sup>2</sup>; (5) to do away with the distinction between external and internal things (Padārthābhāvanā)<sup>2</sup>; (6) to free himself from attachment (Asaṁsaktiḥ)<sup>2</sup>; and (7) to understand the identity of God and man (Turyyagā)<sup>2</sup>.

Man is a Moral Being, because

He can control his mind (Śamaḥ).

He can control his senses (Damaḥ).

He can avoid objects of desire (Uparatiḥ).

He can be indifferent to pains and penuries (Titikṣā).

He can master confidence (Śraddhā).

He possesses the power of contemplation and reflection (Samādhānam).

Man is a Moral Being, because he can control his

1. Physical Body by Āsana<sup>3</sup>. Its effects—

It makes us free from disease (Āsanena rujaṁ hanti)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Viṣṇu Gītā, ch. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ.

<sup>3</sup> Śiva Samhitā.

<sup>4</sup> Yogachūḍāmaṇyupaniṣat.



It strengthens our physical system (Āsanena vapurvṛiddham)<sup>1</sup>.

2. Vital Body by restraining breath (Prāṇāyāmaḥ)<sup>2</sup>. Its effects—

Sāntiḥ—Cessation of sin (Sahajāgantukānām cha pāpānām śāntiruchyate)<sup>3</sup>.

Prasāntiḥ—Disappearance of ignorance (Tamaso'ntarbahirnāśaḥ prasāntiḥ parigīyate)<sup>4</sup>.

Dīptiḥ—Divine intuition. (Atītānāgatānām cha darśanam)<sup>5</sup>.

Prasādaḥ—Self-realisation (Svasthatā yā hi buddheḥ prasādaḥ parikīrtitaḥ)<sup>6</sup>.

3. Mental Body by restraining senses (Pratyāhāraḥ)<sup>6</sup>.

(Viśayebhyaḥ indriyārthebhyaḥ manonirodhanam)<sup>7</sup>.

4. Intellectual Body by mental abstraction (Dhāraṇā)<sup>8</sup>.

(Manasaḥ prathamam sthairyam dhāraṇātaḥ prajāyate)<sup>4</sup>.

5. Intuitive Body by meditation (Dhyānam)<sup>9</sup>.

(Nānyam padārtham jānāti dhyānametat prakīrtitam)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Kāśikhandaḥ.

<sup>2</sup> Gorakṣa Saṁhitā, Yājñavalkya.

<sup>3</sup> Liṅga Purāṇam.

<sup>4</sup> Śiva Purāṇam.

<sup>5</sup> Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇam.

<sup>6</sup> Gorakṣa Saṁhitā.

<sup>7</sup> Maṇḍala Brāhmaṇopaniṣat.

<sup>8</sup> Garuḍa Purāṇam cf. also Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇam.

<sup>9</sup> Yogachūḍāmaṇyupaniṣat.

*Origin of Moral Science.*

A. Psychological Explanation.

B. Theological Explanation.

C. Ethical Explanation.

A. Psychological Explanation.

At first there was no sovereignty (Naiva rājyam)<sup>1</sup>, no king (Na rājāsīt)<sup>1</sup>, no chastisement (Na cha dāṇḍaḥ)<sup>1</sup> and no chastiser (Na dāṇḍikaḥ)<sup>1</sup>. All men used to protect one another righteously (Dharmenaiva prajāḥ sarvā rakṣantisma parasparam)<sup>1</sup>. But (1) Unhesitating action gave rise to miseries (Khedam paramupajagmuḥ)<sup>2</sup>; (2) miseries caused error (Tatastanmoha āviśat)<sup>2</sup>; (3) error blurred perceptions of men (Naṣṭāyām pratipattau)<sup>3</sup>; (4) ignorance caused covetousness (Lobhasya vaśamāpannaḥ)<sup>3</sup>; (5) covetousness gave rise to lust (Kāmo nāmāparastatra pratyapadyata)<sup>4</sup>; (6) lust produced wrath—a compound of pride and passion (Rāgo nāmābhisansprīśat)<sup>5</sup>; (7) with wrath discrimination between right and wrong disappeared (Nābhya jānanta Kāryyākaryye)<sup>5</sup>; (8) want of discrimination gave rise to unrestrained indulgence (Doṣādoṣam cha nātyajan)<sup>6</sup>; (9) unrestrained indulgence became the source of untold miseries (Vānmanaḥkāya-jairduḥkhaiḥ)<sup>7</sup>; (10) repentance is the offspring of misery (Nirvedo jāyate)<sup>7</sup>; (11) repentance evoked deli-

ch. sl.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam : Śānti Parva—59. 14.

<sup>2</sup> " " " " 15.

<sup>3</sup> " " " " 17.

<sup>4</sup> " " " " 18.

<sup>5</sup> " " " " 19.

<sup>6</sup> " " " " 20.

<sup>7</sup> Kūrma Purāṇam. Pūrvabhāgaḥ, ch. 28-55.

beration as to means of liberation from pain (Nirve-dājjāyate duḥkhamokṣavichāraṇā)<sup>1</sup>; (12) deliberation made them conscious of defects (Vichāraṇāchcha doṣ-adarśanam)<sup>1</sup>; (13) exposure of defects made science possible (Doṣāṇām darśanāchchaiva jñānasambhavaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

### B. Theological Explanation.

When, due to unhesitating action, confusion set in (Viplute naraloke)<sup>2</sup> and righteousness was lost (Dharmo nāsamathāgamat)<sup>2</sup>, the gods sought the protection of Brahman (Brahmāṇam śaraṇam yayuḥ)<sup>3</sup> who for the good of all (Śreyoḥam chintayiṣyāmi)<sup>4</sup>, composed by the light of his own divine intelligence, a treatise consisting of a hundred thousand lessons (Adhyāya sahasrāṇām śatañchakre svabuddhijam)<sup>5</sup>. After this the divine Śiva composed an abridged treatise, called Vaiśālākṣa consisting of ten thousand lessons (Bhagavān Śivaḥ sañchikṣepa tataḥ śāstram... Vaiśālākṣamiti proktam)<sup>5</sup>; the divine Indra abridged it into a treatise, called Vāhudaṇḍaka consisting of five thousand lessons (Tachchhāstram sañchikṣepa Purandaraḥ...yaduktam Vāhudaṇḍakam)<sup>5</sup>; Bṛhaspati abridged the work still further into a treatise consisting of three thousand lessons and called it Bārhaspatya—(Bārhaspatyam taduchyate)<sup>5</sup>; next Kavi reduced it further into a work of a thousand lessons (Kaviḥ Saṁkṣepamabravit)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Kūrma Purāṇam. Purvabhāgaḥ, ch. 28-55.

ch. sl.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhārataṁ, Śānti Parva—59. 21.

<sup>3</sup> " " " " 22.

<sup>4</sup> " " " " 28.

<sup>5</sup> " " " " 29, 80-86.

In view of the short span of life, the great Ṛṣis did thus, for benefiting the world, abridged the science of human conduct. (Evaṁ lokānurodhena sāstrametanmaharṣibhiḥ samkṣiptamāhurvijñāya martyānām hrāsameva cha)<sup>1</sup>.

### C. Ethical Explanation.

#### 1. Diversity in ethical theories—

Some praise peacefulness (Anye sāma praśaṁsanti)<sup>2</sup>.

Some praise exertion (Vyāyāmamapare janāḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

Some praise sacrifice (Yajñameva praśaṁsanti)<sup>2</sup>.

Some praise renunciation (Sannyāsamapare janāḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

Some praise sovereignty (Rājyameke praśaṁsanti)<sup>2</sup>.

Some praise benevolence (Dānameke praśaṁsanti)<sup>2</sup>.

#### 2. Diversity generates doubt (Saṁśayañchaitkaṁ chhettumarhasi...kimeṣāñcha bhavetchchhreyah)<sup>3</sup>.

#### 3. Doubt stimulates inquisitiveness (Nānu-sandheḥ parā pūjā)<sup>4</sup>.

(Dharmādharma-vivakṣāyām na mano me sthīraṁ bhavet)<sup>5</sup>.

#### 4. Inquisitiveness gives rise to reflection and

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva ch. 59. sl. 80-86.

<sup>2</sup> " " " " " 21. " 7-9.

<sup>3</sup> Kūrma Purāṇam (Pūrvabhāga) " 33. " 7-10.

<sup>4</sup> Yogasikṣhopaniṣat.

<sup>5</sup> Devī Bhāgavatam. Bk. 3. ch. I.

criticism (Vivekabodhena śubhāśubha vichāraṇām)<sup>1</sup>.

5. Science is the outcome of reflection and criticism (Vichārāt jñāyate tattvaṁ)<sup>2</sup>.

*The Problems of Moral Science.*

- A. Ethical Problems.
- B. Psychological Problems.
- C. Metaphysical Problems.

A. Ethical Problems.

1. What is Right? (Koyaṁ dharmāḥ)<sup>3</sup> (Ko dharmāḥ kīdṛiśo dharmachinham)<sup>7</sup>.

What is its source? (Kuto dharmāḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

Is it for service in this world? (Ihārthāḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

Is it for service in the world to come?

(Kimamutrārthāḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

Is it for service both here and hereafter?

(Ubhayārtho hi vā)<sup>3</sup>.

2. What is Good? (Kiṁ śreyaḥ Paramārtham)<sup>4</sup> (Kim paramaṁ sādhyam)<sup>5</sup>.

Ethics has to enquire—

By what disposition (Kiṁ śīlaḥ)<sup>6</sup>.

By what course of duties (Kiṁ samāchāraḥ)<sup>6</sup>.

By what knowledge (Kiṁ vidyā)<sup>6</sup>.

By what energy (Kiṁ parākramaḥ)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Devī Purāṇam.

<sup>2</sup> Yogavāsīṣṭhaḥ.

<sup>3</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śānti Parva. ch. 258. sl. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Viṣṇupurāṇam Part II. ch. 14. sl. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Śivapurāṇam, Vidyēśvara Saṁhitā. ch. I.

<sup>6</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śānti Parva, ch. 229. sl. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Devī Bhāgavatam. Bk. 3. ch. I.

the highest good can be attained (Prāpnoti Brāhmaṇaḥ sthānam)<sup>1</sup>.

3. What is Duty? (Kiṁ karma kimakarmeti)<sup>2</sup>.

What course of duties should be performed and by whom? (Kiṁ kasya dharmācharaṇam)<sup>3</sup>.

What are the characteristics of duty? (Kiṁvā dharmasya lakṣaṇam)<sup>3</sup>.

What are the different kinds of duty? (Dharmaḥ katividhaḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

Right, Duty and Good are interdependent (Eka eveti janihi tridhā dharmasya darśanam)<sup>4</sup>.

#### B. Psychological Problems.

In investigating the nature of the highest good, Ethics has indirectly to treat of certain psychological problems which are—

What is the nature of the agent who performs action?

What is the nature of the action which is performed?

What is the nature of the end for which an action is done?

1. Nature of the subject.

Man is endowed with three attributes<sup>5</sup> :—

(a) Sattva or Purity—corresponding with intellect.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śānti Parva, ch. 229, sl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> „ Bhīṣma Parva, „ 28. „ 16.

<sup>3</sup> „ Śānti Parva, „ 191. „ 5.

<sup>4</sup> „ „ „ 260. „ 20.

<sup>5</sup> Gītā, XIV.

(b) Rajas or Activity—corresponding with volition.

(c) Tamas or Passivity—corresponding with emotion.

In some the Sattva quality, in some the Rajas quality and in others the Tamas quality is predominant. (Sattvaṁ na kevalaṁ kvāpi na rajo na tamastathā... virudhyanti parasparam)<sup>1</sup>. Hence there are three kinds of Agent : Sāttvika, Rājasika, and Tāmasika.

(1) Sāttvika Agent :

He is free from attachment (Muktasaṅgaḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

He is endowed with constancy and courage (Dhṛityutsāhasamanvitaḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

He is indifferent to success and failure (Siddhyasiddhyornirvikāraḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

He never talks of himself (Anahamvādi)<sup>2</sup>.

(2) Rājasika Agent :

He is full of affection (Rāgi)<sup>3</sup>.

He desires to enjoy the consequence of actions (Karmaphalaprepsuḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

He is covetous (Lubdhaḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

He is cruel and impure (Himsātmakośuchiḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

He is moved by joy and sorrow (Harṣaśokān-vitaḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

(3) Tāmasika Agent :

He is incapable of application (Ayuktaḥ)<sup>4</sup>.

He lacks discrimination (Prākṛitaḥ)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Devī Bhāgavatam, Part III. ch. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhāratam, Bhīṣma Parva. ch. 42. sl. 26.

<sup>3</sup> " " " " " " " 27.

<sup>4</sup> " " " " " " " 28.

He is obstinate and deceitful (Stabdhaḥ sattvaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

He is malicious and slothful (Naikritiko' lasaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

He is despondent and procrastinative (Viṣādi dīrghasūtrī)<sup>1</sup>.

As there are three kinds of agent so there are three kinds of action—

(1) Sāttvika Action :

It is prescribed by the scriptures (Niyatam)<sup>2</sup>.

It is done without any attachment (Saṅgarahitam)<sup>2</sup>.

It is performed without desire or aversion (Arāgadveṣataḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

It is done for its own sake (Aphalaprepsunā karma)<sup>2</sup>.

(2) Rājasika Action :

It is performed with an object in view (Kāmeṣunā karma)<sup>3</sup>.

It is urged by an impulse of egoism (Sāham-kāreṇa)<sup>3</sup>.

It is accomplished by trouble (Kriyate bahu-lāyāsam)<sup>3</sup>.

(3) Tāmasika Action :

It is undertaken from delusion (Mohādāra-bhyate)<sup>4</sup>.

It is undertaken without taking into consideration (Anapekṣya cha)<sup>4</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam, Bhīṣma Parva. ch. 42. sl. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhāratam, Bhīṣma Parva " " " 23.

<sup>3</sup> " " " " " 24.

<sup>4</sup> " " " " " 25.



Capability (Pauruṣam)<sup>1</sup>.

Consequence (Anubandham)<sup>1</sup>.

Loss (Kṣayam)<sup>1</sup>.

Injury to others (Himsā)<sup>1</sup>.

Corresponding to the nature of the agent and of the action there are three kinds of happiness which are the objects of desire (Sukhaṁ tvidānīm trividham)<sup>2</sup>,

1. Sāttvika Happiness.

It is painful in the beginning (Agre viṣa-miva)<sup>3</sup>.

It is pleasurable in the end (Parināme amṛitopamam)<sup>3</sup>.

It is the product of self-knowledge (Ātma-buddhiprasādam)<sup>3</sup>.

2. Rājasika Happiness.

It is the result of the contact of senses with their objects (Viṣayendriyasamyogāt)<sup>4</sup>.

It is first pleasurable (Agre amṛitopamam)<sup>4</sup>.

It is painful in the end (Parināme viṣamiva)<sup>4</sup>.

3. Tāmasika Happiness.

It deludes the soul both in its commencement and in its consequence (Agre chānubandhe cha mohanamātmanah)<sup>5</sup>.

It is the offspring of (i) sleep, (ii) indolence (iii) stupidity—(Nidrālasya pramādottham)<sup>5</sup>.

First conquer the Rajas (Jitvā rajaḥ pūrvam)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam, Bhīṣma Parva, ch. 42. sl. 25.

<sup>2</sup> " " " " " " 36.

<sup>3</sup> " " " " " " 37.

<sup>4</sup> " " " " " " 38.

<sup>5</sup> " " " " " " 39.

<sup>6</sup> Devī Bhāgavatam, Part II. ch. VIII.

and then the Tamas (Tataścha tamaso jāyaḥ)<sup>1</sup>, then the Sattva will become pure (Sattvañcha tadā bhavati nirmalam)<sup>1</sup>. No one is able to realise it at once (Sapadyeva pariñātam na jāyate)<sup>1</sup>. It requires to be heard and then meditated upon (Sravaṇāddarśanāchchaiva)<sup>1</sup>. It also depends on one's natural capability and merits (Saṃskārānubhavachchaiva)<sup>1</sup>.

### C. Metaphysical Problems.

The question of man's duty and of man's highest good depends on the following metaphysical problems:—

What is the origin and end of all creatures ?  
(Ādyantam sarvabhūtānām)<sup>2</sup>.

What is the nature of their meditation and their acts ? (Dhyānam karma cha)<sup>2</sup>.

What is the full truth about the genesis and conduct of the world? (Lokatattvam cha)<sup>2</sup>.

Whence the creation and destruction of creatures ? (Svargaścha nidhanam chaiva kuta etat pravartate)<sup>2</sup>.

The questions of Ethics are closely connected with the following more comprehensive questions of philosophy—

What am I ? (Ko'smī)<sup>3</sup>.

Whence come I ? (Kuto'hamāgataḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

Whither go I ? (Kva gamiṣyāmi)<sup>3</sup>.

What do I rest on ? (Kasmin sthitaḥ)<sup>3</sup>.

Whose am I ? (Kasya vā)<sup>3</sup>.

What shall I be ? (Kva bhavitā)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Devī Bhāgavatam, Part II. ch. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhāratam, Sānti parva. ch. 231. sl. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> " " " " 319. " 14.

*The End of Moral Science.*

The end of Ethics is to determine—

By what conduct a man can get rid of his sorrow and grief (Kena vṛittena vitaśo-kaścharenmahim)<sup>1</sup>.

By what act he can realise his highest good (Kiñcha kurvannaro loke prāpnoti gati-muttamām)<sup>1</sup>.

What is right and what is wrong (Kim karma kimakarmeti)<sup>1</sup>.

What is the highest end (yā gatiḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

What is the supreme goal (yā parākaṣṭhā)<sup>2</sup>.

What is tranquillity (Yā śāntiḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

*Ethics is a Science.*

Because—

It comes from knowledge (Vijñānasya yan-mūlam)<sup>3</sup>.

It ends in knowledge (Jñānaraṅga prajāyeta)<sup>3</sup>.

It is complete knowledge (Jñānam samyagudāhṛitam)<sup>3</sup>.

It is analytical (Jñānam vastu parichhedat)<sup>3</sup>.

It is inferred by the observance of good conduct (Driṣṭāntena satatam śiṣṭamārgā-nusāriṇā)<sup>4</sup>.

It dispels doubt (Sandehapaṭalārddhitān)<sup>5</sup>.

It gives us systematic knowledge of—

What is that intelligence (Kā buddhiḥ)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śānti parva, ch. 179. sl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> " " " " 229. " 7.

<sup>3</sup> Śiva Purāṇam.

<sup>4</sup> Devībhāgavatam Part I. ch. viii.

<sup>5</sup> Brihaspatiḥ.

<sup>6</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śānti Parva, ch. 1. sl. 1.

What is that penance (Kim tapaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

What is that concentration of mind (Kā samādhiḥ)<sup>6</sup>.

What is that knowledge (Kim jñānam)<sup>6</sup>.

by the acquisition of which a man may attain felicity (Yat prāpya na viśīdasi)<sup>1</sup>.

In short, our understanding when enlightened with science makes us acquainted with the evils which must be avoided (Jñānam tu vijñānaguṇena yuktaṁ karmāśubhaṁ paśyati varjanīyam)<sup>2</sup>.

It is the science of sciences (Tattvajñānam paraṁ jñānam jñānamadhye pratiṣṭhitam)<sup>3</sup>.

It is the source of knowledge (Samvit sañjananam tattvam)<sup>4</sup>.

It is the source of happiness (Paramānanda-sambhavam)<sup>4</sup>.

*Ethics is less than a Science.*

Because—

It is based on indirect knowledge and therefore it is not permanent or steady (Parokṣamasthiramāhuḥ)<sup>4</sup>.

It is difficult to attain perfect knowledge (Duṣkaram paramaṁ jñānam)<sup>5</sup>.

Ethical problems are pregnant with doubt (Samśayaḥ sugamastatra)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śanti Parva, ch. 1. sl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> " " " " 201. " 16.

<sup>3</sup> Nigama śāstra.

<sup>4</sup> Śiva Purāṇam (Vāyaviya Samhitā).

<sup>5</sup> Mahābhāratam, Karṇa Parva, ch. 61. sl. 55.

<sup>6</sup> " Anuśāsaṇa P., " 267. " 4.

It is difficult to solve them (Durgamastasya nirṇayaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

The course of morality is very subtle (Dharmasya paramā gatiḥ) and therefore difficult to know it (Loke na śakyate jñātum)<sup>2</sup>.

Ethics is based on argument which is always refutable (Tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt)<sup>3</sup>.

It has many exceptions. (Na cha sarvvaṁ vidhīyate)<sup>4</sup>.

Led by many systems its eternal nature is sometimes offended against. (śāstraischa bahubhīṛbhūyaḥ)<sup>5</sup>.

*Ethics is more than a Science.*

It is philosophy, because the solution of the following ethical problems—

What is and is not duty? (Kiṁ kāryyaṁ kimakāryyaṁ vā)<sup>6</sup>.

What should I speak and what should I not? (Kiṁ vāchyaṁ kimavāchyaṭā)<sup>6</sup>.

What is virtue and what is vice? (Ko'dharmaḥ kaścha vai dharmah)<sup>6</sup>.

How and what line of action should be adopted and avoided? (Kiṁ kartavyama-kartavyaṁ kiṁ vā)<sup>6</sup>.

What actions are meritorious and what not? (Kiṁ guṇadoṣavat)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam, Anuśāsana P., ch. 267. sl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> " Śānti Parva " 38. " 4.

<sup>3</sup> Saṁkṣiptabhāgavatāmr̥itam. Part I. sl. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Mahābhāratam, Kārṇa, ch. 69. sl. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Mahābhāratam, Śānti, ch. 287. sl. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Viṣṇu Purāṇam.

depends on the solution of the following philosophical problems—

Who am I ? (Ko'ham)<sup>1</sup>.

Whence come I ? (Kuta āyātaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

Whither go I ? (Kvāhaṁ gantā)<sup>2</sup>.

What is the nature of my self ? (Kimātmā kaḥ)<sup>2</sup>.

*Ethics is a Practical Science.*

Knowledge without practice does not help self-realisation (Yogahīnaṁ kathaṁ jñānaṁ mokṣadaṁ bhavatiḥa bhoḥ)<sup>3</sup>. (Karmayogaṁ vinā jñānam kasyachinnaiva dṛśyate)<sup>4</sup>.

Practice helps knowledge (Sahāyatām vrajet karma jñānasya hitakāri cha)<sup>5</sup>.

Practice develops and extends knowledge (Karma jñānam tanoti)<sup>6</sup>.

Morality depends on both knowledge and practice.

(Karmaṇā prāpyate dharma jñānena cha na saṁśayaḥ Tasmājjñānena sahitaṁ karmayogaṁ samāśrayet)<sup>7</sup>.

Ethics teaches us how to get rid of the ten obstacles to the realisation of the highest self (Daśaitepumsāmantarāyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ)<sup>8</sup>.

Laziness in discharging duty (Ālasyam)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Śiva Purāṇam (Jñāna saṁhitā), ch. II.

<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇu Purāṇam.

<sup>3</sup> Yogaśikhopaniṣat.

<sup>4</sup> Viṣṇu Purāṇam.

<sup>5</sup> Devī Gītā.

<sup>6</sup> Śrutih.

<sup>7</sup> Kūrma Purāṇam (Pūrva bhāgaḥ), ch. II.

<sup>8</sup> Śiva Purāṇam (Vāyaviya Saṁhitā).

Unwillingness to discharge duty even when one is capable of doing so (Pramādaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

Absence of any fixed principle (Anavasthita-chittatvam)<sup>1</sup>.

Want of faith in moral principles (Aśraddhā)<sup>1</sup>.

Mistaking right for wrong and wrong for right (Bhrāntidarśanam)<sup>1</sup>.

Disappointment arising from non-realisation of an end (Daurmanasyam)<sup>1</sup>.

Greediness (Lolātā)<sup>1</sup>.

Pains (Duḥkham)<sup>1</sup>.

Disease (Vyādhayaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

Doubt (Saṁśayaḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

### *Utility of Moral Science.*

1. It dispels ignorance which is the cause of miseries (Jñānahīnasya vai puṁsaḥ karma vai niṣphalaṁ bhavet)<sup>2</sup>. (Ajñasya duḥkhaughamamayam)<sup>3</sup> and on account of which we regard—

That to be beneficial which is really injurious (Ahite hitasaṁjñastvam)<sup>4</sup>.

That to be certain which is really uncertain, (Adhruve dhruvasaṁjñakāḥ)<sup>4</sup>.

That to be desirable which is really undesirable, (Anarthe chārthasaṁjñastvam)<sup>4</sup>.

2. It gives scientific knowledge of evils which are to be discarded (Jñānaṁ vijñānasahitam yajjñātvā mokṣyase'śubhāt)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Śiva Purāṇam (Vāyaviya Saṁhitā).

<sup>2</sup> Skanda Purāṇam (Viṣṇukhaṇḍaḥ).

<sup>3</sup> Varāhopaniṣat Mahābhāratam Śānti Parvam, ch. 214. sl. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Mahābhārata Śānti Parvam, ch. 329. sl. 27.

<sup>5</sup> „ Bhīṣma „ 33. „ 1.

3. Knowledge is the source of bliss (Jñasyā-nandamayam jagat)<sup>1</sup>.

*Methods of Moral Science.* (Darśanam śravaṇam matyā vijñānena idam sarvam veditam)<sup>2</sup>.

Careful observation of actions of others (Darśanam)<sup>3</sup>.

Systematic study of the opinions of others (Śravaṇam-Vākyaṛthavichārāt śravaṇam bhavati)<sup>4</sup>.

Deliberation (Mananam—Ekāntena śravaṇār-thānusandhānam mananam bhavati).<sup>4</sup>

Meditation on (Nīdīdhyāsanam—Śravaṇa-manana-nirvichikitsē'rthe vastuni ekatāna-vattayā chetaḥ sthāpanam Nīdīdhyāsanam bhavati)<sup>4</sup>—

The impurities of body (Kāye kāyānudarśa-smrityupasthānam)<sup>5</sup>.

The evils of sensations (Vedanāyām vedanā-nudarśasmrityupasthānam)<sup>5</sup>.

The evanescence of thought (Chitte chittānu-darśasmrityupasthānam)<sup>5</sup>.

The condition of existence (Dharme dharmā-nudarśasmrityupasthānam)<sup>5</sup>.

### *Characteristics of Moral Science.*

It is a royal science *i.e.* the best of all sciences (Rājavidyā)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vārahopaniṣat Mahābhāratam Śānti Parva, ch. 214. sl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Vṛihadāraṇyaka Śrutiḥ.

<sup>3</sup> Piṅgalopaniṣat. Vasiṣṭha Rāma Gītā.

<sup>4</sup> Piṅgalopaniṣat. Vasiṣṭha Rāma Gītā.

<sup>5</sup> Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ.

<sup>6</sup> Mahābhāratam Bhīṣma Parva, ch. 33. sl. 2.



It is a royal mystery *i.e.* highly subtle (Rājaguhya)<sup>1</sup>.

It is highly cleansing (Pavitramidamuttamam)<sup>1</sup>.

It is directly apprehensible (Pratyakṣāvagamam)<sup>1</sup>.

It is consistent with laws (Dharmyam)<sup>1</sup>.

It is easy to practice (Susukham Kartum)<sup>1</sup>.

It is imperishable (Avyayam)<sup>1</sup>.

It is the source of knowledge (Samvit sañjananam tattvam)<sup>2</sup>.

It is the means of highest happiness (Paramānandasañbhavam)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāratam Bhīṣma Parva, ch. 33. sl. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Śiva Purāṇam (Vāyaviya Saṁhitā).

## SANSKRIT KṢ IN PĀLI

By S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph.D.

§ 1. Pāli, like most other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects or languages, generally reduces consonant groups to double consonants, and the exceptions which it shares with Aśokan Inscriptions like the group *-tr-* show rather the process of this reduction which has affected the majority of such groups. It is nowhere clearer than in the reduction of the group *-kṣ-* which is so common in the Old Indo-Aryan stage. As in other Prakrits we can distinguish three main changes, and a fourth one affecting but two words. These are *-kḃb-*, *-cch-*, *-jjb-* and *-ggh-* in the middle of a word, and *kḃ-*, *ch-* and *jb-* initially.

§ 2. The *kḃ-* or *-kḃb-* treatment:

(a) Initially: *kḃaṇa-* a moment, instant *kṣaṇa-*; *kḃaṇika-* unstable, momentary *kṣaṇika-*, (but *chaṇa-* a festival, see § 9); *kḃattam* rule, power, *kṣatram* dominion; *kḃattar-* attendant *kṣattṛ-* a charioteer; *kḃattiya-*, *kḃattiya-* a military person *kṣatriya-*; *kḃantī* patience *kṣānti-*; *kḃama-* patient *kṣamā-*; *kḃamati* is patient, endures *kṣamate*; *kḃamanam*, *kḃamanatā* forbearance; *kḃamā* endurance *kṣamā*; *kḃamāpanā* asking for pardon *kṣamāpaṇam*; *kḃaya-* destruction, waste *kṣāya-*; *kḃara-* water, liquid *kṣaram* water; *kḃaleti*, washes, *kḃāletī* causes to wash *kṣālayati*; *kḃāra-* potash *kṣārah*; *kḃāraka-* sharp *kṣārakah*; *kḃārīka-* alka-

line; *kbitta-* thrown *ksiptā-*; *kbiṭa-* a throw *ksipab-*; *kbiṭati* throws *ksipāti*; *kbiṭanam* throwing, *kbiṭanā* mockery, *kbiṭita-* thrown out; *kbiṭṭa-* quick *ksiprām*; *kbiṇa-* wasted *ksīṇā-*; *kbiṇattam* wastage; *kbiyati* wastes away *ksīyāte*; *kbiyanaka-* wasting away; *khiram* milk, *khiranikā* a milk-giving cow *ksīrām*; *kbudā* hunger (with loss of aspiration in the second syllable through the opposition *ksud-*: *ksūdh* in combination with other words) *ksudhā*; *kbudda-* low, mean *ksudrā-*; *kbuddaka-* small *ksudraka-*; *kbup-pipāsā* hunger and thirst *ksut-pipāsā*; *kbubhati* trembles, shakes \**ksubhati*, *ksobhate*; *kbura-* a razor *ksurā-*; *kbetta-* a field *ksētra-*; *kbepa-* throwing *ksēpa-*; *kbepanam* letting fly *ksēpanam*; *kbepita-* cast away, destroyed *ksēpita-*; *kbepeti* throws in *ksēpayati*; *kbema-* tranquil, safe, calm *ksēma-*; *kbemin-* peaceful, secure, safe *ksēmin-*; *kbobha-* shaking, shock *ksobha-*; *kboma-* flaxen, *kbomam* linen *ksauma-*, *ksomam*; these are all the most important words where initial Sk. *ks-* is reduced to *kb-*.

(b) In the interior of a word: *akkha-* the axle of a wheel *ākṣa-*; *akkha-* a die *akṣā-*; *akkha-* at the end of a compound *akṣa-* for *ākṣi-*: (*paccakkha-* visible, evident *pratyakṣa-*; for other compounds see CPD. under *akkha-*); *akṣa-* an organ of sense: Pa. *akkha-*; *akkhaṇa-* misfortune *akṣaṇa-*; *akkhaṇā* lightning: *ksaṇikā*; *akkhata-* unhurt *ākṣata-*; *akkhanti-* impatience *akṣānti-*; *akkhama-* intractable *akṣama-*; *akkhamanam* not tolerating *ksāmata-*; *akkhaya-* imperishable *akṣaya-*; *akkhayita-* not yet destroyed *a-ksayita-*; *akkhara-* a syllable *akṣāra-*;

*akkeharikā* a kind of game \**akṣarikā*; *akkehi-*  
the eye *ākṣi-*; *akkebika-* *akṣika-* and *ākṣika-*;  
*akkebhini* a complete army *akṣaubhī*; *akketta-*  
having no fields *āksetra-*; *kaṭe-rukkeba-* a kind of  
creeper *vrkṣā-* (if not related to Pā. *kaṭeruha-*);  
*dakkeba-* skilled, clever *dākṣa-*; *dakkebhīna-* right  
*dākṣina-*; *dakkebhīneyya-*, *dakkebhīnā* *dākṣate*; *dākṣiṇā*;  
*dakkebhayam* cleverness *dākṣa-*; *dhāṅka-* a crow  
*dhvāṅkṣa-*; *nakkehattam* a star *nākṣatram*; *nimmak-*  
*kebika-* free from flies *nir-makṣika-*; *pakkeba-* a wing  
*pakṣā-*; *pakkebaka-* a dress made of wings  
*pakṣaka-*; *pakkebika-* fortnightly *pākṣika-*; *pakkebin-*  
a bird *pakṣin-*; *pakkebhima-*, *pakkebhīya-* *pakṣā-*;  
*pakbuma-* an eyelash *pakṣma-*, *pākṣman-*; *makkebikā*  
a fly *mākṣikā*; *rakkebasa-* *rākṣasa-*; *rukkeba* a tree  
*rukṣā-*, *vrkṣā-*; (see § 9b) *lakkebī* good fortune, luck  
*lakṣmī*; *lākbā* lac *lākṣā*; *likkebā* egg of a louse  
*likṣā*; *lūkba-* rough, coarse, *lūkbatā* unpleasant-  
ness, *lūkbasa-* harsh, rough *rūkṣā-*, *rūkṣatā*; *vipa-*  
*kekba-* hostile *vipakṣa-*; *vipakkebika-*, *vipakkebin-*  
without wings *vi-pakṣin-* etc.; the remaining exam-  
ples are to be traced to roots.

§ 3. (a) The root *ikṣ-*: *apekkhati* desires *apekṣate*;  
*avekkhati* looks at *avekṣate*; *ikkhaṇam* seeing *ikṣaṇam*  
*ikkhaṇika-* a fortune-teller *ikṣaṇika-*; *ikkhati* looks at  
*ikṣate*; *udikkhati* surveys *udikṣate*; *upaparikkhati* in-  
vestigates, *upaparikṣate*; *upaparikkhaṇam*, *upaparikkhā*  
investigation *upaparikṣaṇam*, *upaparikṣā*; *upekkbaka-*  
stoical *upekṣaka-*; *upekkhati* disregards *upekṣate*;  
*upekkhā*, *upekkhā* indifference *upekṣā*; *paccavekkhaṇam*  
regard, *paccavekkhati* considers *pratyavekṣate*; *patik-*  
*kebati* expects *pratikṣate*; *parikkbaka-* examining,

*parikkhaṇam* examining, *parikkhati* examines *parīk-ṣaka-*, *parīkṣaṇam*, *parīkṣate*; *pekkha-* wishing, *pekkha-* viewing, *pekkhati* views, looks at, *pe (k) khavant* circumspect, *pekkhā* consideration, *pekkhin-* looking at *prekṣate*, *prekṣaka-*, *prekṣā*, *prekṣin-*, etc.

(b) *ukṣ-*: *ukekḥita-* besmeared *ukṣitā-* sprinkled, moistened; *okekḥita-* besprinkled, bestrewn with *avokṣita-*, cf. *avokṣaṇam* besprinkling; (for further forms see § 10b).

§ 4. (a) *kāṅkṣ-*: *anukāṅkbin-* longing for *anukāṅkṣin-*; *ākāṅkhati* longs for *ākāṅkṣati*, *-te*; *kāṅkhati* expects *kāṅkṣati*; *kāṅkḥā* wish *kāṅkṣā*; *kāṅkhaṇam* doubt, *kāṅkhaṇīya* to be doubted *kāṅkṣati*; *kāṅkḥā-* *yati* doubts, *kāṅkḥāyanā* doubting or hesitation *kāṅkṣayati*; *paṭikāṅkhati* wishes for *pratikāṅkṣate*.

(b) *kṣam-*: *paṭikhamāpita-* forgiven; cp. *khamāpeti* Sk. *kṣamāpayati*; (see § 9a for another treatment).

(c) *kṣar-*: *pakkhara-* bordering, trimming *prakṣara-* iron armour for the defence of a horse or elephant (already *prakkhara-* in Sk. lexicons). (See §§ 10c, 12).

(d) *kṣan-*: *parikkhata-* wounded, hurt *parikṣata-*.

(e) *kṣal-*: *pakkebalati* washes, cleanses, *pakkebāleti* washes, purifies *prakṣālayati*; *avakkebalita-* washed off *ava-kṣālita-*.

(f) *kṣi-*: *akkeheyya-* indestructible, imperishable *akṣayyā-*, *akṣeya*<sup>1</sup>, undecaying; *atikehīna-* very emaciated, broken down *atī-kṣīṇa-*; *acchati* sits *ākṣeti*;

<sup>1</sup> See *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, I, p. 172 on Pāli *akkeheyya*.

*okebhāyati* lies low, *okebhāyika-* low-lying *ava-kṣāyayati*; *nikkhīna* lost, destroyed *nib-kṣīṇa* (from *nibkṣiṇoti*, *kṣāyati*); *parikkhaya-* exhaustion *parikṣaya-*; *parikkhīna-* exhausted, *parikkhīyati* is exhausted *parikṣīṇa-*, *parikṣīyate*; *vikkhīna-* destroyed, *vikkhīyati* is destroyed *vikṣīṇa-*, *vikṣīyate* (from *vikṣiṇāti* *kṣiṇoti*); *sankhaya-* destruction *saṁ-kṣaya-*; we have here three Sanskrit roots *kṣāyati* rules, governs, *kṣēti*, *kṣīyati* abides, *kṣayati*, *kṣiṇoti*, *kṣiṇāti*, wanes, diminishes, perishes.

(g) *kṣip-* : *akkebhitta-* not discarded *akṣipta-*; *akkebhitta-* drawn away *āksipta-*; *atikkipam* too soon *ati-kṣipram*; *appaṭikkhippa-* not to be refused *a-pratikṣepya-*; *avakkebhitta-*, *okebhitta-*, *avakkehipati*, *okkehipati* throws down, *avakkehipanam* *avakṣipati*, *avakṣipta-*; *avikkebepa-* *a-vikṣepa-*; *avekkehipati* jumps up, hops *\*avās-kṣipati*; *ukebhitta-*, lifted up, *ukebhittaka-*, *ukekhipati* holds up, *ukekhipanam* throwing up *utkṣipati*, *utkṣipta-*; *ukekebepa-*, *ukekebepaka-*, *ukekebepanā-*, *ukekebepaniya-* *utkṣepa-* (*ka-*), *utkṣepanam*; *upanikkhebhitta-*, *upanikkhehipati* lays down, *upanikkhebepa*, *upanikkhehipanam* *upanikṣipati*; *nikkhebhitta-* *nikkhehipati* lays down, *nikkebepa-*, *nikkebepanam* *nikṣepa-*, *nikṣipati*; *paṭikkhehipati* rejects, *paṭikkhebhitta-*, *paṭikkhebepa-* *pratikṣipati*; *parikkhebhitta-*, *parikkhehipati* surrounds *parikṣipati*; *vikkhebhitta-*, *vikkhehipati*, *vikkhehipati* is disturbed, *vikkhehipanam*, etc. *vikṣipati*; *sankhebhitta-*, *sankhehipati* shortens, *sankhehippa-* *saṁ-kṣipati* *saṁ-kṣipta-*, etc.; *sannikkebepanam* elimination *saṁ-nikṣipati*.

(h) *kṣubbh-* : *akkebhobbha-* imperturbable *akṣobbhya-*; *akkebhobbhana-* *a-kṣobbhana-*; *vikkhebhobbha-* thoroughly shaken up *vikṣobbhita-*; *sankhebhobbhati* is shaken,

*saṅkhubhita-*, *saṅkhobha-* commotion, *saṅkhobheti saṅkṣobhayati*, *saṅkṣobha-*, etc. (See § 106 for another treatment).

(i) *kṣai-* : There are no examples of this root for the *-kṣ-* treatment.

§ 5. (a) *cakṣ-* : *cakkebu-* the eye *cāksu-*, *cakṣuḥ*; *cakkebhuka-*, *cakkebumant-*, *cakkebhula-*, *cakkebussa-* pleasant *cakṣusya-*; *vicakkebu-*(*ka-*) *vicakṣus-*; *vicakkebhaṇa-* *vicakṣaṇa-*.

(b) desiderative of *tij-* : *tittikṣ-* : *titikkehati* bears, endures, stands *titikṣate*; *titikkebhā* endurance, forbearance *titikṣā*; *sutikkebha-* easy to endure *sutitikṣa-*.

(c) *dīkṣ-* : *dikkebhita-* initiated into, consecrated *dīkṣitā-*.

(d) *drṣ-* : *dakekbhiti*, *dakekbhati* sees *drakṣyati*, *addakekhi* *adrākṣīt*; whence *dakekbitum*, *dakekbāpita-*, *dakekbin-*.

(e) *bhakṣ-* : *abbibhakkebhayati* eats *abhi-bhakṣayati*; *bhakekha-* eating, *bhakekbhati*, *bhakekheti* *bhakṣāyati*.

(f) *bhikṣ-* : *dubbikekham* famine, scarcity, *durbhikṣam*; *bhikkhaka-* a beggar, *bhikkhati*, *bhikkhā*, *bhikkbu*, *bhikkbhuka*, *bhikkbumi* *bhikṣati*, *bhikṣu-*, *bhikṣā*, etc.

(g) future and desiderative stems of *bhuj-* : *bubbukkebhita-* hungry *bubbukṣita-*; *bhokekham* I will eat *bhokṣyāmi*; *bhokkebi(n)* wishing to eat.

(h) certain forms of the root *muc-* : *adhi-mokkebha-* firm resolve *adhi-mokṣa-*; *pamokkebha-* letting loose *pra-mokṣa-*; *mokkebha-* liberation *mokṣa-*; *mokkebasi*, *mokkebanti* *mokṣyati*, *-te*, or *mokṣati*; *vip̐pamokkebha-*

release, deliverance *vipramokṣa-*; *vimokkha-* emancipation *vimokṣa-*, *pātimokkha-* a collection of precepts.

(i) *mṛkṣ-* or *mṛakṣ-* : *nimakkeba-* without deception, not false *nirmṛakṣa-*; *makkha-* hypocrisy *mṛakṣa-*; *makkhaṇam* smearing oil *mṛakṣaṇam*; *makkhita-*, *makkhbin-*, *makkhbeti* smears *mṛakṣayati*;—whence *makkhāpeti*, *makkhīyati*, etc.

§ 6. There is one interesting form in Pāli as in Ardhamāgadhi Prakrit, the origin of which may be investigated here. We have Pa.Amg. *milakkebu-* as against the Pk. forms *miccha-*, *mīliccha-*, and *meccha-* on the one hand, and Sk. *mlecchā-* on the other hand. The Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas give us the root *mlecchati* speaks indistinctly, and the infinitive form *mlecchitavai* occurs by the side *apabbhāsitavai* in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Pāli has regularly *milakkeba-* also. Now we have in Sanskrit *mṛkṣati*, *mṛkṣayati* or *mṛakṣayati* speaks indistinctly or incorrectly. If we take the Old Indo-Aryan form as *mṛkṣati* or *mṛkṣayati*, which with dialectic variation would also give us the form *\*mṛkṣati*, *\*mṛkṣayati* (cf. *mlakṣayati* cuts, divides), we have the original source from which the Vedic derived *mlecchā-* (through reduction of *-l-* to *-li-* in *mlich-* or *mliccb-* and *-kṣ-* to *-ccb-*) and Pa. *milakkeba-* (through *mlakṣa-*). We shall see in § 14 that the change of *-r-* to *-l-* and *kṣ-* to *-ccb-* characterise the same area. The change of *-l-* to *-li-* in the Veda has its correspondence in the form *kṛmi-* : *kṛmi-*, or of *-r-* to *-ri-*.

§ 7. (a) Certain forms of the root *yaj-* : *yakkha-* a supernatural being *yakṣa-*; whence *yakkhīnī*, *yakkhī*, *yakkhatta-*.



(b) *rakṣ-* : *anurakkehati* guards, watches over *anurakṣati*; whence *anurakkbaka-*, *anurakkbhanam*, *anurakkebā*, *anurakkebin-*, *anurakkehiya-*; *ārak-kha-* protection, care, *ārakkebika-* a guard, watchman *ārakṣa-*, *ārakṣika-*; whence *arakkheyya-*; *dūrakkbha-* difficult to guard *dur-rakṣa-*; *rakkehati* protects, *rakkbaka-*, *rakkbha-*, *rakkbana-(ka-)*, *rakkebā*, *rakkebita-rakṣati*.

(c) *lakṣ-* : *abhilakkebita-* designed, fixed *abhilakṣita-*; *alakkhika-* unfortunate *alṣika-*; *upalakkhanā*, *uplakkeheti* discriminates *uplakṣayati*; *lakkha-* a mark *lākṣman-*; *lakekhañña-* auspicious *lakṣanya-*; *lakkhana-*, *lakkhika-*, *lakkhita-*, *lakkheti* characterises *lakṣayati*, *-te*; *vilakkhana-* wrong mark *vilakṣaṇam* *sallakkeheti* observes *sam-lakṣayati*.

(d) certain forms of the root *vac-*: *vakkehati* he will speak *vaksyāti*; *vakkhamāna-* *vaksyamāna-*.

(e) *viṣ-*: *pavekkehati* *praveksyati* (see § 106 for another development).

(ee) the future base of *śak-*: *śakṣ-*: *sakkehati* *śaksyati*, whence *sakkehi*, *sakkebissati*, and *asakkehi*, *sakkehi* *asakkehimha*, etc.

(f) *śikṣ-*: *anusikkehati* imitates, *anusikkebāpeti* teaches *anusikṣayati*; *anusikkebin-* studying; *sikkehati* learns, *sikkebana-* study, *sikkebā*, *sikkebāpadam* set of precepts, *sikkebāpaka-* teaching, *sikkebāpanam*, *sikkebāpanakam*, *sikkebita-* taught *śikṣati*, *-te*, *śikṣaṇam*, *śikṣā*, etc.; *sekkha-*, *sekha-* pertaining to teaching *śaikṣa-*, *śaikṣya-*.

(g) certain forms of the root *han-*: *paṭi-haṅkhamāmi* I shall destroy *prati-haniṣyāmi*; the form *-haṅkhamāmi* is evidently for the future *haṁsyāmi* and

with contamination of *hanisyāti*, arises from *\*hañk-syāmi*. (See § 10f for a different development).

§ 8. Cases not included above: *ikēka-* a bear (with unexplained loss of aspiration) *ṛkṣa-*, (cf. *Ok-kāka-*: *Ikṣvāku-* for similar loss); *sakkehi-* witness *sākeṣin-*; (but *-ccb-* elsewhere, see § 9b)—*sarikkēba-* similar to *sadrkṣa-*; *cokkēba-* clean *cokṣa-*.

Only two cases of the group *-kṣṇ-* may be treated here, for where *svarabhakti* has not affected the word containing this group we have either *-kēb-* as in *tikēbā-*: *tikṣṇā-*, or *-ṇḥ-* *-ṇḥ-* as in *saṇḥa-*: *ślakṣṇā-*. The cases in point are Pāli *tikkhiṇa-* sharp *tikṣṇā-* (through *tikṣiṇa-*), and *abbikkēbaṇa-* (besides *abhiṇḥa-*) often *abbikkṣṇam*.

§ 9. The *ch-* or *-ccb-* treatment:

(a) Initially: *culla-* minor *kṣulla-* (through *kṣudrā-*: *\*kṣudlā-*); for the loss of aspiration (for Pk. has *chulla-* besides *culla-*). TURNER connects the form with Middle Indo-Aryan *\*cudla-* and ultimately with I.-E. *\*qued-*: Lat. *cūdo* and Middle Irish *cuad*, Sk. *codati*, *codanā*—*chāṇa-* a festival *kṣaṇa-* (but *khaṇa-* elsewhere); *chamā* the earth *kṣamā*; *chāta-* hungry *kṣātā-* emaciated, wasted, thin, slim, slender (usually connected with Sk. *psāti* eats, consumes, *psātā-* chewed, eaten, but the sense justifies relationship with *kṣāyati*); *chātakam* famine *kṣāmā-*; *chārikā* ashes *kṣāra-*, (*kbāra-* elsewhere); *chuddha-* rejected, expelled *kṣubdha-* (if not with *skubhnāti*, *\*ścobb-*, see TURNER-N. under *chunu*); *chubhati* *kṣubhyati* (through *\*kṣubhati*, if not from above); *churikā* a knife *kṣurikā*; *vicchurita-* besprinkled: *vicchuraṇam* sprinkling (cf. *kṣu-*

*rati* makes lines or furrows: *churayati* strews or sprinkles).

(b) In the interior of a word: *accha-* a bear *ṛkṣa-* (besides *ikṣa-*, see § 8); *ucchu-* sugar-cane *ikṣu-*; *uda-kaccha-* a swamp, *kaccha-* a reed, a marsh, *kacchapa-* marsh dweller, tortoise, *kacchaputa-* reed-basket, *kacchā* the armpit, *kakṣā-*, *kakṣā*, *kakṣapa-*, etc. (already rendered as *kaccha-*, *kacchapa-*, *kacchā*, etc. in Sk.); *kucchi-* the belly *kukṣi-*; *taraccha-* a hyena *tarākṣu-*, *tarakāṣa*; *vaccha-mālā* an ornamental plant *vṛkṣā-*; *sacchikata-* realized *sākṣīkṛta-* witnessed; *sacchikaraṇīya-* to be witnessed, *sacchikaroti* witnesses, causes to attest *sākṣīkaroti* (for *sakkehi-* see § 8).

§ 10. (a) *ikṣ-*: *abbiicchita-* (with v.l. *abhijjhita-*, see § 11b) desired, wished for *abhīkṣita-* looked towards, expected; two other likely etymologies have been suggested: *abhiicchita-* in Pāli or *abhīpsita-* in Sanskrit, but neither can satisfactorily explain the v.l. *abhijjhita-*, which PED. connects with Sk. *abhidhyai-*.

(b) *ukṣ-*: Although we cannot trace the connection directly between Sk. *ukṣāti*, *ukṣāte*<sup>1</sup>; sprinkles, moistens, wets and Sk. *uñchati* gathers, gleans (giving us in Pāli *\*ukkehati*, cf. *ukkehita-* besprinkled, and *uñchati* seeks or gathers for sustenance) it becomes evident if we study Sk. *prokṣati* besprinkles and *proñchati* wipes out, effaces: Pā. *puñchati* wipes off, cleans, *puñchana-* wiping, *puñchanī* a cloth for wiping, a towel, and Sk. *aṅgoñchabh*, *aṅgoñchanam* a towel; this leads us to suppose that

<sup>1</sup> Sk. *uñkhati* moves, goes (only in Dhātupāṭha), appears to be connected with this.

already in Sk. *ukṣāti*, -te, has given us the Prakritised form *uñchati* with a slight differentiation of meaning. For modern descendants see TURNER-N. under *puchnu*, *pochnu* and *pokbnu*. The sense of wetting or moistening is clearly understood in the descendants of *proñchati*.

(c) *kṣar-*: *niccharaṇam* emanation, efflux, sending out, *niccharati* to go or come out, *nicchāreti* emits (related to Sk. *niṣcarati* in PED.) *kṣāratī* flows, glides, streams (see § 12 for the -ggh- treatment and § 3c for -kkh- treatment).

(d) *kṣud-*: *nicchodeti* shakes or throws about *kṣodati* shakes, *kṣodayati* shakes or agitates, stamps on;—TURNER-N. (v.s.v. *copnu*) however suggests connection with OI-A. \**ścod-* (through *niścod-*: Sk. *codayati*).

(e) *kṣubb-*: *nicchuddha-* thrown out, *nicchubhati* throws out, *nicchubbanam* ejection *kṣobbate*, *kṣubhyati*, *kṣubdha-*; it is however more correct to take this with TURNER as from \**ścobb-*.

(f) *kṣai-*: *nicchāta-* having no hunger, pacified *niḥ-kṣāta-* free from burning, pacified. PED. suggests connection with *psātā-* chewed, eaten. (see § 11b, 2 for *jb-* treatment).

(g) *takṣ-*: *taccha-* a carpenter *tākṣan-*; *tacchaka-* a class of serpents or Nāgas, a carpenter *takṣakā-*; *tacchati* builds, constructs, *taccheti* frames, chips *takṣati*, *takṣayati*, *tvakṣati* creates, pares, etc.; *vitacchita-* planed, smoothed, *vitaccheti* planes, smooths *vi-takṣayati*.

(h) *viś-*: *paveccati* gives, bestows *pra-vek-*

*syati* (if not from *prayacchati*: \**payecchati*, see PED. s.v.).

(i) *han-*: the future form *hañchati*, *hañchiti*, *hañchema* are explained by the theory of the *abhinidhāna* according to HELMER SMITH<sup>1</sup>: *hañchiti* \**hansiti*: \**bantsiti*. In Sk. we have beside *hanisyāti* the form *hanisyati* which we have discussed in connection with Pa. *paṭibhaṅkhati* (§ 7g). We naturally expect from this form the development \**hañkisyati* which has given us the two series.

§ 11. The *jb-* or *-jjb-* treatment:

(a) Initially: *jbatta-* set on fire, consumed, dried up *ḷṣāta-*; *jbānam* conflagration, fire, *jbāpaka-* one who sets fire, *jbāpita-* set on fire, *jbāpeti* burns, *jbavā* having burnt *ḷṣāpayati* burns; *jbāma-* burning *ḷṣāmā*; *jbāyati* burns, is on fire *ḷṣāyati* takes fire; *ibāyanam* cremation \**ḷṣāyanam*.

(b) Medially:

1. *īḷṣ-*: *abbijjbā* covetousness *abb-īḷṣā* expectation (PED. connects this with *abbi-dhyai-*); *abbijjbīta-* (v.l. for *abbicchīta-*, see § 10a) coveted *abbīḷṣita-*.

2. *ḷṣai-*: *nijjbānam* conflagration, *nijjbāma-* burning away, *nijjbāyati* is consumed, *nijjbāyanam* consumption, burning away; *pa-jjbāyati* wastes, decays *ḷṣāyati*.

3. The forms *nijjbatta-* appeased, *paṇinijjbatta-* appeased again, (connected by PED. with Sk. *dhyai-*) \**ni-ḷṣapta-* (from *ḷṣapati*, *ḷṣapate* does penance, appeases).

<sup>1</sup> L' Indo-Aryen du Veda aux temps modernes, (BLOCH), p. 88

§ 12. The *-ggb-* treatment is seen only in two examples: *paggharaṇam* oozing, trickling, *paggharaṇaka-* flowing, dripping, *paggharati* trickles *prakṣā-rati*, *prakṣaraṇam*, etc.—*sagghasi śakṣyasi* (through analogy of *śagdhī*, the imperative form ?) {see § 7 ec. for *-kebh-* treatment}.

§ 13. Multiple treatment: *ṛkṣa-*: *accha-*, *ikka-* (§§ 8, 9b); *kṣaṇa-*: *khaṇa-*, *chaṇa-* (§§ 2a, 9a); *kṣamā-*: *khamā*, *chamā* (§§ 2a, 9a); *kṣara-*: *pakkhara-*, *niccharaṇam*, *paggharati* (§§ 2a, 4c, 10); *kṣubb-*: *akkhobbha-*, *nicchubbati* (§§ 4h, 10e); *kṣāyati*: *nicchāta-* *jhāyati* (§§ 10f, 11a); *veṣati*: *paveccati*, *pavekkhati* (§§ 7e, 10e); *haṁsyati*: *haṅkhati*, *hañchati* (§§ 7g, 10f); *ikṣāte*: *ikkhati*, *abbicchati*, *abbijjhati* (§§ 3a, 10a, 11b); *ukṣāte*: *ukkhati*, *puñchati* (§§ 3b, 10b); *kṣudrā-*: *khudda-*, *culla-* (§§ 2a, 9a); *vykṣā-*: *rukkeha-* *vaccha-* (§§ 2b, 9b); *sākṣin-*: *sakkehi-* *sacchi-* (§§ 8, 96); *śakṣyasi*: *sakkebasi*, *sagghasi* (§§ 7ee, 12).

§ 14. Thus we see that the majority of cases are reduced to *-kebh-* and the second most favoured treatment is *-ccb-*; the *-jjh-* treatment is mostly confined to the root *kṣāyati*, and we have only two examples of the *-ggb-* treatment. Now if we compare Pāli with the other Prakrit languages we observe a greater confusion in the mixing of the forms; for where Pāli has *kucchi* for Sk. *kukṣī-*, Pk. gives us: M.Amg.JM. *kucchi-*, Amg.S. *kukkhi-*; similarly Pa. *pekkhati*: M.Amg.JM. *pecchāi*, S. *pekkhadi*; — Pa. *sārikkha-*: M.JM.JS. *sāriccha-*, Amg.S.Ap. *sārikkha-*; Pa. *kaccha-*: M. *kaccha-*, Amg. JM. *kakkeha-*; Pa. *tacchati*: *tacchāi takkhai* in Pk. Similarly Pa. *akkhi-*: M. Amg. JM.S. *acchi-*, Amg.JM.S.Ap. *akkhi-*. Now accor-

ding to the Prakrit Grammarians the normal treatment of the group *-kṣ-* is *-kēb-* (cf. Var. 3, 29; Hc. 2, 3; PISCHEL § 317); the *-ccb-* treatment is relegated to an *ākṛtigāṇa* "*akṣyādi*" (Var. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17). An examination of the examples in PISCHEL suggest the following conclusion: where a variation to *-ccb-* is possible, M. generally favours the *-ccb-* treatment, while S. favours the *-kēb-* treatment. This shows us the inherent tendency of M. for we have to regard this as an innovation in M. whereas the *-kēb-* in Pk. as such will be a conservation of Middle Indo-Aryan *-kēb-* from Sk. *-kṣ-*. An examination of the Aśokan Inscriptions has led JULES BLOCH<sup>1</sup> to the conclusion that there is a dialectical division: *-ccb-* in the West and North-West, *-kēb-* in the East. We find that Amg.JM.JS. tend to go now with the Western group, now with the Central group. If BLOCH's classification is right, we should class Pāli with the Central rather than the Western dialects. Of particular interest here is the Pā.Amg. form *milakebu-*: Sk. *mlecchā-*, which illustrates the form current in the East (with *-kēb-* for *-kṣ-* and *-l-* for *-ṛ-*) and supports our derivation from *mrkṣati*: *\*mlkṣati*: Sk. *mlich-*.

§ 15. PISCHEL has tried to explain the different treatments of *-kṣ-* on the basis of its origin in Indo-Iranian. He suggests that (a) if *-kṣa-* goes back to *-śṣa-* we have Av. *śa*, Pk. *ccha*; (b) original *kṣa*: Av. *ḥṣa*, Pk. *kēba*; (c) if *kṣa* goes back to *ṣṣa* we have Pk. *ijha*; (see PISCHEL, §§318-326). WOOLNER in his *Intro-*

<sup>1</sup> *La Langue Marathe*. § 104.—See also TURNER, *Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*. § 14, and *Gujarati Phonology*. § 98.

*duction to Prakrit* (2nd ed., p. 21, § 40, *Note*) seems to doubt this view on account of the difficulty of pronouncing such groups as *ṣṣa* etc. Unless we study minutely the Indo-Iranian dialects it is not possible to accept or reject PISCHEL's division; for the present it must remain tentative only. In any event, so far as the Prakrit forms are concerned, there is so much interborrowing and analogical transformations that it is not possible to fall back entirely on the Indo-Iranian origin.

§ 16. I have used the following abbreviations:

PISCHEL. Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen.

TURNER-N. A comparative and etymological Dictionary of Nepali.

Var. Vararuci:-- Prākṛta-prakāśa.

PED. The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary.

CPD. A Critical Pāli Dictionary, begun by Trenckner, edited by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith.

Hc. Hemacandra: Siddha-Hemacandra, chap. VIII.

Amg. Ardha-Māgadhī, Ap. Apabhramśa, Av. Avesta; JM. Jaina M.;

JS. Jaina S.; M. Māhārāṣṭrī; Pk. Prakrit; S. Saurasenī; others are self-evident.



## AN ACCOUNT OF FIROZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ

(*From Sirat-i-Firoz Shāhi*)

(In continuation of J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII, Part III,  
P. 274)

By PROF. K. K. BASU, M.A., T. N. J. COLLEGE,  
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The communication relating to the murder of Taghi Tāghi, who had for years refused allegiance to the late Sultan Muhammad Shāh, *May god shed lustre on his demonstrations*, reached the ears of Sultan Firoz Shāh the same day.

As the story goes, Taghi was a Turki slave. (Once, it so happened) that a number of merchants, having come from Turkistan to the court of the noble martyr and *ghāzi* Tughluq Shāh (Muhammad Tughlaq) *May God bless his sepulchre!* obtained eminence by their service at the court and made a presentation of gifts and slaves to the Emperor. Taghi was one of those Turkish slaves (presented to the Emperor by the merchants). The Emperor, having condescended to accept the presents, placed Taghi in the service of Safdaru-l-Mulk, a noble of his court. Diligent and intelligent as he was, Taghi had a run of luck. His work was highly appreciated by the Emperor, who after the death of Safdaru-l-Mulk, appointed Taghi as the Police Superintendent of the court. He was subsequently made the Super-

intendent of Khwaja-Jehan Ahmad Ayaz's army, in which service he was actively engaged, when unexpectedly, he deviated from his line of duty.

### VERSE

When a man's luck fails

Whatever he does is of no avail!

Taghi was imprisoned and ostracised for his impropriety, and was carried in chains to Cambay whence he was to be sent by sea to Yemen and there to be kept under the care of Malikul-Majahid.

Meanwhile the chiefs of Guzrat, such as, Mubārak Haur Niyāl, Jallū and Qāzi Jalāl ran restive and the army of Guzrat being led astray by the insurgents joined the mutinous body. The rebels put the towns and the villages of the country to plunder. On receiving this piece of information the deceased Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, *May God extol his recompense!* personally set out from Delhi with the object of rooting out the recalcitrants. Reaching his destination, His Majesty appointed Sheikh Zādā Muizu-l-Huq wā ud dīn, son of Sheikhu-l-Islām 'Alau-l-Huq wā ud dīn and grandson of Sheikhu-l-Islām Faridu-l-Huq wā ud dīn, the governor of Guzrat. The said Sheikh Zādā was related to the family the members of which enjoyed the confidence and regard of the general public and which produced noble and wonderful saints, the banner of whose greatness and renown majestically floated over the sky of Faith. The territory of Guzrat, its dependencies and vicinities were conferred on the Sheikh Zādā. To him was committed supreme

power in expanding territories, making alliances and dismissing officials.

The rebels of Guzrat, who had mustered strong prior to the advent of the Sultan, laid siege to Cambay. This city was an emporium of trade and a place of refuge for travellers passing by sea and land to Arabia and Persia. Taghi, who had been confined and imprisoned at Cambay now gave evidence of his fidelity and thus earned his freedom. He brushed up the inhabitants of Cambay and taxed his energies in discomfiting the brawlers. It was on account of his alertness and precaution that he could repress the iniquity of the demagogues. The hope of securing the royal compassion having now established itself in his timid heart, and being confident of receiving royal favour, Taghi hastened to the court of the Sultan, the refuge of sovereigns, *May God shed lustre on his demonstration!*

## VERSE

I do repent and place my head on thy feet;  
'Thou art an Emperor charitable, and I a  
penitent slave of thine!

Out of his excessive generosity, the Sultan of Sultans, *May his sepulchre be pure*, condoned Taghi's misbehaviours and took pity on him. The Sultan conferred upon him stipends in reward for his meritorious services.

## VERSE

The concern of the slave gained fresh  
support,  
And his possessions and assets set in order;

Bereft of fame and reputation was he out of  
Emperor's anger,

New fame he now received and a reputation  
green.

From the cup-bearer of the Emperor of  
land and sea

(He) received brand new goblets filled with  
wines of desires.

For destroying the enemies of the Empire  
He (Taghi) held in his angry hands the  
new sword!

When the stirrup of the late auspicious Em-  
peror neared the country of Guzrat, the mutineers  
took recourse to flight towards Daulatabad.

#### VERSE

Those who took umbrage  
Were by triumphant dagger punished!

To 'Alam Malik, the governor of Daulatabad,  
a firmān was issued ordering him to appear at the  
court with his following. The mandate was trans-  
mitted to the Commandant through Qataltash Hus-  
sain and Hīsam ud dīn Qawī. (In the meanwhile)  
the forces of Daulatabad had joined their hands  
with the traitors of Guzrat and having turned re-  
bellious seized 'Alam Malik and placed him under  
chains in the fort of Dhārāgir. They now put  
Qataltash, Hīsam ud dīn and others to death. Ismail  
Makh (the leader of the mutineers) made (himself)  
the target for the arrow of misfortune by establish-  
ing his independence. (At last) the runagates

assumed control over Daulatabad and Deogir and their dependencies and vicinities.

This news transpired to His Majesty.

VERSE

(Oh, Emperor!)

This ingratitude that's displayed in public  
Is from those that are reckoned among  
your slaves.

Those ungrateful will at last be damned  
and become penitent

For, it's the evil-doer who always comes to  
grief.

Thou, an Emperor fortunate and those  
malevolent unlucky,

Between you and them let there be no amity!

On receiving this intelligence, the Emperor marched against the rioters. He appointed Tātār Malik Bahādur Sultāni his *locum tenens* at Asāwal for the purpose of bringing order in the country, collecting taxes, fitting out troops and assisting Sheikh Muizuddin, the governor of Guzrat. Taghi, (it is reported) possessed an Arabian horse and a Guzrāti female slave. Tatar Malik set his eyes upon Taghi's belongings.

VERSE

Forsake greed and attain perfection;  
(For) it is the unaspiring who flourish,  
Avidity stitches the eyes of the Intelligent, and  
The birds and the beasts it brings into  
the net;

Continnence breeds distinction and desire  
distress

Be thou honourable and shake off affliction!

(After all) Taghi, refused to give up the said horse and the slave for which there was created a bad blood between the two (Tatar Malik and Taghi). When Tatar Malik did not gain his ends he opened out the flood-gates of oppression upon Taghi and thus put him to distress. Tatar began sending out threats (to Taghi) saying that he would report to the Sultan about his (Taghi's) impudence and deviation from the proper path, folly and foolhardiness. Taghi became more frightened than hurt. He now scampered off to Nahrwala Patan, where he put Sheikh Muizuddin and his men to death and shut up the city.

(In the meantime), the victorious banner of the Emperor reached Daulatabad. The red republicans of Daulatābād and Deogir arraigned themselves for battle and the awe-inspiring (Imperial) army unsheathed their swords. The Emperor personally took part in the conflict. (At last), the anarchists were imprisoned and put to the sword.

#### VERSE

The army of victorious Emperor fought.  
The noise of "Quarter" rose up in the sky;  
Like a shot was the country won  
And the story (of bravery) stamped in the  
memory;  
A signal victory was won and attained in  
a day or two

By the grace of God and Emperor's dignity  
Great was the victory, and with hundreds  
of such

May God bless the Emperor hereafter!

The emigrants that had out of Sultan's fear,  
taken to their heels were divided into two parties,  
one of which ran off to Gulburgah.

His Majesty now laid the impregnable fortress  
of Deogir and Dhārāgir under blockade, and ordered  
for the erection of a new fort to be used as a prison  
house for the seceders. By the aid of God the con-  
quest of Deogir was effected. Now, Ismail Makh,  
with his own following pounced upon Dhārāgir and  
was about to score a victory.

But,

#### VERSE

Man proposes, but if he has no luck  
His plan is of no avail; whatever is prede-  
stined happens.

In the interim, informations regarding Ṭaghi's  
line of conduct reached His Majesty. He rapped  
out, "A very serious insurrection has cropped up  
in Guzrat, and the affairs at Daulatabad are less ser-  
ious than those at the former place. If the contuma-  
cious Ṭaghi is not immediately suppressed he would  
light up such a fire of insurrection which it would  
be difficult to put out." (Thus) the Khans and the  
Amirs who congregated at the Emperor's order  
were given suitable rewards and made to proceed  
along the imperial forces to Guzrat.

In the interval, Taghi had marched against Bhroach and invested it. When the Emperor reached the Narbada, Taghi gave up the siege and took himself off to Cambay. His Majesty sent out Malik Yusuf Bogra, the Senior Master of the Horse, and an old servant of the court, in pursuit of the fugitive. Malik Yusuf drew up his forces, and Taghi, likewise, was prepared for an engagement, and in the battle which commenced near Cambay, the Malik was slain and his disconcerted soldiery returned to the Emperor. Then, Taghi with his followers marched to Takalpur, situated at a distance of twenty-four miles from Patan, and pitched his tent at the place.

When the vanguard of the Imperialist forces brought the information regarding the whereabouts of the enemies, the Emperor with continuous marches, made a rush at them. Taghi prepared himself for action at Takalpur. His Majesty, having personally drawn up his troops in battle array defeated Taghi and the other insurgents. Most of the miscreants were either put to death or imprisoned. With a handful of attendants Taghi absconded to Nahrwala Patan.

The Emperor commanded, "Khizr Yusuf Bughra ought to avenge the death of his father Malik Yusuf and try for the extirpation of the murderer". (So) Khizr Yusuf was now sent out with a big force against the fugitive insurgent. Having no experience, Khizr was naturally afraid of making the pursuit, and instead of rapidly advancing against the enemy he made a slow movement. It



has been rightly said that—

VERSE

In affairs weighty men with experience need  
be sent,  
So that he might bring fierce lion within  
the snare;  
Strong-necked and elephant-bodied young-  
men with no experience of war,  
Are apt in terror to be disjointed of their  
limbs.

No sooner had Khizr Yusuf reached Patan than Taghi with his army and attendants left the place and sought refuge with the rebels of Sindh, who had stationed themselves at Marilah. The Sultan now made up his mind to put down Taghi and the rebels of Sindh, and this story is so well known that it scarcely needs any commentary or description. Some of the older folks have witnessed the event, whilst others have heard it.

After the demise of Muhammad Shah Tughluq, the sovereignty received glory with the accession of Firoz Shah, and the Imperialists made their way to Delhi. It was at that time that, Taghi, with the garb of obedience put round him, approached Malik Naikbi, the keeper of the Seals, Malik Bahr Alm Mir Gaznin and Malik Tawakiz Beg, who had been entrusted with the administration of Guzrat. The real intention of the rebel was to beat down the aforesaid officials, but owing to the blessing and prosperity conferred upon them by God, The Great and Glorious, who had made them his chosen,

the Amirs were on their guard. They imprisoned Taghi and put him to death.

## VERSE

It behoveth thee to show thy manliness  
and vigour,  
Though the enemy by his action places  
his feet on the tomb!  
It's indiscreet to destroy the just claims of  
hospitality  
It's as imprudent as running into danger!

It was a day for joyful tidings and one pleasure  
above another was accumulated. A number of  
Maliks, Amirs, soldiers and tribal chiefs sought  
refuge at the court of the Emperor, the refuge of  
Kings, and put the collars of obedience round  
their faithful necks.

## VERSE

His (Firoz Tughluq's) inner court is the  
birthplace of many a king;  
In equity and protection he stands unrivalled;  
The world is subdued by him as the body  
is conquered by the soul;  
The Sphere is in front of his stirrups and  
Time under his bridle!

## VERSE

Oh Emperor!  
The place where thy cavalcade encamp  
The Heavens bid welcome!

The Augury bides its time at thy door  
And everywhere the race is run.

Delhi, the imperial seat, was bestowed with  
a diadem made of the dust that arose from the hoofs  
of the world-traversing imperial cavalry, and with  
the auspicious arrival of His Majesty the royal throne  
received its ornamentation, and there arose the voice  
of peace and prosperity on all sides.

#### VERSE

By virtue of thy benevolence thou hast made the  
world submissive:

It is not that thy commands are ineffectual:

Conquest and (providential) help are ever by the  
side of thy army

Round thy banner felicity and prosperity serve  
as soldiers !

The story of thy indignation work upon the  
treacherous and wicked enemy like an attack of the  
lion on the deceptious fox !

On the arrival of the Emperor (at the capital)  
the thistle of fear was rooted out from the bosom of  
the subjects and the rose of safety blossomed in the  
garden of their hearts; the bird-like hearts of the  
subjects would look full at the eagle of tyranny.

#### COUPLET

( Oh Emperor ! )

Wherever the halo of thy arrival casts its lustre,  
The tough job becomes a mere child's play !

## COUPLET

Thy pomp is like the glory of Faridun  
And thy justice like that of Nowsherwan;  
Oh God ! the world is no stranger to thy equity,  
The lion serves as the Superintendent over the  
wolf and the herd !

His Majesty, the bestower of presents, now show-  
ered down gifts upon his subjects:—

## VERSE

To the nobles and the public, great and small  
The free and the slave, near and far, old and young  
He is a donor of beneficence: None in the world  
without some reason  
Has received from thee some form of dispensa-  
tion !

Thus, the inhabitants of the city (Delhi) who had  
laboured under afflictions were now in a transport  
of delight.

## VERSE

The sphere forgiving and the Mars revengeful  
The sun sympathetic and the planet hostile  
March along the globe at his (Emperor's) orders.  
By the authority of his command a mountain  
resembles an arrow in flight;  
For him, the world is full of milk and honey,  
For his equity, it is free from injury;  
Now all are devoted to thee, the fortunate and the  
cheerful,  
The race of Hindus and the body of seditious;

At the glory of his approach, the poor became  
merry,

They were freed from excessive labour, inequity  
and debt;

In his presence the (royal) banner becomes vic-  
torious

To him likewise the hostile seeks refuge;

Thus, all the subjects are today

His slave, well-wisher and suppliant; they praise  
him !

His Majesty bestowed upon his subjects and the  
officers rewards such as movable and immovable  
properties, jewels and other precious metals, houses  
and estates. He removed their wants and affliction  
by conferring on them wealth; he bestowed on them  
dignity in lieu of scorn and contempt; he granted them  
fresh lease of life, and, (in fact) uprooted the thorns of  
rebellion and disorder and sowed the seed of power  
in the garden of security and rest.

#### VERSE

His Majesty wielded authority in such a way that  
The intricacies of government remained (hidden)  
in the ringlets of darkness;

The foundation of heresy he destroyed, so that  
Satan

Became courteous and well-behaved;

Victory serves as the night-watch of his court.

The book of knowledge is his constant guide;

The safety of the people and the palladium of the  
world.

Spring from his providential advent and self-  
possession !

After a time, the people living in the frontier (of the empire) sent out a petition to His Majesty, stating how Sultan Shamsuddin of Lakhnauti having reached the suburbs of Benares had betrayed the cloven foot to inhabitants of the place, and how subsequently, having marched out to Bahraich, with his army and fleet, had made a pilgrimage to the musoleum of Sipah Sālār Mas'ud; how, again, the people of those parts who were victimised having turned away from the malefactor had sought refuge at the Imperial court.

The reason that brought the oppressor to those parts was explained by the fact that having devastated Benares and its vicinity, and thereby completing the task on which he had set out and while on his return journey to his own country Shamsuddin turned to his nobles. These nobles, it is said, had been appointed as the Sultan's *locum tenens*, but on account of their extreme arrogance and pride, they had allowed their perverse thoughts to ferment in the cup of their brains. "I have committed a great sin", he confessed to them "in not visiting the holy sepulchre of Sipāh Sālār Mas'ud Ghazi, on my way from Benares to Bahraich. It is the place where the sick and the afflicted usually resort to. The leprous and the cankered fly for refuge at the cemetery and having besmeared themselves with the holy dust of the place get rid of their disease."

The truth is, that on account of his illimitable acts of annoyance and molestation caused to humanity, Sultan Shamsuddin suffered from an attack of leprosy. Having put on the robe of a supplicant he had made

up his mind to secure blessings from the necropolis of the late Sipāh-Sālār. Accordingly, the year following, the Sultan with his own fleet and army left Lakhnauti for Bahraich and proceeded via Gorakhpur and Karosah, the dependencies of Oudh, and pitched his tents at the destination. On the completion of his pilgrimage he looked big, and on his return to the capital he opened the flood-gates of violence and oppression on the agent who had been appointed to carry on the administration during his absence. "Fie upon it!" the Sultan in reproach said, "My affairs have been entirely neglected. Of what avail are all these strength and magnificence, my army and navy? The expedition that I led to Benares and the pilgrimage that I made to the mortuary at Bahraich are all fit for the dust hole! Had I gone the other way," the speaker continued, "and visited Delhi, the Imperial city and had I paid my reverence to Sheikh-ul-Islam Nizam-ul-Huq wa ud din none would have made a stand against me. But my concern and solicitude for the welfare of the citizens of Delhi," he further admitted, "stood in my way. Thus, I did not proceed further, but returned from the grave of Sipāh-sālār Mā'sud."

On a subsequent occasion there came a petition to His Majesty Firoz Shah stating how the inhabitants of Bengal had been put to endless oppressions at the hands of Shamsuddin. It was reported that a large number of people were put to death with great cruelty and a greater number were smitten. The petitioners implored help from the Emperor and sought his interference in the matter.

## VERSE

(Oh Emperor !)

The people hold their breath;  
They expect shelter under the shadow of thy  
justice.

Those that have sought refuge in the sacred  
precincts of thy justice.

Do not cast them to the winds !

Thou, an Emperor of the world; concern thy-  
self with

Doing a good turn to those consigned to thy  
mercy;

A word of thine cuts the oppressor short.

An act of thine muffles the tyrant;

A gesture from thy sword conquers the world.

Thy hands bestow jewels in charity;

Thy presence strikes a terror in the world.

Thy enemy finds it difficult to breathe.



## DATE OF KANISHKA VINDICATED

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

As the late Dr. V. Smith stated in the last edition (1924) of his *Early History of India* (p. 22), the Chronology of Northern India "from the beginning of the historical period to the Muhammadan conquest" had been made definite with the important exception of the Kushān or Indo-Scythian period. There was a difference of some forty years on the date of Kanishka and his predecessors (the two Kadphises) in the opinion of scholars. Sir John Marshall, Dr. Sten Konow, Prof. S. Lévi<sup>1</sup> and Dr. V. Smith dated Kanishka 120 A. D. or 129 A. D. (Smith, EH, 271-273), while the other view that Kanishka came to the throne in 78 A. D. cited by V. Smith was advocated by Dr. Jayaswal (*Kushān Chronology*, JBORS, 1920, 12-22; cited EH, 271). Dr. Konow elaborated his theory of that date at great length in the *Kharoshthī Inscriptions* published by the Government of India (1929). This was considered and answered in a paper in this Journal covering about hundred pages (1930, pp. 227-316; 1932, JBORS, 7-16). In the meantime the minority view led by Jayaswal had found a supporter in Prof. Rapson (CHI, 585), but Dr. Konow attacked the arguments of Dr. Jayaswal in several papers (*Epigraphia Indica*,

<sup>1</sup>JA, IX, 1897, 26; IA, XXXII, 1903, 422.

XXI, 25; 55; 251) and contended for Kanishka's years to begin in 128-9 A. D. (EI, XXI, 1932, 57).

Dr. Konow's two main supporters were Sir John Marshall and Prof. Lévi. Both these authorities after having held the contrary view for years, accepted the date of 78 A. D. for Kanishka in works just published. This closes the long controversy and is a triumph for Jayaswal. The findings of these two scholars are decisive.

Sir John excavated Taxila further during 1929-30. The report (*Archaeological Annual*, 1929-30) was unduly delayed in publication by the late Director-General of Archaeology, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani. It was printed as late as 1935 and distributed in 1936. From the results of his last excavation at Sirkap (p. 55), Sir John was convinced that his former conclusion about the initial date of the arrival of the two predecessors of Kanishka was wrong. To quote his own words:

"Coins of these two rulers have been found in great abundance in Sirkap, many of Hermaios alone, many of Kadphises (Kujūla) alone, and many of Hermaios with Kadphises. In the early days of my excavations, when I was working on the uppermost strata of this site numbers of these coins were found in positions indicating that they were still in currency after the time of Gondophares. From my more recent diggings, however, which have gone deeper, it is clear that they must also have been current in the early half of the first century B. C., and they are found in such large numbers

that it is impossible to believe that they could have resulted from mere commercial intercourse."

Sir John says that on the evidence of these coins the conquest of Taxila by Kujūla Kadphises is to be dated between the reigns of Azes and Gondhophares, and he thinks that the Kabul valley probably changed hands more than once between the Parthians and the Kushāns about 25 A. D. under Kujūla Kadphises.

"The mistake, as I believe, that has hitherto been made, has been to assume that it was the Parthians who made an end of the Greek power in Kābul (Konow, CII, Vol. II, part i, LXIII; Thomas, JRAS, 1906, 193; Rapson, CHI, 561)" (Marshall, p. 56).

The final sack of Taxila he would place about 60—64 A. D. under Wīma Kadphises, and the accession of Kanishka by 78 A. D. (pp. 56-57).

The most important evidence from the diggings of 1929-30 to be noticed is, apart from the deductions of Sir John Marshall, namely, the recovery of coins of Kadphises (I, Kujūla) found in abundance at Sirkap belonging to the stratum of the first century B. C. Numerous coins of this Kadphises (I) discovered by Sir John bear the head of the Roman Emperor Augustus (pp. 83-85). This was to replace the effigy of Hermaios and to declare his own independence under the suzerainty of Augustus who in 20 B. C. had compelled the Parthian king to restore the standard of Crassus. Kadphises was 'doing homage' to that emperor by his new coinage (cf. V. Smith, EH, 251).

Now compare the above finding of Sir John with the view of Jayaswal (JBORS, XVI, 243-45) who places the rise of the Kushān kingdom about 35-20 B. C. in Ta-hia and the conquest of Kabul in that period. The results of the Sirkap diggings now fully verify and establish that thesis. Dr. Konow is proved to be wrong in interpreting the passage from the Chinese work *Hou Han-shu* and in placing the foundation of the Kushān kingdom after 25 A. D., and the only possible interpretation is the one offered by Dr. Jayaswal (*ante*, XVI, 243-45) which Dr. Konow assailed more than once in vain.

A great source of strength of Dr. Konow (GI, XXI, 58) was the authority of Prof. Lévi. But before his death Dr. Lévi left a long paper on Kanishka which has been published now (*Journal Asiatique*, January—March, 1936: *Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana*) accepting the date 78 A. D. for the accession of Kanishka. Long extracts from Jayaswal's paper referred to above have been given by Lévi on Jayaswal's discovery of the history of Nahapāna in Jaina books and its connexion with the history of the Imperial Śātavāhanas as pointed out by Jayaswal. Prof. Lévi has added to our knowledge a new datum from Chinese sources. He has shown that *tchan-t'an* is the title of Kanishka in the translation of the *Sūtrālamkāra* by Kumārajīva (405 A. D.), which is borne out by other references.<sup>1</sup> This name appears as *Chandana* in Tāranātha's 'History of Buddhism,' which

<sup>1</sup> Takakusu pointed out in his *It-sing* [1896] (p. lix) that the Chinese *Saṃyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra* [472 A. D.] describes Kanishka as *Chandana Kaniṣa*,

was prepared from Indian works now lost. *Chandana-pāla* was the son of Kanishka, according to Tāranātha, and was in charge of Aparānta (Western India). The name again appears in the Periplus as *Sandanes* who ruled at the time in Western India (80 A.D.). On this evidence, Lévi accepted the initial date of Kanishka and his era as 78 A. D.

The controversy thus is now set at rest. Lévi regards the Western Satraps as governors to Kanishka, a conclusion already arrived at by Jayaswal and cited by V. Smith in his last edition of the EHI (pp. 273, 288).

It should be noted that the epoch of the earlier Saka inroad into India and its era was dated by Dr. Konow *c.* 88 B. C. (*Kharoshthī Inscriptions*, XXIX-XXXI) as against Jayaswal's proposal of (145-100 B. C., *c.* 123 B. C.: JBORS, VI, 20-21; Konow citing him in EI, XXI, 257, JBORS, 1930, 189) and against Marshall's 95 B. C. But now he has owned that his date (88 or 60 B. C.) is untenable (EI, XXI, 257) and he as well as Marshall has accepted 150 B. C. the date proposed by Rapson in CHI, 570. The controversy now on that topic is limited to a difference of 27 years (Jayaswal's 123 B. C. *v.* Rapson's 150 B. C.). A final solution will be reached with some fresh archaeological discovery at Taxila or in Gujerat.

# NOTES ON THE CULT OF THE GODLING NĀGA IN SOUTH BIHAR AND ON A RAIN-COMPELLING RITE CON- NECTED THEREWITH

By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

The cult of the Godling Nāga or the snake-godling has been current in Bihar from the remotest antiquity. It is widely prevalent in North Bihar even at the present day. In my paper on *The Cult of the Snake-Godling Nāga-Bābā*<sup>1</sup>, which has been published elsewhere, I have shown that this worship is performed for the purpose of appeasing the wrath of the snake-godling Nāga-Bābā or the King-Cobra (*Ophiophagus elaps*) and with the object of obtaining immunity from snake-bite. It is performed on any day in the Hindi month of Sāwan (July-August), after the occurrence of the Nāga Panchamī Day which falls on the fifth day in the dark fortnight of the Hindi month of Sāwan. The Bihari women-folk (especially the young women) fast on the day of this worship and, after dressing themselves in their best clothes, go from house to house, singing a Hindi folk-ballad in honour of the snake-godling Nāga-Bābā and collecting alms. They parade the streets all day long and, in the evening of the same day,

<sup>1</sup> Vide *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March-June 1924, pages 36-47.

purchase, with the money which had been collected as alms during the daytime, *ātā* (or coarse wheaten flour) and *paṭori* (or cotton yarn dyed red). This red cotton yarn is used as the Brahmanical thread for the snake-godling who is believed to be a Brāhmaṇa. The *ātā* is made into a paste with the addition of milk. Thereafter two snake-like figurines, representing the snake-godling Nāga-Bābā and his spouse the Nāgīnī, are made out of this paste. Then the celebrant women-folk take the two figurines of snake to the *Māi-āsthāna* or "the shrine of their village-goddessling Māi or The Mother." After their arrival there, they cover up the two figurines of snake with the red cotton yarn (*paṭori*). The fact of doing this symbolises the act of investing the godling Nāga-Bābā with the Brahmanical thread. Then they dig a hole in the ground in front of the symbolical image of the village goddessling *Māi*, and bury therein the two figurines of snake by placing them inside the hole and by throwing therein *Khai* or fried paddy and by spilling therein milk for the snake-godling's food and drink. Thereafter the celebrant womenfolk return to their respective homes, and take their meals, thereby breaking the fast which they had been keeping all day long. Whilst burying the two figurines, they sing the afore-mentioned Hindi folk-ballad.

The cult of the snake-godling *Nāga* has also been prevalent in South Bihar from the remotest antiquity. The object of worship in this cult has always been a *Nāga* or a male snake. But, sometimes, a female snake or snake-goddessling was worshipped as

will appear from the testimony of a writer on the subject of serpent-worship in ancient India:—

“From what I have said above, it appears that the Nāga-cult has always laid stress on the male Nāga figure. There is hardly any representation where the female Nāgī is the principal deity. At Pataliputra we have come across three terra cotta female figurines (Nāgīs) with serpent hood. The treatment of coil is quite different. The serpent-coil is clear and prominent in the third figure.”<sup>1</sup>

The prevalence of the Nāga-cult or the cult of the snake-godling in South Bihar has received another striking proof from the archaeological discoveries which have been recently made at Rajgir in South Bihar. This village was originally the well-known Rajgriha of ancient Bihar and the earliest historical capital in Northern India. Some thirty years ago, the Archaeological Survey of India under the direction of the late Dr. Bloch and Sir John Marshall carried on some excavations at the site of the modern village of Rajgir. The excavations brought to light a circular brick structure with stucco figures in bas relief decorating its walls, at a site in the heart of the ancient city (Rajgriha). This structure was popularly known as *Maniyar Maṭha*.

“The nature of this structure, which, from the style of the sculptures, is attributed to about 500 A.D., has been the subject of considerable speculation among scholars. Recently the area adjoining the *Maniyar*

<sup>1</sup> See *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference* (held at Baroda in December 1933), published in 1935 by the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Page 313.



*Maṭha* has been further examined by the Archaeological Survey, and, at least, two earlier strata of buildings underlying the foundations of the circular structure, which take back the antiquity of the site at least two or three centuries earlier, have been revealed. Within an enclosure of brick walls to the east of the *Maṭha*, Mr. G. C. Chandra, the Superintendent of the Central Circle, discovered a surprisingly large quantity of pottery and terra cotta objects, which seem to have been purposely buried. *The most interesting type of pottery discovered here has a series of spouts numbering from 4 to 34 of various designs. A majority of the vessels bears representations of snake-hoods, which confirm the idea that this site was sacred to the worship of the serpents or Nāgas. The pottery with multiple spouts, unknown from any other sites in India, must undoubtedly have been used in connection with Nāga worship. If the name Maniyar Maṭha faithfully preserves the memory of Mani Nāga who was the protector and rain-giver of Rājgriha according to the Mahābhārata, it may be conjectured that such vessels with multiple channels stimulating showers were used by the distressed supplicants praying for rain; and deposited by them in the compound of the shrine. It may be noted that serpent worship, which can be traced at Rajgir from the third century B. C., is still a popular form of religious belief particularly in Eastern India, as is evidenced by the widespread cult of the snake-goddess Manasā in Bengal.*<sup>1</sup>

It would appear from what has been stated above

<sup>1</sup> Vide the article entitled *Archaeological Discoveries in Rajgir* in the bi-weekly newspaper *The Bihar Herald* (published from Bankipur) for Saturday the 23rd May 1936, page 3.

that—

(1) Rajgir in South Bihar was the seat of a Nāga-cult or the worship of the snake-godling;

(2) That this snake-godling was, very likely, popularly known as the Manīyar Nāga;

(3) That the appellation Manīyar Nāga was, very probably, a corruption of the name *Maṇi Nāga* or the *Jewelled Snake*;

(4) That there was a regular circular-shaped shrine at Rājagṛiha, which was dedicated to the worship of the “Jewelled Snake”; and that the dilapidated remains of this shrine are known to the residents of the present-day village of Rajgir under the name of *Maniyar Maṭha*;

(5) That “Maṇi Nāga” or the “Jewelled Snake” was the tutelary deity of the ancient town of Rājagṛiha, under the aegis of whose protection the denizens of that locality lived, moved and had their being;

(6) That the “Jewelled Snake” was also the custodian of rain-waters and conferred the boon of refreshing and fertilising showers, when prayed for, to the thirsting inhabitants of Rājagṛiha;

(7) That whenever severe drought overtook the country-side of Rājagṛiha and threatened to inflict famine upon its inhabitants, the drought-stricken peasants prayed to the “Maṇi Nāga” for rain;

(8) That, at the time of praying to this snake-godling for rain, the supplicants, very probably, made an offering of water to that deity by pouring the same from a multiple-spouted water-pot;

(9) That, after making this offering of water,

they deposited the many-spouted water-vessels at the shrine of the "Maṇi Nāga" or the "jewelled snake," as visible tokens of their devotion to his deityship.

Now arises the question: "What is the significance of the afore-described rite of making the offering of water by pouring the same from a multiple-spouted water-vessel and, subsequently, depositing it at the shrine of the snake-godling?"

I shall reply to this question by saying that Sympathetic or Homoeopathic Magic lies at the basis of the rite. I should, therefore, now consider what is meant by Sympathetic Magic and the method by which this magical process is worked by the peoples in a low plane of culture.

The mind of the primitive man does not distinguish between cause and effect, and labours under the idea that, as like produces like, a particular result can be attained by imitating it. From this primitive idea originated Symbolic or Mimetic Magic which has been designated by Dr. Hirn by a better name, to wit, Homoeopathic Magic, which is nothing but occult influence based upon a likeness or similarity between things. The influence of Mimetic or Homoeopathic Magic can be found in beliefs and practices which are prevalent among both the lowest savages and the civilised races of people. "By dramatic or pictorial imitations heavenly bodies are influenced, *rain is made, plants and animals are increased*, animals are enticed to their destruction, human beings are acted upon." For instance, the Australian savages, for the purpose of increasing the supply of ants and ants'

eggs, use an ant-pole.<sup>1</sup> In the letter-press to this picture it is stated that "to increase by magic their supply of ants and ants' eggs for food, two men decorated with white down and having a pole to represent a tree, go through the motions of searching for ants at the imaginary roots of the pole. Then again, at page 613 of the same work, there is a photograph illustrating the Emu-man engaged in his magical rites. In this picture, the magician is depicted as hoping to make Emus plentiful for the hunters of his tribe. He wears his high and slender head-dress made of twigs, the down of birds and human hair so that he may resemble an Emu—the ostrich-like bird of Australia. Then again, the North-American Indian, being eager to kill a bear on the day will hang up a rude grass image of that animal and shoot it, believing that this symbolic act will make the real one happen.<sup>2</sup>

I have already stated above that primitive people also resort to Mimetic or Homoeopathic Magic for the purpose of rain-making as will appear from the following account of a rain-compelling rite, which is practised by the savage inhabitants of the Murray Island in the Torres Straits, New Guinea:—

"The rain-maker scooped a hole in the ground, and lined it with leaves and placed in it a rude stone image of a man which had previously been anointed with oil and rubbed with scented grass; then he poured

<sup>1</sup> See the photograph at page 612 of *Children's Colour-Book of Lands and Peoples*, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Anthropology* by E. B. Tylor, D.C.L., L.L.D., F.R.S., London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1913. Page 340.

decoction of minced leaves of various plants mixed with water over the image—the image being so laid in the hole as to point to the quarter from which the rain was expected. Earth was heaped over the image and leaves and shells placed on the mound, and all the while, the rain-maker muttered an incantation in a low sepulchral tone. Four large screens composed of plaited cocoanut-leaves were placed at the head, foot and sides of the grave to represent the clouds; on the upper part of each was fastened a blackened oblong of vegetable cloth to mimic a black thunder-cloud, and cocoanut-leaves, with their leaflets pointing downwards were suspended close by to represent rain. A torch was ignited and waved lengthwise over the grave, the smoke represented the clouds and the flames mimicked lightning, and a bamboo clapper was sounded to imitate thunder. The rain was supposed to come when the decoction round the image was rotten. The incantation consisted of enumerating various aspects of certain forms of cloud. Rain could be made in this manner only by one section of the community and amongst these one or two men had a much better reputation than the others. This may be taken as an example of a typical rain-making ceremony in which all the phenomena of a thunder-shower are imitated.”<sup>1</sup>

On comparing the rain-making rite practised by the ancient inhabitants of Rajgir with the rain-compelling ceremony performed by the rain-makers of

<sup>1</sup> *Magic and Fetichism* by Dr. A. C. Haddon, Sc.D., F.R.S., London. Constable & Co., 1910. Pages 15-17.

the Murray Island in the Torres Straits, New Guinea, we find that there is some sort of analogy, if not similarity, between the two, as I shall show presently :

(1) In Rajgir, the image of Maṇi Nāga or the "jewelled snake" who was the rain-god was placed in a shrine; while, in the Murray Island, the rude stone image of a man, which, very probably, represented the rain-god was placed in a hole;

(2) The drought-stricken people of Rajgir, while praying for rain, poured water from a multiple-spouted water-vessel over the image of Maṇi Nāga; while the Murray Island rain-makers poured over the rude stone image of the man a decoction made of minced leaves of various plants mixed with water;

(3) The drought-stricken peasantry of Rajgir chanted a prayer-formula praying to the Maṇi Nāga to send down rain to relieve their distress; while the rain-makers of the Murray Island muttered, in a low sepulchral tone, an incantation in which were enumerated the various aspects of certain forms of cloud;

(4) The supplicants for rain at Rajgir poured water from a many-spouted water-vessel, thereby causing the water to fall in numerous streamlets, so that the rain may fall in torrents; while, in the Murray Island, cocoanut-leaves with their leaflets pointing downwards were suspended near the mound containing the stone image to represent falling rain.

Thus we see that the Mimetic or Homoeopathic Magic lies at the basis of the rain-making rite practised by the ancient inhabitants of Rajgir.

Now there remains one more curious point to be

discussed, namely, the Rajgir peasants' idea that the custodian of rain-water was a snake. This idea appears to be abnormal, as it is at variance with the conceptions, which prevail in other parts of the world, about the custodian of rain-waters. Many races of people living in various parts of the globe believe that frogs are the custodians of rain-water, and, therefore, these batrachians play an important part in the rain-compelling rites performed by them. Sir J. G. Frazer accounts for this by formulating the theory that, as frogs and toads are intimately connected with water, they are popularly believed to be the custodians of rain and that, for this reason, frogs are so much in evidence in rain-compelling rites.<sup>1</sup> As regards the origin of the Rajgir peasants' belief, we may, however, conjecture that Maṇi Nāga was a large water-snake which lived in some extensive sheet of water in South Bihar and that, on account of its intimate association with water, this ophidian came to be popularly believed to be the custodian of rain-water.

P. 677, Hindusthan Park.

P. O. Ballygunj

Calcutta

*Sunday, the 9th August 1936*

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough*, by Sir J. G. Frazer. Abridged Edition. London : Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1923, p. 73.

## BRANDING SEALS OF THE SECOND CENTURY A. D.

[ WITH PLATE ]

By K. P. JAISWAL

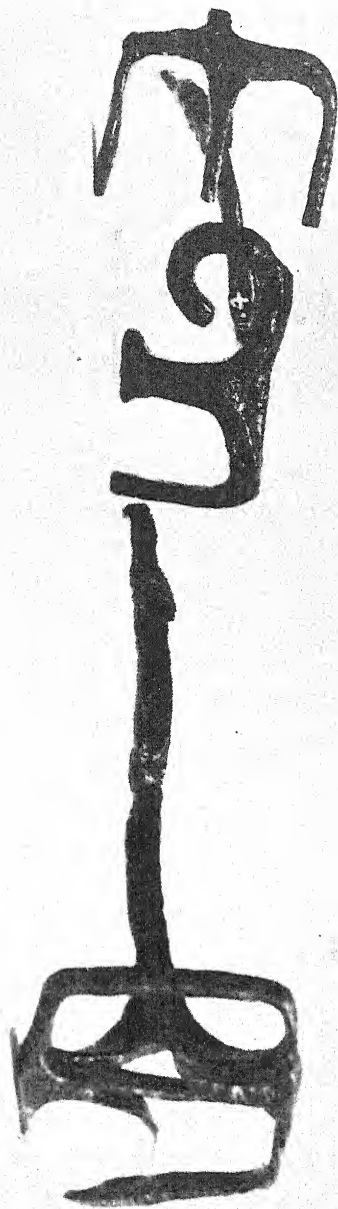
Amongst the previously unregistered objects from the Nālandā excavations (No. 189, v. 2) Mr. G. C. Chandra discovered two iron antiquities which must constitute the earliest find at Nālandā. They are iron letters on a fork handle, (7 inches  $\times$  4 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches), which as he has ably and rightly identified, were used for branding animals. They are in the negative. One of them represents the figure of svastika, and the other, in Brāhmī letters *Jaya* (negative). The characters are of about 200 A. D.

The Artha-śāstra (ch. 50 on *Godhyaksha*) lays down that cattle which were State property were to be branded with the monogram (marks) of the king (*rājāṅka*). The identification of Mr. Chandra is thus corroborated.

In the second century A. D., Nālandā (that is, before it became a seat of learning) seems to have been a station where military or economic cattle of the then Government were kept. There was there a royal *vraja* (AŚ, ch. 50).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably also later, for another branding seal of *Śrī-Buddha* in Gupta letters was found there. This evidently belonged to the Gupta king mentioned by Yuan Chwang in connexion with Nālandā as *Buddha-Gupta*.

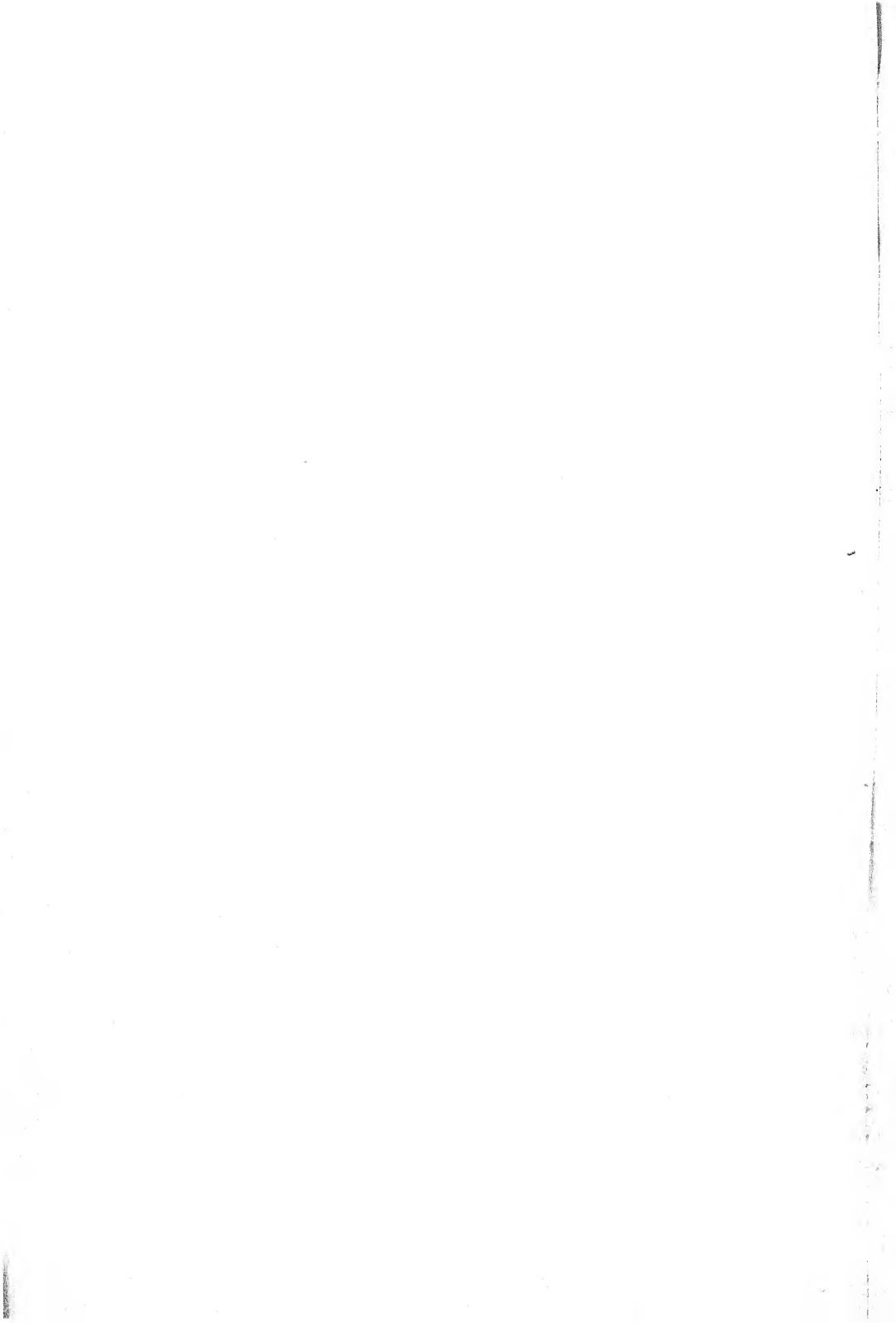




Branding Iron Seals (Nālandā)

K. P. J.

J B O R S, 1937



Now who was this king *Jaya*? The Mañjuśrī Imperial History (pp. 47, 51, 52; Sections 30, 37; original, pp. 51, 55) gives the Nāga dynasty of Gauda (Bihar and Bengal) wherein it mentions king *Jaya* (evidently in the latter part [*ante*] of the dynasty which arose about 140 A. D.). No other mention of this king has been found. The branding seal corroborates the Mañjuśrī datum.

## JAINA IMAGE OF MAURYA PERIOD

[ WITH PLATES ]

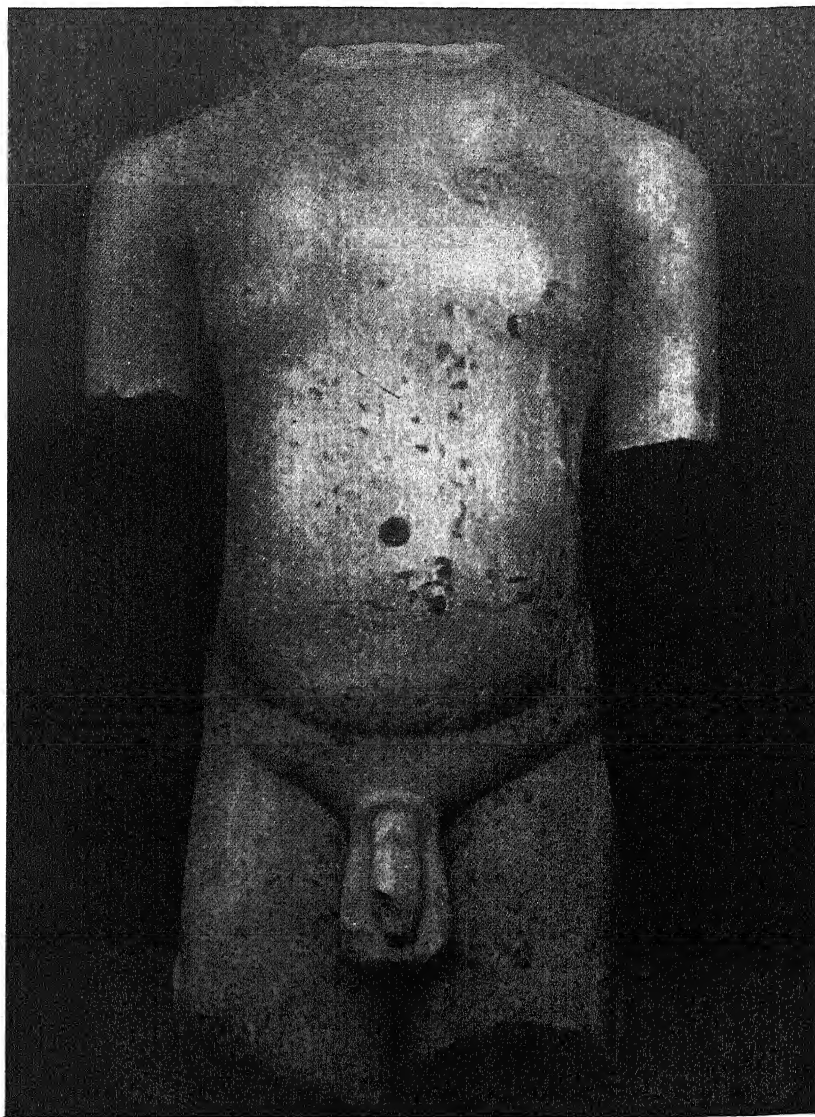
By K. P. JAYASWAL

On or about February 15, 1937, a few villagers of Lohānîpur<sup>1</sup> noticed a stone in the bed of a derelict canal formerly cut by the Irrigation Department. The villagers dug out the piece, which is the larger torso, and by its side they found also a smaller image. They placed them in a mango orchard and started worshipping them. Receiving information from two friends (Mr. G. C. Chandra and Mr. Gaiṇdhari Singh), I arrived at the spot the next day and took possession of the images and had them removed at once to the Patna Museum. The larger of the two images bears 'Maurya' polish. It is cut in the round, and shows excellent moulding. Unfortunately it is only a torso fragment now. The style of the larger and the smaller statue leaves no doubt that they are images of Tīrthaṅkaras. The larger piece is  $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1' - 6\frac{1}{2}''$  and the smaller piece,  $12'' \times 9''$ .

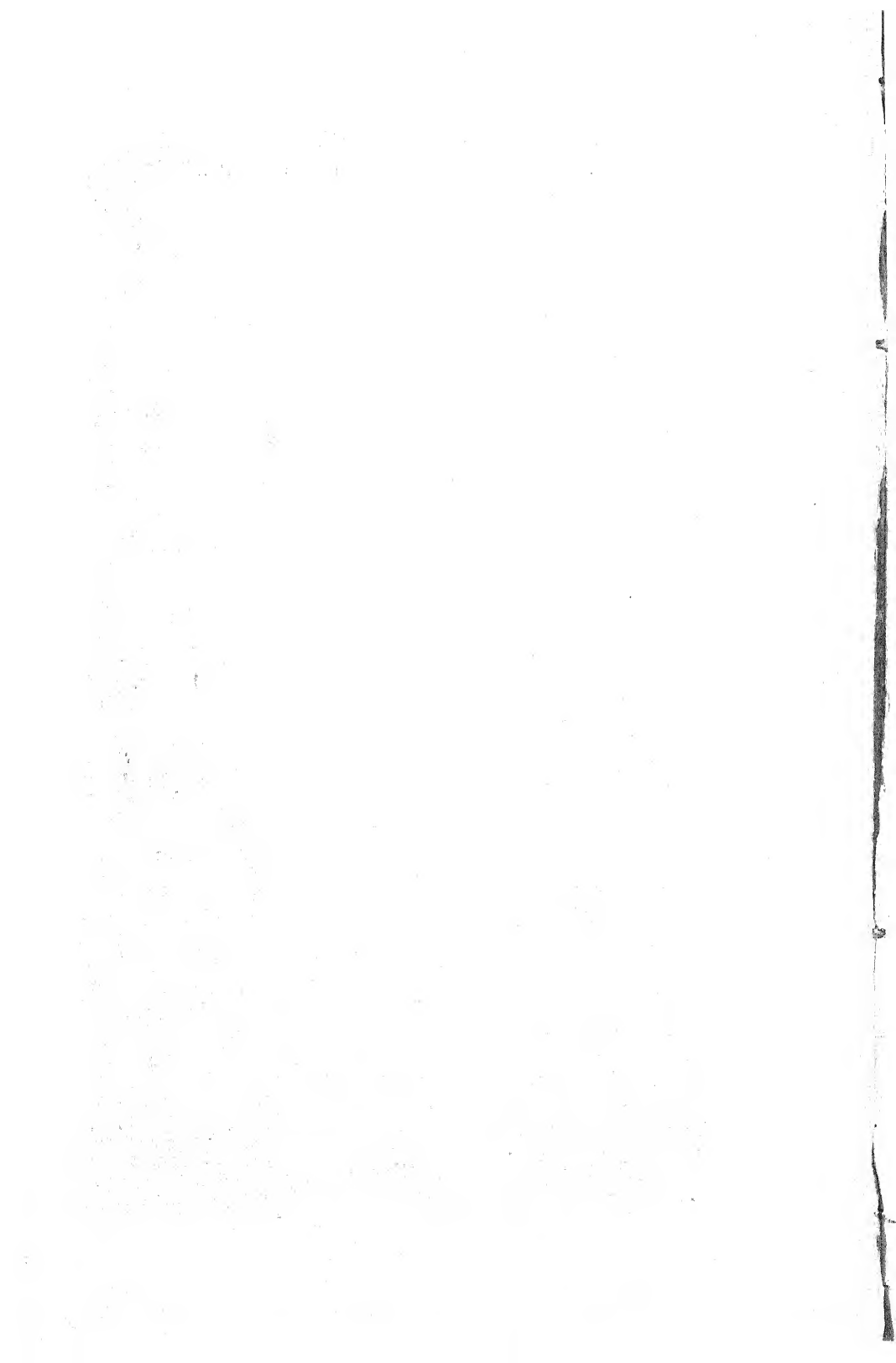
The polished stone is the oldest Jaina image yet found in India, as it must belong at the latest to the Maurya period. This is the first definite stone image for worship of the Maurya period yet discovered.

<sup>1</sup> A suburban village to the south of the Machhuā-toli quarter (Mahalla) of Bankipur, to the north of the main Railway line.

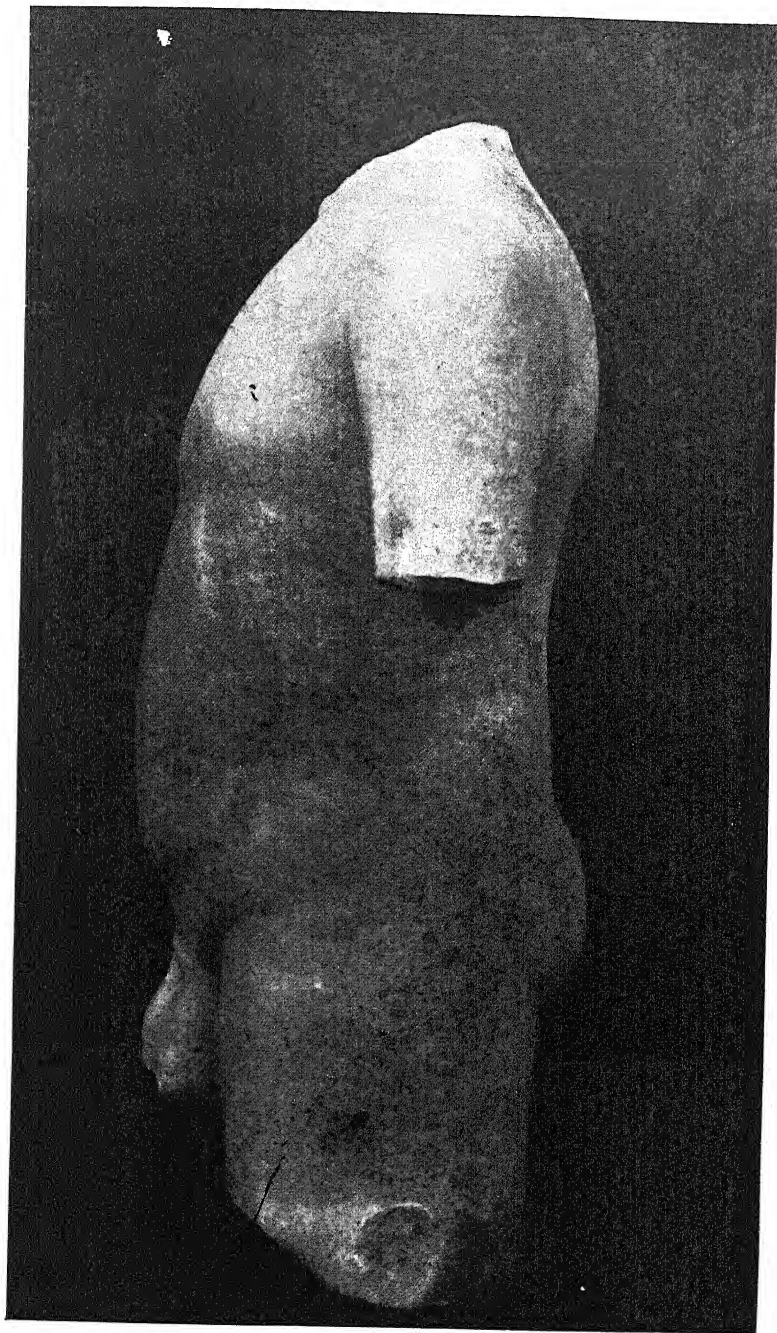
Jaina Tirthankara  
Lohanipur Statue with Maurya Polish



(Front)



Jaina Tirthankara  
Lohanipur Statue with Maurya Polish

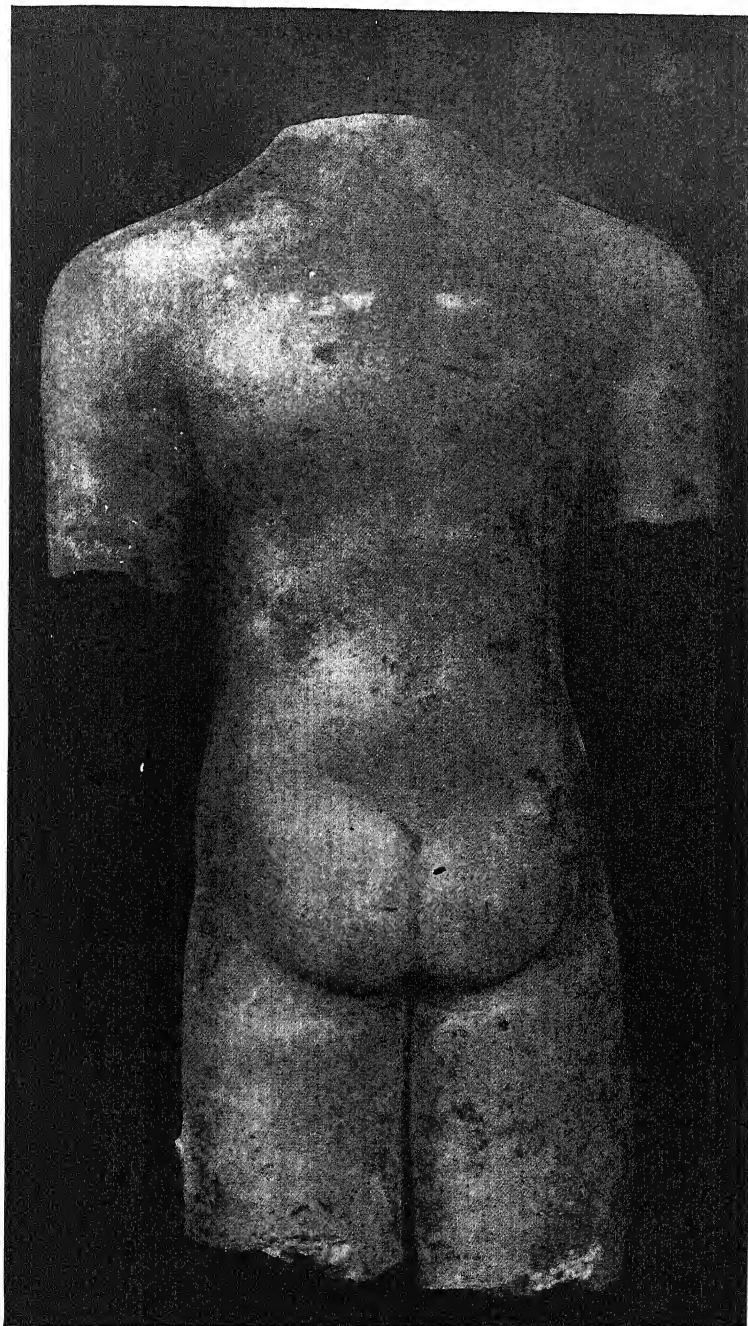


(Side)





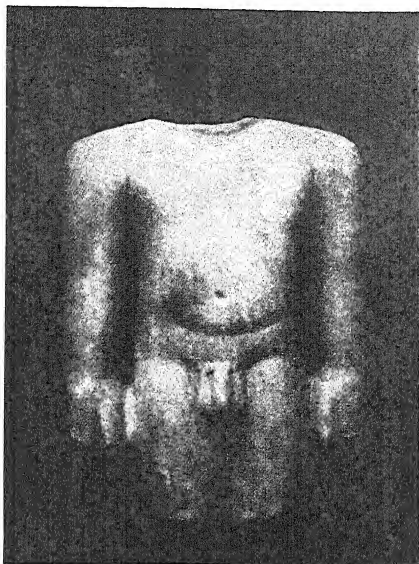
Jaina Tirthaṅkara  
Lohanipur Statue with Maurya Polish



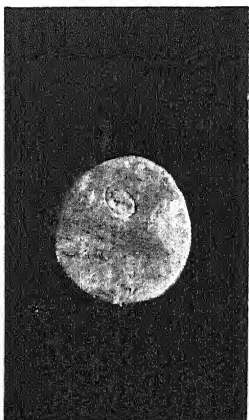
(Back)



Lohanipur Unpolished Statue  
of Tirthankara



Lohanipur Silver Coin.



*Re.*



*Ob.*



I made a search for the head and the pedestal. I had the site (the bed of the canal) excavated, but they were not found. The site yielded a large quantity of bricks of Maurya style and the foundation of a square (8'.10"×8'.10") temple (see the plan). On the lower projection of the western plinth a worn silver punch-marked coin was found, which was evidently dropped there at the time of building the temple. The coin corresponds to No. 46 of Mr. Durga Prasad's *Corpus* (pl. 13) NS, XLV, 1934. The coin precedes the Maurya coinage. The temple would belong to the early Maurya time.<sup>1</sup> If the site is further excavated we might recover other fragments of the two headless images. The smaller image is unpolished and may be Sungan or later. Both images are nude.

The polished torso has been placed in the Museum by the side of the Didarganj statue.

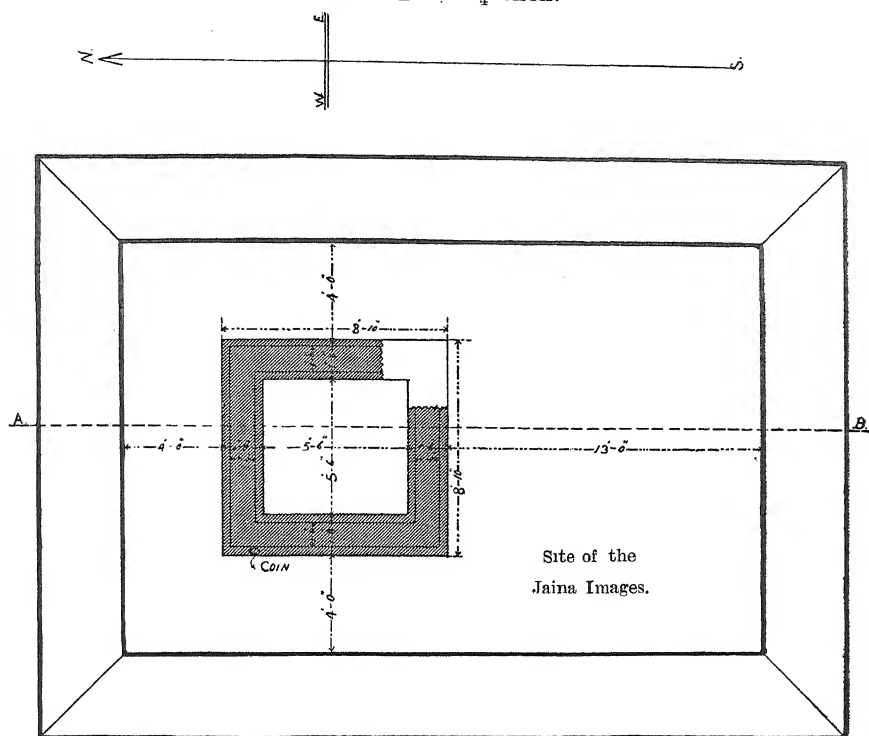
About the same time we discovered within half a mile of Lohanipur, in the cutting for laying sewerage pipes, about 2300 silver punch-marked coins in one hoard. The symbols are Maurya and pre-Maurya. One coin is fresh from the mint which is of the Maurya coinage; it fixes the date of the hoard. The depth levels of the temple and the coins are puzzling—the temple foundation and the image were found at a depth of 9 ft. from the road level, and the coins came out from the depth of 4½ ft. below the road. I am at a loss to account for the

<sup>1</sup> The reverse mark—the Treasury test mark—is an early Maurya symbol—eye—which proves that the coin was current in Maurya times, and that the temple was then built. Its weight is 53 grms.

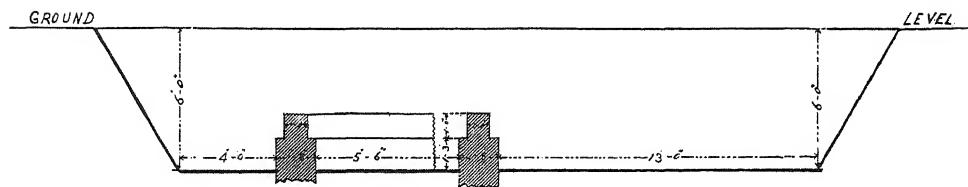
higher level in both cases. The soil below the coin jar and the temple was virgin. There was no trace of any inundation here as at Kuhmrar. In 1935 a hoard of 45 silver punch-marked coins was discovered at Ramnā (Patna) at 10 ft. They are pre-Maurya coins.

# PLAN OF THE ANCIENT BRICK STRUCTURE EXPOSED AT LOHANIPUR—PATNA.

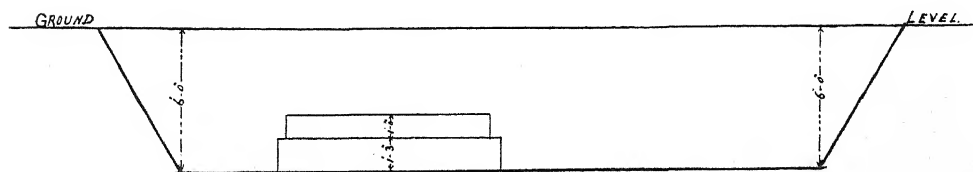
Scale 1 ft. =  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch.



PLAN



SECTION ON A.B.



ELEVATION ON WEST SIDE





## Miscellaneous Articles

### IDENTIFICATION OF NĀGADVĪPA

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA, M.A.

*Curator, Muttra Museum*

Nāgadvīpa is one of the nine *dvīpas* traditionally enumerated in the Bhuvana Kosha chapters of the Purāṇas, e.g.,

भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य नवभेदान्निबोधत ॥

इन्द्रद्वीपः कशेरुश्च ताम्रपर्णी गभस्तिमान् ।

नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गान्धर्वस्तथ वारुणः ॥

Matysa, ch. 114. Cf. also Vāyu, ch. 45, 69-86; Skanda, Māheśvara khaṇḍa, ch. 39; Mārkaṇḍeya, ch. 54; Brahma, ch. 17.

Prof. S. N. Majumdar tried to identify these islands or divisions of land (J. B. O. R. S., March, 1922; now reprinted in his edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 749) and showed that the Paurāṇic nine divisions of Bhāratvarsha were not so many provinces of India but of Greater India. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his recent *History of India* of the Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period re-examined these sections of the Bhuvanakosha, and suggested improved identifications of the nine *dvīpas*:—

“*Indradvīpa*, the first *dvīpa* in the list, has been satisfactorily identified with Burma. . . . it is very probable that the *Kaseru* or *Kaserumat dvīpa*, which is mentioned next to *Indradvīpa*, meant the present

Straits Settlements. Tāmraparṇa (is) the older name of Ceylon. . . . . *Nāgadvīpa* is Nicobar. We know from Cambodian inscriptions that Cambodia (Indo-China) was held by the Nāgas who were superseded by the orthodox Hindu dynasty of Kauṇḍinya from India. We may take Nāga to be the ethnic designation of the Pre-Hindu inhabitants of these colonies. *Gabbastiman* ('Island of the Sun'), *Saumya*, *Gāndharva* and *Vāruṇa* represent the Archipelago (Sumatra, Borneo, etc.), out of which Sumatra-Java had certainly settlements of Indians before the fourth century A.D. It is certain that the Purāṇas in the third and fourth centuries are conscious of the Hindu colonies in Further India, and treat them as parts of Bhāratavarsha. Their Bhāratavarsha, which was primarily India, was at this point of time interpreted as India-cum-Greater India, which latter taking Ceylon, consisted of eight units or divisions, called *dvīpas*."

—*History of India* (150 A. D. —350 A. D.)

Both Prof. Majumdar and Dr. Jayaswal agree that the nine *dvīpas* formed part of Greater India, but they differ as to the special identification of Nāgadvīpa. Prof. Majumdar threw a tentative suggestion that Elephanta might be the ancient Nāgadvīpa since Nāga is also the name of an elephant, which gave the island its name. But this is not accurate in view of the more ancient evidence which supports the identification of Nāgadvīpa with Nicobar as suggested by Dr. Jayaswal.

The evidence comes from Pali literature. In the Valahassa Jātaka (Jātaka translation, Book II, No. 196, page 89) which is also beautifully represented

on a Buddhist railing pillar from Mathurā now deposited in the Indian Museum [Anderson's *Catalogue of the Indian Museum*, i. p. 189], the scene is laid in the goblin-town of Sirisvatthu in the island of Ceylon. "When a ship is wrecked, these (yakshis) adorn and deck themselves, and taking rice and gruel, with trains of slaves, and their children on their hip, they came up to the merchants. In order to make them imagine that there is a city of human beings, they make them see here and there men ploughing and tending kine, herds of cattle, dogs, and the like. Then approaching the merchants they invite them to partake of the gruel, rice, and other food which they bring. The merchants, all unaware, eat of what is offered. When they have eaten and drunken, and are taking their rest, the goblins address them thus: "Where do you live? Where do you come from? Whither are you going, and what errand brought you here?" "We were shipwrecked here," they reply. "Very good, noble sirs," the others make answer; "'tis three years ago since our own husbands went on board ship; they must have perished. You are merchants too; we will be your wives." Thus they lead them astray by their women's wiles, and tricks, and dalliance, until they get them into the goblin city; then, if they have any others already caught, they bind these with magic chains, and cast them into the house of torment. *And if they find no shipwrecked men in the place where they dwell, they scour the coast as far as the river Kalyāṇī on one side and the island of Nāgadvīpa on the other. This is their way.*" (Valahassa Jātaka, No. 196, Book II, pp. 89-90).

This quotation gives us the relative geographical position of *Nāgadvīpa*. The Kalyāṇī river is the Kalanī Gaṅgā in Ceylon which falls on the Arabian sea side and on which Colombo is situated. The range of scouring of the yakshis is given from the river Kalyāṇī *on one side* to the island of Nāgadvīpa *on the other*. As Kalyāṇī is on the west coast of Ceylon, the Nāgadvīpa islands must be looked for on the eastern side in the Bay of Bengal. This hint gives us sufficient warrant to identify Nāgadvīpa definitely with the group of Nicobar islands which are situated in the same latitudes as Ceylon about 800 miles due east.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Pt. Madhusūdana Ojha, the Vedic doyen of Jaipur, has discussed the identification of these nine *dvīpas* in his *Indra Vijaya* (pp. 39-42), a Sanskrit treatise on the expansion of the Aryans in ancient times. In the case of Nāgadvīpa he concurs with Dr. Jayaswal. We give below his identifications with those of Dr. Jayaswal of all the nine islands.

	Dr. Jayaswal.	Pt. Madhusudan Ojha.
1. Indradvīpa	Burma	Situated in the sea of Indradyumna ( <i>Brahma</i> , 41) identified with the Andamans islands which are the same as Indradyumna.
2. Nāgadvīpa	Nicobar	Nicobar
3. Saumya	Sumatra	Somatra ( <i>syn.</i> ); Sumatra, including Java and Bali.

- |                |                    |                          |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 4. Gāndharva   | Some islands in    | Phillipines; also called |
|                | Archipelago.       | Paṇyupāyana in           |
|                |                    | Sanskrit.                |
| 5. Vāruṇa      | Borneo             | Borneo                   |
| 6. Kaserumān   | Malaya Peninsula.  | Celebes.                 |
| 7. Gabhastimān | Island of the Sun, | Moluccas.                |
|                | some one in the    |                          |
|                | Archipelago.       |                          |
| 8. Tāmraparṇa  | Ceylon             | Ceylon, Taporbane.       |
| 9. Kumārikā    | India              | India.                   |

# THE SUDDHIRATNĀKARA: AN UNPUBLISHED SMṚITI MANUSCRIPT OF MITHILĀ

By BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA,  
M.A., B.L., KAVYATIRTHA

Drs. K. P. Jayaswal and A. Banerji-Shastri have described an incomplete and incorrect MS. of the *Suddhiratnākara* by Chaṇḍeśvara in p. 436 of their work, "A descriptive catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithilā, Vol. I, Smṛiti Manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>" The MS. described by them is written in Maithili character and consists of 116 folia and its place of deposit is the house of Pandit Śrikanta Jhā, village Naruar, Jhanjharpur Post Office, in the district of Darbhanga. Another MS. of the *Suddhiratnākara* is deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and has been described by the late MM. Haraprasad Shastri in p. 73 of his "Descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, Smṛiti."<sup>2</sup> This MS. is also incomplete and consists of 97 folia. Leaves 2, 3, 5 to 10, 39, 77 and several at the end are missing. The character of this MS. is Bengali of the eighteenth century.

I have prepared a copy of the Asiatic Society's MS. (No. 3826 of the Govt. collection) and have

<sup>1</sup> Published by the B. O. R. S., Patna, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Published by the A. S. B., Calcutta, 1925.

found in p. 38 of my copy the beginning<sup>1</sup> of the MS. described in the Mithilā Catalogue. But the end of that MS. could not be found in my copy, as the Society's MS. ends in an earlier portion of the work than the MS. described in the Mithilā Catalogue. The literary activities of Chaṇḍeśvara, the author of the *Suddhiratnākara* and various other works on Smṛiti, extended over about 50 years from 1314.<sup>2</sup> Four works of Chaṇḍeśvara have as yet been published :—

- (1) *Rājanitiratnākara*, edited by K. P. Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., 1924.
- (2) *Kṛtyaratnākara*, edited by MM. Kamala-krishna Smṛititirtha, B. I., 1925.
- (3) *Gṛhastharatnākara*, edited by the same, B. I., 1928.
- (4) *Vivādaratnākara*, edited by the same, B. I., 1931.

But the *Suddhiratnākara*, important though it is, has not yet been published. Its great importance in the dharmaśāstra literature can be somewhat realised from the fact that Raghunandana, the great Bengal nibandhakāra of the sixteenth century, has quoted many times from it in his *Suddhitattva*. This *Suddhitattva* quotes from many metrical Smṛitis, Purāṇas, digests and commentaries. But though quotations from all other digests are once or twice in each case, the *Hāratalā* of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa has been quoted 36 times and the works of Chaṇḍeśvara 24 times.

<sup>1</sup> (समा) नग्रासीयोऽत्र समीपवासी पारिजाते तु इतरेष्वचाचार्येषु उपाध्यायादिषु । ज्ञातयोऽत्र मातापितृबान्धवास्तन्मातुलपुत्रादयः ॥

<sup>2</sup> P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930), p. 372.

Raghunandana's *Suddhitattva* quotes specifically from the *Suddhiratnākara*<sup>1</sup> only once, from the *Pūjāratnākara* only once, from the *Gr̥hastharatnākara* only once and from the "Ratnākara" twenty-one times. This "Ratnākara" means the seven Smṛiti works of Chanḍeśvara, the names of which end with the word "Ratnākara." The quotation from the *Suddhiratnākara* is found in p. 57 of my copy. The quotation from the *Gr̥hastharatnākara* in p. 325 of *Suddhitattva* is found with slight modification in p. 472 of the printed *Gr̥hastharatnākara*. Of the twenty-one quotations from "Ratnākara," some must necessarily be from the *Suddhiratnākara*, as both the *Suddhitattva* and the *Suddhiratnākara* deal with cognate topics, viz. impurity etc., and I have identified some of the quotations with passages in my copy. For example, one text<sup>2</sup> of *Kūrmapurāṇa* is mentioned twice (pp. 108 and 423) in *Suddhitattva* as quoted by "Ratnākara" from the *Kūrmapurāṇa*. This very text along with the name of *Kūrmapurāṇa* prefixed to it is found in p. 61 of my copy. Another text<sup>3</sup> of *Bṛhanmanu* is mentioned in p. 148 of *Suddhi-*

<sup>1</sup> तथाच शुद्धिरत्नाकरे दक्ष :—

सुस्थकाले त्वदं सर्वं सूतकं परिकीर्तितम् ।

आपद्गतस्य सर्वस्य सूतकेऽपि न सूतकम् ॥

(p. 194 of Caṇḍīcarāṇa's edition in Bengali characters).

<sup>2</sup> न चाप्रत्तानां तथा स्त्रीणां सापिण्ड्यं साप्तपौरुषमिति रत्नाकरधृत-  
कूर्मपुराणवचनात्.....(p. 108)

यत्तु कूर्मपुराणम् :—

अप्रत्तानां तथा स्त्रीणां सापिण्ड्यं साप्तपौरुषम् ।

प्रत्तानां भृतृसापिण्ड्यं प्राह देवः पितामहः ॥

इति रत्नाकर धृतम्.....(p. 423)

<sup>3</sup> मिताक्षरारत्नाकरयोः बृहन्मनुवचनञ्च :—



*tattva* as quoted in *Mitākṣarā* and "*Ratnākara*." This very text also occurs in p. 41 of my copy but the word *Vrddhamanu* instead of *Brhanmanu* is prefixed to it. It will thus be seen that the Bengal jurist Raghunandana principally laid the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddha and the *Suddhiratnākara* of Chaṇḍeśvara under contribution in producing his work, *Suddhitattva*. The *Hāralatā* was edited by the late MM. Kamala-Krishna Smṛititirtha and published in the B. I. Series in 1909. Its author, Aniruddha who was a Bengal jurist of the twelfth century and thus prior to Chaṇḍeśvara by two centuries, has also been quoted by the latter in his *Suddhiratnākara*. My copy (pp. 39, 48 and 6) contains three quotations from the *Hāralatā*, two by name and one as "अन्येतु.....इत्याहुः." The first quotation<sup>1</sup> is found in p. 75 of the printed *Hāralatā*. The second quotation<sup>2</sup> which is the mention of the reading असपिण्डानाम् in *Hāralatā* for सपिण्डानाम्, which former is, according to Chaṇḍeśvara, a better reading in the text cited by him beforehand, is found in p. 84 of the printed *Hāralatā* with the simple change of अपिण्डानाम् for असपिण्डानाम्. The third quotation<sup>3</sup> is found with slight modification<sup>4</sup> in p. 21 of the printed *Hāralatā* after the text of *Paithīnāsī*,

मातुले श्वशुरे मित्रे गुरौ गुर्वङ्गनासु च ।

अशौचं पक्षिणो रात्रिं मृता मातामही यदि ॥

<sup>1</sup> हारलताकारस्तु—तत्पुत्र आचार्यपुत्रः स च यद्यध्यापयति तदा तन्मरणे त्रिरात्रम् । अध्यापयन् गुरुसुतो गुरुवन्मानमर्हति । इति मनुदर्शनात् ।

<sup>2</sup> हारलतायामसपिण्डानामिति पाठः स तु सुगमः ।

<sup>3</sup> अन्ये तु सर्वकर्मणितीत्यदृष्टार्थदैवपित्र्यकर्मपरमित्याहुः ।

<sup>4</sup> सर्वकर्मणितीत्यदृष्टार्थानां दैवपैत्राणां कर्मणामुपसंग्रहार्थम् ।

quoted by Chaṇḍeśvara also, in p. 20 of the *Hāralatā*.

But curiously enough, Govindānanda Kavikaṇ-  
kaṇāchārya, another sixteenth century jurist of  
Bengal, though quoting the *Hāralatā* and its  
author Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa several times in his *Sud-  
dhikaumudī*<sup>1</sup>, a work on impurity, never quotes the  
*Suddhiratnākara*, or simply the “*Ratnākara*” in that  
book. Govindānanda, whose various works are  
filled with multiplicity of quotations from earlier  
treatises of Smṛiti, was not, however, totally ignorant  
of the “*Ratnākara*,” which is mentioned twice in his  
*Srāddhakṛyākaumudī*<sup>2</sup>. I have not tried to identify  
the quotations (pp. 59 and 474) by comparing them  
with my copy, as the word “*Ratnākara*,” mentioned in  
the *Srāddhakṛyākaumudī*, presumably refers to other  
works of Chaṇḍeśvara and not to the *Suddhiratnākara*,  
the subject-matter of which is entirely different from  
that of the *Srāddhakṛyākaumudī*.

Enough has been said, I think, to prove that the  
*Suddhiratnākara* of Chaṇḍeśvara is a very important  
work of the Mithilā School of Hindu Religious Law  
and, quoted as it is in Raghunandana's *Suddhitattva*  
a considerable number of times, it exercised great  
influence over the Bengal School also and it supplies  
the missing link between the *Hāralatā* and the *Sud-  
dhitattva*, the twelfth century and sixteenth century  
nibandhas of the Bengal School.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by M.M. Kamalakrishna Smṛititirtha, B.I. (1905).

<sup>2</sup> Edited by the same, B. I. (1904).

## A NOTE ON THE VESTIGES OF TOTEMISM AMONG THE BINDS OF BIHAR

By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

The Binds, Bins, Bhinds or Bhindus are a populous caste of Bihar and Upper India. According to Sir H. H. Risley, they are of non-Aryan origin. They obtain their livelihood by following agricultural pursuits, digging earth, manufacturing saltpetre and gathering indigenous medicinal herbs. They also support themselves by following the pursuits of fishing and hunting.

Traditions, which are current among this caste, tell us that it had its original habitation in the Vindhyan Hills of Central India and migrated to Bihar and Upper India therefrom. One of their tribal legends, however, narrates how, on one occasion, a traveller was passing along the base of the aforementioned hills and heard a weird flute-like sound coming out of a clump of bamboos. On hearing this, he cut a shoot from the aforesaid bamboo-clump and extracted from it a mass of fleshy substance which subsequently grew up into a man. The Binds believe that this bamboo-man was their ancestor, or to use anthropological language, was their *totem* or common fund of life from which they have originated and, very likely, will return to it after their deaths. The aforementioned renowned anthropologist Sir H. H. Risley, tells us, moreover, that *the myth seems to be of totemistic character, but other*

*traces of totemism are not forthcoming.*<sup>1</sup> But he has not given us a detailed account of those traces of totemism. We should, therefore, try to find out what is meant by Totemism and what are the characteristic features of this form of primitive belief, which are not traceable in the Bind myth.

Now the characteristics of Totemism are the following :—

(a) Sometimes the Totem is regarded as an ancestor or as the common fund of life out of which the totemites are born and into which they go back after their deaths;

(b) Sometimes the totem is looked upon as a useful source of help in times of trouble, as when a kangaroo, by hopping and leaping in a peculiar manner, warns the kangaroo-men of impending danger and trouble;

(c) Sometimes, on the other hand, the kangaroo-man considers himself to be the helper of the kangaroo and, in this view, he performs certain ceremonies of which the magical efficacy is to enable the kangaroos to wax fat and multiply;

(d) Then again, almost invariably the totemite shows some kind of respect or veneration towards his totem and, under the influence of this feeling of veneration, refrains from slaying and eating the totem-animal unless it be in some specially solemn and sacramental way.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by H. H. Risley, I.C.S. In Two Volumes. Calcutta: Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891. Vol. I. Pages 130-134.

<sup>2</sup> *Anthropology*, by R. R. Marett, M.A., D.Sc., London: Williams and Norgate. (No date). Pp. 167-168.

From what I have said above regarding the totemic myth of the Binds of Bihar, it will appear that the first characteristic of totemism is present therein. But as, in this case, the totem (bamboo) is a plant, the second and third characteristics of totemism cannot be present in the Bind totem-myth.

Only as regards the fourth characteristic, we may, however, by a stretch of the imagination, apply it to the case of the plant-totem belief which is current among the Binds of Bihar. If the bamboo is really the totem of the Binds, they ought to have shown reverence to it by refraining from cutting this useful plant and using it in the construction of their thatched huts. But there is no evidence forthcoming either from the aforementioned myth or from some other source to prove whether this peculiarity of totemic belief was ever prevalent among the Binds. Supposing for argument's sake, that this fourth feature was, at one time, prevalent among them, we may conjecture that it has, in course of time, fallen into desuetude. There are instances on record in which this has actually taken place. Sir H. H. Risley says: "Strangest of all, rice is taboo to the *Dhān* sept, the members of which, though rice is grown all round them, must supply its place with *bondli* or millet."<sup>1</sup> Then again, "the members of the *Int* or brick sept may not use bricks in their houses ; and their domestic architecture is restricted to wattle and mud." He, further, says that there is, in the Central Provinces, a

<sup>1</sup> *The People of India*, by Sir Herbert Risley. Second Edition, Calcutta and Simla: Thacker Spink and Co, 1915. Page 96.

tribe which has, *inter alia*, the salt for its totem.<sup>1</sup>

But rice and salt are very necessary articles of diet and no people, however totemistic it may be, can do without them. Although that eminent anthropologists does not say, in so many words, that the totemic taboo against the partaking of rice and salt, has died out among them, we may very plausibly conclude that rice and salt are no longer tabooed as articles of diet amongst them. In a similar way, we may conjecture that the cutting and use of bamboo were, at one time, tabooed among the Binds of Bihar, but that this taboo has now died out among them. Under the circumstances, the fourth feature of totemism is not now distinctly traceable in the totem-myth of the Binds.

I shall conclude this paper by saying that there are traces of a similar bamboo-totem among the Khasis who are a Mongoloid people living in the hills of Assam. Mr. David Roy of Shillong says: "The legends of families springing from a fish which turned into a woman or *an ancestress found while in the care or protection of bamboo-clumps* give rise to these objects being regarded as totems and treated as *taboos*."<sup>2</sup>

In Bengali folklore also, there occurs the incident of the hero or heroes being born from some egg found within a bamboo. In the folk-tale entitled: "*Nilkamal and Lalkamal*" which is published in "*Thakurmar Jhuli*" or "*the Grandmother's Wallet*" by

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, page 102.

<sup>2</sup> Vide the paper entitled: *Principles of Khasi Culture*, by David Roy (of Shillong) read before the Anthropological Section of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Science Congress held at Indore in 1936.

Dakshinaranjan Mitra-Mazumdar, it is stated that a peasant cut a bamboo from a clump growing on the bank of a river. On splitting open the bamboo, he found that there were two large and round eggs inside it. He threw away the two eggs from which there instantly sprung up a red-complexioned and a blue-complexioned prince who had crowns on their heads and swords in their hands.

On a careful comparison of the aforementioned Bind totem-myth and the Bengali folk-tale incident, we find that there is some sort of similarity between the two, as will appear from the following points thereof :—

(1) In the Bind myth, a traveller cuts a bamboo and finds inside it a mass of fleshy substance which subsequently grows up into a man who becomes the ancestor of the tribe.

(2) In the Bengali folk-tale, a peasant splits open a bamboo and finds inside it two eggs from which there spring up two crowned and armed princes who become the heroes of the story.

## NUMISMATIC NOTES

### *On some Hindu Coins of pre-Christian Centuries*

By K. P. JAYASWAL

To the above paper (JBORS, XXII, 59) the following notes may be added.

The Yaudheya territory included Dehradun. This is now established by a hoard of 164 coins of the Bahudhānyaka and the Brahmanya types discovered in Dehradun and now at the Lucknow Museum.<sup>1</sup>

The Rohtak seal of *Bhadramitra* (pl. IV, 18, p. 62) is thus accounted. Bhadramitra evidently was a Yaudheya officer in charge of the Dūn. The second line of the legend would be better read as *Dronī-pāla* instead of *Dronighā (ta)*.

The Kosam coin (pl. I, p. 74), elephant-rider type. The legend was read by me as *Bhīmasa*. A coin of this type has been newly discovered at Kosam by Rai Bahadur B. Vyas and has been brought to the Allahabad Museum by him. The legend on the coin of Mr. Vyas clearly reads *Kosabi* (= *Kausāmbī*). There is no rider on the elephant. The letters belong to the second century B. C. It seems, that we have to read here the name of the mint town.

JBORS, XX, 290, *Maurya Subordinates*.—On the Aṃta-Rohatakas see the *Kaśikā* on Pāṇini iv, 3, 91,

<sup>1</sup> At village Panjya, Khat Bana, Tahsil Chakrata, in February, 1936 (letter of Rai Br. P. Dayal).



according to which an *āyudhajīvin* community lived in the hills and were called '*the hillmen of Rohita*' (Rohita-girīyāḥ). Cf. Patañjali, on P. V. 1, 28, '*Pāñcha-Lohitika*'. Were the Pāñcha-Lohitas the same as *Pañcha-Negamā*?

## Reviews and Notices of Books

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE IN PRE-BRITISH DAYS. By B. G. Bhatnagar, M.A., Economics Department, Allahabad University.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 1-xi, 1-86. Allahabad. The Indian Press Ltd., 1936.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BENGAL SUBAH. 1740-70. Vol. I : SOCIAL-ECONOMIC. By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Lecturer in History, Patna College.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. x-xvi, 1-567, and a map of Bengal Subah. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1936.

These two books are symptomatic of the times. They are written by two of our younger scholars representing two different but in a way characteristic viewpoints. As these points of view are sure to influence the progress of our advanced studies in the years to come, it is necessary to take more than a passing notice of them.

The author of the *Municipal Administration* introduces himself as follows :—"For a person like myself, who does not know a word of Sanskrit, Pali, or Prakrit, and who has but a smattering knowledge of Persian it was clearly presumptuous to think of making researches about Ancient Hindu and Mediaeval Muslim institutions. But "fools rush in where angels fear to tread," and I did rush in." (p. viii). His method is equally original—"After collecting a mass

of references from the English translations I engaged Pandits, of course always one at a time, but in all four, and a Maulvi, to read and explain to me the original texts of the English references." (p. viii). His manner is expansive : he divides his work consisting of 79 pages into Chap. I Ancient India—1200 B.C. to 1200 A.D., and Chap. II Muslim India—1200 A.D. to 1800 A.D. As samples of his verdicts may be cited —\*\* "completely demolishes Jayaswal's contention." (21); regarding the self-governing character of the Paura (p. 21); a Sanskrit passage from Vasiṣṭha in Hindu Polity, Part II, p. 72 presents no difficulty (but with the standpoint which he occupies, is there anything, that presents a difficulty ?)—"the meanings read by Jayaswal there again are not even remotely traceable in it." (pp. 21-2); his hired Pandits and Maulvis have also disclosed to this aspirant for "the Doctor of Letters Degree of the Allahabad University" (p. vii), one "Professor Stenkonow in *Epigraphica Indica*" (p. 7); "evidently the word Drāṅgika is derived from Drāṅga" (p. 7).

From page to page continues this long and doleful journey in the realm of absurdity. "As a friend of mine, a person with a sturdy commonsense, later on told me, this (writing this book) was almost a mad decision on my part" (p. viii). We can only add that it was a disgraceful decision and brings discredit to the University whose name he utilises on the title page.

'The Bengal Subah, 1740-70, Vol. I : Social and Economic' is a striking contrast both in conception and execution. It is an honest and painstaking attempt

to piece together scattered and some time unpublished information regarding little-known aspects of the political and economic history of Bengal during the eighteenth century : Chap. I Social Life ; Chap. II English Factories and Investments ; Chap. III Commercial Relations ; Chap. IV General Economic Condition. It has a fairly adequate bibliography and a useful index. The Map of the Inland Navigation after Rennel at the end is an interesting reproduction.

The author knows his materials well and his judgment is sound. Sometimes the original references quoted require revision, e.g., on slavery, pp. 492-3, an instance is taken from the *Sāhitya* edited by Sures Chandra Samajpati without reference ; 'obnoxious customs among women' include wearing charmed dress etc., pp. 44-5, but they are surely much older than Bhāratcandra. The bulk of the book could be decreased by omitting such details without diminishing the value of the book as a whole. A more discriminating estimate and use of unpublished records in the next volume would make it a more acceptable reference book. The author should model himself on Sir Jadunath Sarkar's '*Mughal Administration*' as a classic of critical compression and comprehensiveness. Experience will, in due course, provide the perspective ; let him pursue his studies which are undoubtedly most promising.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

## Notes of the Quarter

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, February 14, 1937.*

### *Present*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the chair).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Fazal Ali.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Council held on September 27, 1936.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months September to December, 1936.
3. Confirmed payments of the following bills :—

#### (a) Indian Photo Engraving Co.

Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.
8551	10-9-36	Printing charges of Jishnu Gupta plate ..	16	12
8592	6-10-36	Printing charges of Tara Image plate ..	32	11

#### (b) Calcutta Oriental Press Co. Ltd.

4332	5-9-36	Printing charges of Patna Gaya Report ..	1088	8
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Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.
4457	26-9-36	Packing charges of above	30	0

(c) Allahabad Law Journal Press.

479	24-11-36	Printing charges of Journal, September issue, 1936	..	358 8
515	14-12-36	Printing charges of reprints of above	..	16 11
290	24-11-36	Packing charges of September issue	..	2 0

4. Elected Rao Bahadur Rudra Pratap Singh of Sonbarasa a life member of the Society.  
Elected Mr. Syed Ahsan Shere, Curator, Patna Museum, an ordinary member of the Society.
5. Resolved that *The Mimamsa Prakash* of Poona be placed on our exchange list.
6. Resolved that the Director of the Oriental Institute, Academy of Science, Leningrad, be invited to exchange publications with the Society.
7. Read letter D.O. No. 3316, dated December 10, 1935, from the Principal, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.  
Resolved that the Principal, Ravenshaw College, be asked to move in this matter through the Government of Orissa.
8. Read letter No. 3075/3/16-10-1936, dated October 31, 1936, from the Honorary Director, Adyar Library proposing the exchange of the complete set of the publications of the Adyar Library for Vols. 1—12 of the *Journal of the*

*Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

Resolved that the Council agrees to the exchange.

9. Read a letter dated October 3, 1936, from the Editor, *Indiana*, Gandhigram, Benares.

Resolved that the Council has no objection to *Indiana* indexing the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

10. Read a letter dated December 2, 1936, from S. C. Mitra Esq.

Resolved that the Council regrets that the rules do not permit the gift of back numbers of the Society's Journal.

11. Read and recorded letter No.  $\frac{10085}{VI P-3/36}$  R.

dated December 17, 1936, from the Assistant Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, on the subject of the purchase of copies of Buchanan's Patna Gaya Report.

12. Resolved that Dr. Banerji Sastri be asked to arrange with the Science College for the printing of the negatives of manuscripts brought by Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana from Tibet.

13. Sanctioned appointment of Lama Dharmavaradhana to catalogue the Tibetan books in the Library at a total cost of Rs. 300/-.

14. Considered certain members in arrears with their subscriptions to the Society.

Resolved that the following names be taken off the Society's list of membership and their arrears written off :—

H. D. Christian Esq.

Rs.

Rai Bahadur Bishun Swarup

”

Babu Lakshmi Narayan Singh	Rs.	54
W. Mackenzie Esq.	„	84

15. Approved the sale of *Tanjur* and *Kanjur* to the Rangoon University at Rs. 3000/-. Resolved that the new edition from Lhasa be purchased for the Society.

16. Considered arrangements for the Annual General Meeting 1937.

Resolved that March 20th be fixed tentatively as the date of the meeting.

Resolved further that Dr. K. P. Jayaswal be asked to request the Anagarika B. Govinda of Sarnath, Benares, to address the meeting.

Resolved further that Mr. P. C. Manuk's name be proposed for election as a Vice-Patron of the Society.

J. L. HILL

*Honorary General Secretary*

18-2-1937



## ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1936-37

### I.—MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1936 was 127. This represents a decrease of twenty-five from the corresponding figure at the end of 1935, the Society losing thirty of its ordinary members: four by resignation and three by death, while the Council decided that the names of 23 members, much in arrears with their subscriptions, should be taken off the Society's list of membership. Four new members and one new subscriber were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 14 honorary members and 14 life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 155.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and members of the Council:—

*President.*—His Excellency Sir James David Sifton,  
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

*Vice-President.*—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.  
James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-  
at-Law.

*Secretary.*—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

*Joint Secretary.*—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh,  
M.A.

*Treasurer.*—Mr. Sham Bahadur.

*Librarian.*—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

*Editorial Board.*—Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.  
James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-  
at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., PH. D.

*Members of the Council (in addition to the President,  
Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex officio  
members).*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,  
I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., PH. D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali.

The Society lost its Honorary Librarian and Joint Secretary, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, who died very suddenly on May 12th, 1936. The Rai Sahib had been the Society's Librarian from 1924, and the Society will greatly miss him. The Society extends its sympathy to the bereaved family.

Dr. Banerji Sastri was elected Honorary Librarian in his place.

## II.—MEETINGS

The last Annual General Meeting was held on

the 25th March, 1936, in the reading room of the University Library, Patna. His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of the formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by a most interesting lecture on "The Fascination of Hieroglyphics" delivered by Mr. P. C. Manuk.

Meetings of the Council were held on 26th July and 27th September, 1936 and on 14th February, 1937.

### III.—JOURNAL

During the period under review parts 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Volume XXII of the Society's Journal, containing 615 pages and eight plates, have been published.

The printing of Buchanan's "Accounts of the District of Bihar and the City of Patna" was completed and free copies distributed. The printing of Buchanan's "Account of Bhagalpur" is going on under the editorship of Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, assisted by Messrs. K. K. Dutta and J. N. Sarkar.

The *Mimamsa Prakash* of Poona has been put on the Journal's exchange list.

### IV.—LIBRARY

During the year 193 books (224 volumes), of which 11 were Sanskrit, 1 Pali, 1 Hindi and 1 Mundarica were added to the Library. Of this total 45 were presented, while 118 were obtained by exchange and 30 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1936,

the Library contained 7208 volumes as compared with 6984 volumes at the end of the previous year. Khan Bahadur Syed Md. Ismail gave a further generous donation of Rs. 50 this year, with which books on Islamic culture have been purchased.

Lama Dharmavardhana has been engaged to catalogue the collection of Tibetan manuscripts, given to the Society last year by the Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana.

Government's grant has of late years been so greatly reduced that the Library has had to deny itself not only all luxuries, but also many books absolutely necessary for scholarship to keep itself abreast of modern research. Government has been asked to increase its grant to the Library, and it is to be hoped that the new Ministry will look favourably on our request.

## V.—RECOVERY OF BUDDHIST SANSKRIT WORKS IN TIBET

The outstanding event of last year in the activities of our Society and of Indology in general has been the recovery of Sanskrit Buddhist texts in Tibet by one of our Honorary Members, Tripitakacharya Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana. In 1900-03, the Rev. Kawaguchi recovered the first of such texts, the *Saddharmapundarika*, now in Japan, the second text was discovered in 1930 by Sankrityayana who placed it—a tenth century palm leaf MS. of *Vajra-daka-tantra*—in the Patna Museum : in 1935-36 were brought to light 156 new works in addition to 40 volumes noticed in our Journal, Vol. XXI, Pt. I. Of these,

some have been copied, others photographed. The negatives of these photographs are being enlarged and printed at the cost of the Society, and will be kept in the Society's Library.

These texts embody Buddhistic writings in the first ten centuries of the Christian era. Among their authors are Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, Asanga and Dharmakirti, who occupy the position in Buddhist philosophy assigned to Aristotle among the ancients and to Kant among the moderns. The MSS. are in scripts of the eleventh century onward. In most cases they are the only Sanskrit originals known.

Many of these works were made the basis of fresh treatises and commentaries by the immediate followers of their authors. It seems certain that a mass of writings under the same name, some genuine, others spurious, are often catalogued in the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur. These recovered texts help to isolate such treatises amalgamated by other hands. In fact, they are the only help. Their commentaries in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese are extant and some have been published and translated in modern European languages. For the first time, however, these recovered texts give us the original thoughts untouched by any expositor.

Many of the scribes of these MSS. came from Bihar. Bihar moulded the thoughts of Tibet, China and the rest of Asia through her missionaries from Nalanda and Vikramasila.

It is the hope of the Research Society itself to publish what is most worth while of this rich collection. The publication of about 30 of these manus-

cripts would form an Oriental Series of the very first importance, and would enhance the reputation, not only of the Society, but of the Provinces from which the Society takes its name. The publication of such a series would cost about Rs. 30,000, a sum altogether beyond our narrow resources. It is the Society's hope to be able to find a patron to finance this venture. It would be a pity were so rich an opportunity to be lost for lack of funds.

#### VI.—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The Mithila Pandit noticed 109 manuscripts during March, 1936. He was called to headquarters to prepare the Index to Vol. III of the catalogue of manuscripts on Jyotisha and the press copy of Volume IV of the catalogue of manuscripts on the Vedas. He also assisted the Editor in bringing out the second edition of Rajaniti-Ratnakara. He is further preparing the press copy of Jayamangala commentary on Kautiliya Arthasastra.

The printing of Vol. III catalogue of manuscripts on Jyotisha is complete. Its introduction is being written by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the Editor. Volume IV of the catalogue of manuscripts on the Vedas is in the press.

#### VII.—ACCOUNTS

The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer and will be printed separately.

*March 4, 1937*

J. L. HILL  
*Honorary General Secretary*

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FROM APRIL  
1, 1936 TO FEBRUARY 28, 1937

A. The actuals for 1935-36 showed a closing balance of Rs. 2,171-7-10, with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 4,491-11-6, the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 6,663-3-4 at the end of 1935-36.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February, 1937 the current account closing balance was Rs. 2,953-4-2. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 2,102-2-6 and public account deposit Rs. 2,501-10-0 which gives a total of Rs. 7,557-0-8.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realized up to the 28th February, 1937 amounted to Rs. 1,297-0-0, up to the 28th February, 1936 the realized amount was Rs. 1,687-2-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,300.

Our realization from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 433-6-0 up to the end of February, 1937. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 484-4-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 112-1-0 up to the 28th February, 1937.

March 5, 1937

S. BAHADUR  
Honorary Treasurer

## ACTUALS UP TO FEBRUARY 28, 1937.

## INCOME

			Actuals			Revised Budget		
			Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscriptions ..	..		1,297	0	0	1,300	0	0
Sale of Journal ..	..		398	6	0	278	0	0
Miscellaneous ..	..		5,547	2	0	..		
Postage Recovered ..	..		29	4	0	10	0	0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts ..	..		25	0	0	..		
Sale of Purnea Report ..	..		10	0	0	..		
Government Grant ..	..		4,883	0	0	4,889	0	0
Library unspent Balance ..	..		..			138	10	5
Opening Balance:—								
Hathwa Fund ..	..		1,124	8	6	1,124	8	6
Darbhangra Fund ..	..		2,383	0	6	2,383	0	6
Mayurbhanj Fund ..	..		878	11	4½	878	11	4½
General Balance ..	..		2,276	14	11½	2,276	14	11½
Interest on F. D. ..	..		112	1	0	102	10	3
GRAND TOTAL ..	..		18,965	0	4	13,381	8	0

March 5, 1937

S. BAHADUR  
Honorary Treasurer



## ACTUALS UP TO FEBRUARY 28, 1937

## EXPENDITURE

			Actuals			Revised Budget		
			Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment ..	..		1,163	9	0	1,280	0	0
Mithila Pandit ..	..		1,214	12	2	1,539	0	0
Telephone ..	..		208	11	0	208	11	0
Printing Charges ..	..		2,023	9	0	2,400	0	0
Postage ..	..		309	11	6	375	0	0
Stationery ..	..		54	13	9	90	0	0
Library ..	..		184	5	6	488	10	5
Electrical Charges ..	..		124	0	0	95	0	0
Out of Hathwa Fund ..	..		1,475	3	6	1,150	2	6
Out of Darbhanga Fund ..	..		976	3	0	1,700	0	0
Out of Mayurbhanj Fund ..	..		20	0	0	200	0	0
Miscellaneous ..	..		3,653	1	3	300	0	0
TOTAL ..			11,407	15	8	9,826	7	11
CLOSING BALANCE ..			7,557	0	8	3,555	0	1
GRAND TOTAL ..			18,965	0	4	13,381	8	0

Details of closing Balance on 28th February 1937:—

			C/A			F/D			TOTAL		
			Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Hathwa Fund ..	..		315	2	0	..			315	2	0
Darbhanga „ ..	..		619	0	9	2,102	2	6	1,483	1	9
Mayurbhanj „ ..	..		160	6	1½	715	11	0	876	1	1½
General Balance ..	..		3,727	0	9½	1,785	15	0	5,512	15	9½
TOTAL ..			2,953	4	2	4,603	12	6	7,557	0	8

S. BAHADUR

Honorary Treasurer

March 5, 1937

*Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, Patna, on Wednesday, the 17th March, 1937, at 6-30 p. m.*

1. The President, His Excellency Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., declared the meeting open.
2. P. C. Manuk Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Patna was elected Vice-Patron of the Society on a motion of the Vice-President.
3. The following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1937-38 on a motion of Mr. P. C. Manuk.

*President*—His Excellency Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

*Vice-President*—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

*Secretary*—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

*Treasurer*—Mr. Sham Bahadur.

*Librarian*—Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, M.A., D. PHIL.

*Editorial Board*—Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Ph. D.  
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A.,  
D. PHIL.

*Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex officio members).*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,  
I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., D. PHIL.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali.

Dr. S. Sarkar, M.A., Ph. D.

4. The Honorary Secretary presented the Annual Report.
5. The Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Statement of Accounts.
6. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.
7. The President invited the Rev. Anagarika B. Govinda to address the meeting.
8. The Rev. Anagarika B. Govinda delivered an interesting lecture on "The Development of *Stupa* Architecture" accompanied with slides.
9. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.
10. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.
11. The President declared the meeting closed.

J. L. HILL

March 20, 1937

*Honorary General Secretary*

*His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, President of the Society, in introducing the lecturer said :*

Gentlemen,

May I first of all thank you for electing me to be President of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. I must admit that I feel very badly qualified to hold this post. When I was Education Secretary many years ago I saw a certain amount of the work of the Society when it was first started, but since then I am afraid I have rather lost touch with it, and I must plead guilty to lamentable ignorance of many if not all of the subjects with which you deal. It is therefore with some diffidence that I rise to carry out the first task imposed on me which is to introduce to you the Rev. Anagarika Brahmachari Govinda who has very kindly agreed to deliver a lecture on the development of Stupa architecture—a subject on which he is very well qualified to speak for he is not only a deep student of Buddhistic philosophy and antiquities, but also an artist of outstanding merit. Early in his life he was attracted by a comparative study of various world religions and the important systems of philosophy and made a comparative study of Christianity, Buddhism and Islam. He became so deeply impressed by Buddhism that he became a Buddhist, and when he was only 18 years of age, published a book on “The Fundamental Ideas of Buddhism” which was well received in

Germany and elsewhere and has also been translated into Japanese. Subsequently he studied philosophy in Germany and archaeology in Italy and later he settled down at Capri near Naples where he was encouraged to enter public life as an artist. At a later date he conducted archaeological research in Northern Africa and he has visited most of the countries of Europe in connection with various Buddhistic organisations. About 1928 he came to Ceylon and shortly afterwards joined a Buddhist Monastery where he took his religious Orders as Anagarika. He has since travelled extensively in Burma, Tibet and India visiting Buddhistic places and studying their architecture and philosophy. A most fruitful result of his travels has been a series of paintings whereby the artist has sought to interpret both the natural beauties and the archaeological glories of the places visited by him. An exhibition of these photographs was given in Allahabad in February 1936. He has been a lecturer and Research Fellow at Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Educational Institution at Santiniketan for four years and has delivered courses of lectures at the Universities of Allahabad, Benares and Lucknow on Buddhistic philosophy and architecture. The Patna University has I understand recently appointed him to deliver a course of Readership lectures on the Psychological Aspect of Early Buddhistic Philosophy which will begin tomorrow and will no doubt be much appreciated by the members of the University. He is at present the General Secretary of the International Buddhist University Association which has its headquarters at Sarnath near Benares and in the Journal

of that Association he has written a series of articles on *Some Aspects of Stupa Symbolism*—a subject of which he has made a special study. This will show you in brief how well qualified he is to address us in Patna today on a subject which must be of interest to all in Bihar, for Bihar can well be regarded as the original home of Buddhism.

*His Excellency at the close of the lecture of the Rev.  
A. B. Govinda said :*

We are all, I feel sure, extremely grateful to the Rev. Anagarika Brahmachari Govinda for his very interesting and instructive lecture. As I said before, I am diffident of speaking before this Society, but I do feel that the study of Buddhism whether in its philosophical and religious aspect or whether in its archaeological aspect is a work that is especially appropriate to this province, and I am very glad to know that our University has secured the services of our guest today to deliver a course of lectures on the psychological aspect of early Buddhist philosophy.

My attention has also been drawn by the Secretary of our Society to the epoch-making discovery of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet which has been recently made by an Honorary Member of this Society the Rev. Sankrityayana. I have read with great interest the article on this great discovery which Dr. Jayaswal has published in *The Modern Review*. I have not the knowledge myself to be able to appreciate the value of this discovery, but its value was brought home to me by Mr. Hill, who explained that it was as though the works of Aristotle had been only available in Latin translations and the original Greek text had been discovered. I can well appreciate from this

parallel of what inestimable value these manuscripts which the Rev. Sankrityayana has discovered and has photographed with such skill or copied with such care will be to all students of philosophy and religion. Dr. Jayaswal's article, apart from describing some of the more important manuscripts, contains a most fascinatingly interesting account of the life of this great son of India. He describes how when he first met him, he found in him a combination of spiritual ambition to raise his fellowmen and a desire for right thinking and deep learning. In another passage which I cannot refrain from quoting he describes him as a man resembling the Buddha, a man absolutely free from hostility to any living man, universal in his outlook and absolutely calm. I should like to quote more from this article; I hope however most of you have read it; if you have not, I have no doubt that you will do so without delay. But my main object in making a reference to this discovery is to support most whole-heartedly the suggestion made in Mr. Hill's report where he says:—

“It is the hope of the Research Society itself to publish what is most worth while of this rich collection. The publication of about 30 of these manuscripts would form an Oriental Series of the very first importance, and would enhance the reputation, not only of the Society, but of the Provinces from which the Society takes its name. The publication of such a series would cost about Rs. 30,000, a sum altogether beyond our narrow resources. It is the Society's hope to be able to find a patron to finance

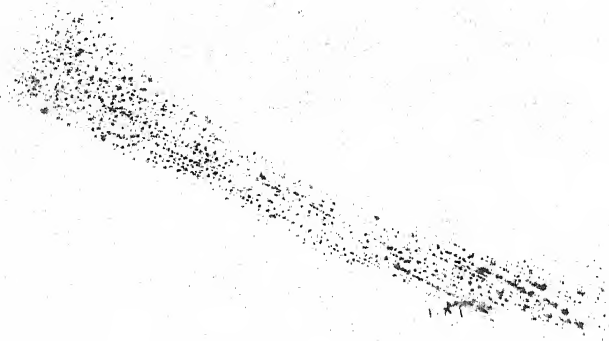


this venture. It would be a pity were so rich an opportunity to be lost for lack of funds."

It is clearly most desirable that these manuscripts should be made available to the world, and that without any undue delay, and it is appropriate that this Society and that gentlemen of the provinces which it serves should assist in this important work. There are I know many public-spirited gentlemen in Bihar and Orissa and I hope they will once again show their public spirit by contributing to the fund which is needed; as Mr. Hill has noted, the original manuscripts probably came from Bihar and that Bihar in the olden days moulded the thoughts of Tibet, China and the rest of Asia through her missionaries from Nalanda and Vikramasila; it is appropriate therefore that Bihar should take a part in restoring these manuscripts to the world at large and thereby complete the wonderful work done by Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana. We live in a materialistic age, a too materialistic age I would say, in which most of us pay little attention to philosophy or religion or the great thinkers of old, and that forms a further reason why Bihar should help in making this discovery available to one and all.

I am afraid I have rather gone beyond my duty which was to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer, but I feel sure that you, Sir, will pardon me for this digression, for you with your intimate knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhistic philosophy will appreciate the need for getting support for this work. Having heard your lecture I certainly feel that I at least know a little about one side of Buddhistic culture, and I only wish that I had the leisure to devote more time

to the study of this fascinating subject. I feel you will all cordially support this vote of thanks to our lecturer which I have proposed in such very inadequate terms.



# JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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VOL. XXIII ]

1937

[ PART II

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## Leading Articles

### THE ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

1526 TO 1707 A.D.

By PROFESSOR SRI RAM SHARMA

When Babar invaded India for the fifth time and supplanted Ibrahim Lodhi on the throne of Delhi in 1526 he seemed to have found little cause for recording any remarkable distinction between the organization of public services in India and that with which he had been familiar elsewhere. He seemed to have continued the existing practices, gone on giving jagirs to those he considered fit for them, bestowed titles on others when he was pleased with them, fixed every new entrant's salary himself, and appointed various officers to such offices he considered them suitable for. Humayun, though he reorganized the public administration of the country under 'celestial influences', seemed to have singularly left the ques-

tion of the organization of the public services alone.<sup>1</sup> Sher Shah, though he made many other experiments in practical politics, seems to have been little attracted by this problem.<sup>2</sup> The truth seems to be that the Jagirdars during those times were mostly left to make their own arrangements for filling such public posts as were to be held under them. The garrison commanders who were scattered all over the empire holding the neighbouring country-side in awe made their own arrangements for appointing such public servants as they needed. Though Sher Shah turned his attention to the most vital subject in Indian administration—the land revenue—he seems to have left other departments alone and in land revenue there was little scope for applying new principles for the organization of the State services.

It was left to Akbar to undertake a reorganization of the services. In the eleventh year of his reign, he introduced the numerical organization of his army. Abul Fazl thus describes the object and the contents of the regulation that was issued at this time. 'As the branding department had not then emerged into being, at this time the number of attendants for all the officers and servants of the threshold was fixed, so that everyone should keep some persons in readiness for service.'<sup>3</sup> The purpose of the regulation was, we are assured, to keep a number of men in readiness for military service under the command of the imperial

<sup>1</sup> *Humayun Nama* by Khwandmir, Elliot, V, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Sher Shah's Administrative System* by the present writer in the Indian Historical Quarterly for December, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbar Nama*, II, 270.

officers. Had the branding regulation been promulgated, this could have been automatically secured. But now in order to secure a number of soldiers the total seems to have been distributed among the imperial officers. The number of soldiers everyone was to bring was fixed. This fixation gave the officers their titles from the 'Dahbashis' (commander of ten horses) to the Panj Hazari (commander of 5000 horses). It is true that the *Ain-i-Akbari* speaks of several commanders who were dead long before the eleventh year as having held certain ranks. Bairam Khan and Tardi Beg are both described as commanders of 5000.<sup>1</sup> This is however extremely doubtful. The *Tabaqat* does not assign any numerical rank to either of the two.<sup>2</sup> Of course military commands and commanders have existed in all ages. What Akbar did in the eleventh year seems to be the *organization* of a *graded system* wherein the number of soldiers commanded was definitely fixed.<sup>3</sup>

This fixed certain features of the system permanently despite several changes that later crept into it. The salary of every official was determined and his rank in the service settled by his numerical designation. The numerical designations became a ranking list.

The table in the *Ain*<sup>4</sup> gives the personal salary of every Mansabdar. This is made clear by the fact that out of this salary an officer was expected to

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 279, 280.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, list of Mansabdars at the end.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Moreland in the JRAS for October, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> *Ain*, I, 217 to 228.

maintain as his staff a certain number of horses, elephants, and other beasts of burden and means of conveyance. Thus a commander of 5000 had to maintain 337 horses, 100 elephants, and 400 camels 100 mules, and 160 carts.<sup>1</sup> The officer drew a salary for having been adjudged by the emperor as worthy of a certain rank and salary. He received an additional amount for the number of soldiers he was asked to bring into the field to serve for imperial purposes. At this time Akbar seems to have ordered that officials should bring into the field the number of men implied in their command.<sup>2</sup> That, and not the existence of any earlier designations, was responsible for the ranking list of officials being compiled in the fashion in which we find it in the *Ain*.

But this parity soon vanished. In the eighteenth year the 'grades of ranks' were determined and everyone was given an appropriate rank in accordance with 'the number of men to be led and his devotion' to the emperor.<sup>3</sup> Here we get the first inkling that the number of men led may fall short of the rank an official held. This shortage was to be made good by his 'estimated devotion' to the emperor. Thus an officer was not expected to bring into the field the number of men his office designated. The State did not suffer much thereby. He was paid for the number of soldiers he actually brought into the field. Of course he got his personal salary in full. That re-

<sup>1</sup> The table in the *Ain* has 100 lines (*Oitar*) of camels and 20 lines (*Qitar*) of mules. A line of each has been elsewhere defined in the *Ain*.

<sup>2</sup> Moreland argues otherwise.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 117.

presented the Mughal emperor's estimate of his worth in money irrespective of the soldiers he brought into the field. The rank of the officer indicated the maximum number of soldiers he might have been called upon to bring into the field. The officer became a contractor for military labour. A part of his personal salary was a retaining fee for this service. Another represented the cost of his staff.

We have to remember that these Mansabdars were very seldom army commanders alone. Most of them were serving as executive officers, governors, Fojdars, Kotwals and the like—duties which have nothing whatever to do with army command as such, but which required their maintaining contingents of troops. Their position was not much unlike that of the army officers in modern India who are sent to perform civilian duties retaining their military rank all the time. Of course the performance of these duties required the use of military forces sometimes. But there were other offices filled by Mansabdars which did not require their ever leading military expeditions as long as they retained these offices. The Prime Ministers and the Finance Ministers, Provincial Diwans and News-Writers could not in the discharge of the duties of their office be called upon to lead armies. Under Shah Jahan we find this fact illustrated. Mir Salih was a Writer of Royal Orders, ranking a 500er,<sup>1</sup> he had to keep 4 horses alone. Muhammad Muqim another 500er had to maintain probably 3 and Shaikh Fazl had no such burden to

<sup>1</sup> I have adopted this method of translating the *zat* rank suggested by Mr. Moreland throughout this article.



bear.<sup>1</sup> Of course Todar Mal had led armies, but as the commander of certain expeditions not while he was the Finance Minister. There were other offices wherein again leadership of the army was seldom a necessary requisite. We know of poets, men of letters, painters and even cooks<sup>2</sup> holding Mansabs. The fact was that as Mansab settled one's rank, all aspirants to Mughal service liked to be enrolled among Mansabdars. We find Badayuni, a court Amam, starting as a commander of twenty.<sup>3</sup> Further Mansabs represented well understood grades of pay. Instead of settling every public servant's pay individually it was more convenient to assign him to a Mansab and leave him to fend for himself there.

Thus it is not surprising that in the eighteenth year there should be a divergence between one's numerical rank and the number of soldiers one actually maintained and was paid for. In the year 1003 A. H. (1595) this divergence was formally recognized by revising rates of pay. If a Mansabdar was asked to maintain the exact number of soldiers his command indicated he was considered a first class official in his rank. If his contingent was one-half, he was considered a second class official; in case it was even less than half he was an officer of the third class.<sup>4</sup> The difference in the salaries of the officers of three classes

<sup>1</sup> *Amal-i-Salih*, list of Mansabdars at the end.

<sup>2</sup> The *News Letters* speak of a cook (May, 1659), a physician (November 18, 1692), and a Superintendent of the Ajmir Musoleum of Salim Chisti (June 21, 1694) as holding offices of various ranks in Aurangzeb's reign.

<sup>3</sup> *Muntakhib-ut-tawarikh*.

<sup>4</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 671.



in the same rank was not very much. A Panj Hazari of the first class received Rs. 30,000 a month, whereas an officer of the third class in this rank received Rs. 28,000 a month.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the State recognized the divergence between the numerical rank and the strength of the contingent of troops under an officer. In the year 49, 1013 A.H. (1604) for example we find Mir Abu Tarab, Bayzid, Kalyan Dass, and Abadi being appointed as Hazaris with contingents of 500 each. Payanda Khan was appointed a Sih Hazar Panjsadi (3500) and asked to maintain a contingent of 2000 horses. Now these officers received a personal salary of the second class officers in their own ranks along with a sum put at their disposal for payment to their contingents. It is however interesting to note that in several other appointments made at the same time only the personal ranks are mentioned, nothing is said about the contingents.<sup>2</sup> Presumably they were paid salaries of the third class. In the following appointments made in the fiftieth year (1013 & 1014 A.H.) the discrepancy becomes still greater.

Name of the officer	Rank	Contingent
1. Tardi Khan ..	2000	500
2. Rahmat Khan ..	1500	600
3. Pratap Singh ..	1000	500
4. Kushak Bahadur	500	50
5. Bhao Singh ..	2000	500
6. Ram Dass ..	2000	40
7. Salhadi ..	700	400

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 217 to 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 834.

8.	Sayyid Ahmad ..	400	50
9.	Amin-ud-Din ..	500	150
10.	Hakim Muzaffar	1000	50
11.	Raja Man Singh ..	7000	6000
12.	Maha Singh ..	2000	300
		<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL		25600	9140

Thus in these twelve appointments whereas the total of the numerical ranks comes to 25,600 the total strength of all the contingents was only 9,140. No fraud was however involved on the state. The warrants of appointments clearly laid down what was expected of each officer. Three appointments are mentioned where no contingents have been shown,<sup>1</sup> presumably because none were fixed.

Thus we find that till the end of Akbar's reign the status of the Mughal officials of all sorts was determined and their salaries fixed by the numerical rank to which they were assigned. These officials performed various types of duties all of which did not involve keeping contingents of troops. These were fixed in every individual case separately in the order of appointment. Contingents were varied from time to time. An increased contingent involved probably an increase in the personal staff of the officer and hence there was a slight variation in the salary. An increment in the contingent did not always mean a higher personal salary, it meant an increase in the power of the officer promoted. Thus, for example, as long as a Hazari's contingent did not reach 500 horses his pay remained the same, Rs. 8,000 a month, then

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar Nama* III, 836, 837.

it become Rs. 8,100 and reached Rs. 8,200 only when the contingent was 1,000 strong.

The salaries of these officials seem to be very high when compared with modern salaries even in India if we keep in view the difference in the prices now and then. Governors of provinces were usually officers whose ranks varied from 2,000er to 5,000er; their salaries (in the highest grade in their ranks) ranging from Rs. 12,000 a month to Rs. 30,000.<sup>1</sup> As against this the highest salary of a provincial governor in India now is Rs. 1,20,000 a year.<sup>2</sup> But the comparison is inapt. The salaries of the Mughal governors represented their total cost to the state and a part of it returned to the state in the excess of the value of the presents governors made to the emperor over the gifts which they received from him. No extra travelling allowances and no entertainment money were sanctioned, no extra staff provided for and no amusement arranged for. Further out of his salary the governor was expected to maintain a certain number of beasts of burden and carts. Thus the Panj Hazari who received Rs. 30,000 a month had to make the following payments.

Elephants	..	..	100	Rs.	1735
Horses	..	..	337	Rs.	3961
Camels	..	..	400	Rs.	2400
Mules	..	..	100	Rs.	300
Carts	..	..	160	Rs.	2400
				<hr/>	
				Rs.	10796 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 217 to 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Government of India Act*, 328.

<sup>3</sup> The list reproduced above seems to differ from the one

This was only a part of the monthly charge. The whole staff of the provincial governor was to be maintained by him. The governor had a Diwan, a Bakhshi, sometimes a Wazir, a Chief Secretary, a News-Writer, a Personal Assistant, a Reader, and a Mir-i-Saman, besides a host of minor officials, of his own whom he paid out of his own pocket.<sup>1</sup> He maintained a Vakil at the Imperial Court. Even then at a very liberal estimate about Rs. 12,000 a month were still left to the governor. This would be equal to Rs. 100,000 of modern times a month, if we take the purchasing power of the money into consideration.<sup>2</sup> Compare this with the total amount of money provided for the Governor of Bengal under the new Constitution.<sup>3</sup>

1. Salary.....	Rs. 1,20,000
2. Staff.....	Rs. 3,39,800
3. Misc. and motor car...	Rs. 1,00,000
4. Tour.....	Rs. 1,22,000
5. Sumptuary allowance...	Rs. 25,000
<hr/>	
Total	Rs. 7,06,800

copied by Irvine from the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Irvine has not translated the word Qitar used in connection with mules and camels. As stated elsewhere in the *Ain* a Qitar of camels included 5 camels and that of mules consisted of 5 mules.

<sup>1</sup> The *Babaristan-i-Ghaibi* of Nathan contains several references to the staff officers of a governor, Cf. the English abstract published by the present writer in the *Journal of Indian History* as 'Bengal under Jahangir.'

<sup>2</sup> *India at the Death of Akbar* by Moreland, 114. Cf. *Indian Economic Life* by Brij Narain.

<sup>3</sup> *Order in Council* (Governors' salaries and expenses), 1937.

The following table gives the salaries for the highest grade of various ranks in the reigns of Akbar, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

No.	Rank	Akbar <sup>1</sup>	Shah Jahan (1637) <sup>2</sup>	Aurangzeb <sup>3</sup>
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	10	1,200	..	..
2	20	1,620	1,000	1,000
3	30	2,100	1,375	1,375
4	40	2,676	1,750	1,750
5	50	3,000	..	..
6	60	3,612	2,500	2,500
7	80	4,920	3,500	3,500
8	100	8,400	5,000(?)	5,000
9	120	8,940	..	..
10	150	10,500	..	6,250
11	200	11,700	..	7,500
12	250	13,800	9,500	..
13	300	16,800	10,000	10,000
14	350	17,400	..	..
15	400	24,000	12,500	12,500
16	500	30,000	20,000	20,000
17	600	32,240	23,750	23,750
18	700	52,800	27,500	27,500
19	800	60,000	31,500	31,200
20	900	92,400	37,500	37,500
21	1000	98,400	50,000	50,000
22	1200	10,800	..	..
23	1250	..	..	..
24	1500	1,20,000	..	75,000
25	2000	1,44,000	1,00,000	1,00,000
26	2500	1,68,000	1,25,000	1,25,000
27	3000	2,04,000	1,50,000	1,50,000
28	3500	2,28,000	..	1,75,000

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, 217 to 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Dastur-ul-Amal*, (Rampur).

<sup>3</sup> *Dastur-ul-Amal*, 44b quoted by Irvine in *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 8. Cf. *Farhang-i-Kar Dani*, 21a to 23b which gives salaries for the ranks of 50 and 250 as well. The salaries of the officers above 1000 are also given in the *Farhang*. We know however that no appointments beyond 6000 were made.

No.	Rank	Akbar	Shah Jahan (1637)	Aurangzeb
29	4000	2,64,000	2,00,000	2,00,000
30	4500	3,12,000	..	2,25,000
31	5000	3,60,000	2,50,000	2,50,000
32	6000	..	3,00,000	3,00,000
33	7000	5,60,000	3,50,000	3,50,000
34	8000	..	4,00,000	..
35	9000	..	4,50,000	..

The following table gives the existing grades and the number of officers holding them in the reign of Akbar, Jahangir, Sah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Serial No.	Rank	Akbar	Jahangir	Shah Jahan		Total no. of appointments	Aurangzeb
				1637	1647		
1	10	224	110	..	..	..	..
2	20	250	232	..	..	..	..
3	30	39	240	..	..	..	..
4	40	260	290	..	..	..	..
5	50	16	..	..	..	..	..
6	60	204	397	..	..	..	..
7	80	91	245	..	..	..	..
8	100	250	300	..	..	..	..
9	120	1	..	..	..	..	..
10	150	53	242	..	..	..	..
11	200	81	150	..	..	..	..
12	250	12	85	..	..	..	..
13	300	33	72	..	..	..	..
14	350	19	58	..	..	..	..
15	400	18	73	..	..	..	..
16	500	29 (+5 ?)	80	111	101	180	..
17	600	4	..	32	25	57	..
18	700	18	58	36	52	79	..
19	800	2	..	37	30	80	..
20	900	19 (+3 ?)	..	14	16	290	..

Serial No.	Rank	Akbar	Jahangir	Shah Jahan		Total no. of appointments	Aurangzeb
				1637	1647		
21	1000	2+(+2 ?)	55	40	70	136	48
22	1200	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	1250	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	1500	6-(+1 ?)	51	30	35	72	33
25	2000	2 (+3 ?)	45	39	51	60	40
26	2500	4 (+1 ?)	42	12	5	24	19
27	3000	5	36	26	34	55	34
28	3500	2	30	..	..	1	22
29	4000	2	25	18	10	34	25
30	4500	2	9	..	..	..	..
31	5000	7	8	15	15	32	27
32	6000	..	..	4	2	7	14
33	7000	..	1	..	..	9	15
34	8000	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	9000	..	..	1	..	1	..
Total no. of officers of 1000 and above		51 (+7 ?)	302	185	222	401	277
Total no. of officers of 500 and above		123 (+15?)	438	405	446	117	..
Grand Total		1658	2064				

These figures are based on the *Ain-i-Akbari*,<sup>1</sup> *Pelsaert's Account of India*,<sup>2</sup> the *Badshah Nama*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 279 and ff. Abul Fazl records more than 2000 Mansabdars dead and alive. The numbers entered in the table above represent the total number of Mansabdars who were alive at the time the *Ain* was compiled.

<sup>2</sup> By the kindness of my friend, Prof. Brij Narain, M.A., I have had access to his English translation of the account written by Pelsaert in Dutch in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. I have throughout cited the pages of this English translation.

<sup>3</sup> *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 292 to 328 (for 1637), Vol. II, pp. 717 to 752 (for 1647). The figures above



the *Amal-i-Salib*<sup>1</sup> and the *Dastur-ul-Amal*.<sup>2</sup> The *Ain* and the *Badshah Nama* mention all officers dead and living who were holding various ranks or had ever held them. The figures given in the table above include only the officials who were living at the time these accounts were compiled. That will provide a working basis for a comparison. Pelsaert's account is headed 'Roll of the Umras and Mansabdars, from the highest to the lowest, who after Akbar's death, entered Jahangir's service and were enumerated and entered in the royal register'. This seems to imply that it includes only such Mansabdars as were actually appointed to hold these offices on Jahangir's accession.

From the table it is clear that under Akbar there were thirty grades of these officers, from 1000 to 50000. The 1250 rank did not exist in theory,<sup>3</sup> but we know that several appointments in that grade were made.<sup>4</sup> The grade 1200 is mentioned but no appointments have been found to be made therein. Towards the end of his reign one more rank was added that of Haft Hazari<sup>5</sup> (70000). So there were 31 effective ranks of officers existing during Akbar's reign. Two officers had earlier held the rank of 45000 but were dead at the time the *Ain* was compiled. Under Jahangir some of Akbar's ranks were

refer only to the Mansabdars who were alive in 1637 and 1647.

<sup>1</sup> *Amal-i-Salib*, list of Mansabdars at the end of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> *Dastur-ul-Amal*, Bankipur, 148b to 152b.

<sup>3</sup> No salary is shown for this rank in the Table of Salaries which gives salaries for many other office appointments but which were never made.

<sup>4</sup> List of Mansabdars in the *Ain*.

<sup>5</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 839.



discontinued. There are no Panjahis (500ers), 1200ers, 6000ers, 8000ers, 9000ers, 12000ers, or 12500ers in Pelsaert's account which further seems to imply there were no ranks above 5000er under Jahangir. This might have been true at Jahangir's accession only. Commanders of 600, 800, 900, and 1200 are mentioned in the Tuzak.<sup>1</sup> We know however that Man Singh was a 7000er at Jahangir's accession.<sup>2</sup> Another Mansabdar was promoted to 6000er later on. Several other appointments were made in the grades which were not current in Akbar's time. We have officers of 550, 750, 1200, 1300, 1400, 1800, 2500 mentioned in the Tuzak.<sup>3</sup> Thus the number of grades under Jahangir rose to be 34. Shah Jahan discontinued the ranks of 10, 50, 120, 150, 200, 350, 1200, 1250, 3500, and 4500 besides the new ranks added by Jahangir. He added two more ranks at the top however, 8000er, and 9000er.<sup>4</sup> No appointments were made during his entire reign in the

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 164, 285, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Jahangir is silent about the rank Man Singh occupied in his reign. He simply tells us that he continued Man Singh in the place which he held at the time of his accession.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs*, II, 83, 282, 237, 77, 292, 197 make references to the appointments in the grade of 550, 750, 1200, 1300, 1400, 1800, and officers of 6000 are mentioned on pp., I, 239, 268, 280, II, 232, 243 and 258. Appointments made in the rank of 7000 are referred to in I, pp. 320 and 333 and II, A, 66. The rank of 2500 was very common and is mentioned in I, 4, II, 90, 91, 153 and 232. Officers of 600, 800, and 900 are mentioned in I, 164, 285, and 289.

<sup>4</sup> *Badshah Nama*, and *Amal-i-Salih*, as cited above.

The ranks of 10, 50, 120, 150, 200 and 350 are not found in the Table of Salaries in the Manual of Administration (Rampur). The list of Mansabdars in the *Badshah Nama* and the *Amal-i-Salih* mention no appointments to the rank of 1200, 1250, 3500 and 4500.

rank of 8000 even though the Manual of Administration shows a salary for this rank.<sup>1</sup> Thus under Shah Jahan we have 25 ranks only beginning with the 2000 and terminating at the 90000. As we have seen above the 80000 existed only on paper. Under Aurangzeb the 80000 and 90000 disappeared but the 5000 was revived and so was the 45000.<sup>2</sup> The total thus became twenty-seven.

The total number of Mansabdars furnishes interesting comparisons. Under Akbar there were 148 Umara of 500 and above at the time the *Ain* was compiled. This rose to 439 under Jahangir, to fall to 405 in 1637 and rise again to 446 in 1647. The total numbers of Mansabdars in the four reigns however reveal astonishing differences. There were 1658 ranked public servants under Akbar in about 1590, 2069 under Jahangir, 8000 under Shah Jahan in 1637, and 11456 in 1690.<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that as the *Ain* mentions by name public servants of 200 and the *Badshah Nama* records those above the 5000 this should imply that 2000s had the same grade under Akbar as was occupied by 5000s under Shah Jahan.<sup>4</sup> This suggestion however finds no support in the

<sup>1</sup> The lists of Mansabdars in the *Badshah Nama* and the *Amal-i-Salib* contain no names in the rank.

<sup>2</sup> *Farhang-i-Kar Dani* (f. 21a to 23b) mentions the following ranks held by officials; 6000, 5000, 4500, 4000, 3500, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 300, 250, 200, 150, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30 and 20. Of course we have the ranks of 7000, 8000, 9000, 12000, 15000, 20000, 25000, 30000, 35000, 40000, 45000, 50000 also mentioned but these were usually held—if at all—by the princes.

<sup>3</sup> *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 715.

*Zawabat-i-Alamgiri*, f. 15a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochman, I, 239.

salaries of these ranks. A 200er under Akbar got Rs. 11,700 a year, whereas under Shah Jahan the salary of the 500er of the first class was Rs. 20,000 a year; a 200er under Shah Jahan was not much worse of than a 200er under Akbar. He got Rs. 7,500 a year against Rs. 11,700 due to the lowering of the salaries by about 25% under Shah Jahan.

Very interesting light is thrown on the appointments made in the reign of Shah Jahan shown in the last column of the table. In the *Amal-i-Salih* we have all information brought together about the highest ranks to which various individuals reached during the thirty years of Shah Jahan's reign. In all 846 Mansabdars held public offices of the status of 500er or above throughout the entire reign of Shah Jahan. Of course several of them were dead when the list was compiled. It can be usefully compared with the 252 appointments of 500er and above made till about 1590 in Akbar's reign. The list of Aurangzeb's Mansabdars is far from complete.<sup>1</sup>

The increase in the number of Mansabdars in the reigns of Akbar's successors can partly be attributed to the expansion of the empire under them. But this would account for only a fraction of the rise which seems to have been largely due to the inclusion of several classes of state servants among the Mansabdars. To begin with a much larger

<sup>1</sup> This list has been compiled by the writer of the *Dastur-ul-Amal* from the available histories alone. It mentions 52 Hindu Mansabdars of 1000 and above whereas 116 such Hindu Mansabdars are known to have been appointed. Cf. *The Religious Policy of Aurangzeb* by the present writer. 'I. H. Q.' June, 1936.

number of Rajas, and chiefs, and their dependants figures among the Mansabdars than was the case under Akbar.

Under Jahangir we find a Superintendent of Stalls holding the rank of a 1000er.<sup>1</sup> A Superintendent of the Farrash Khana did even better and was made a 2000er.<sup>2</sup> A Superintendent of Goldsmiths was also a 1000er<sup>3</sup> whereas the Bakhshi of Dar Khana was a 1500er.<sup>4</sup> A wrestler was given a Mansab in the eleventh year<sup>5</sup> and we find a story-teller holding the rank of a 200er.<sup>6</sup> A librarian held the rank of a 1500er.<sup>7</sup> A provincial Inspector of Buildings was a 1000er<sup>8</sup> whereas under Akbar 1000ers had served as the governors of the provinces.<sup>9</sup> But Jahangir seems to have cheapened the higher ranks rather than increased the total number of Mansabdars. Pelsaert however is mentioning the number of Mansabdars on Jahangir's accession only and we cannot judge of the result of Jahangir's toying with the State services from Pelsaert's list.

In the fifty years of Aurangzeb we have not less than 148 Hindu Mansabdars of 1000 and above<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, I, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, I, 374.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, I, 260.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, I, 335.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, I, 337.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, II, 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, II, 61.

<sup>9</sup> In the year 31 of Akbar, Abul Fazl who was a commander of 1000 (*Akbar Nama*, III, 457) was appointed Joint-governor of the province of Delhi (*Akbar Nama*, III, 511). Raja Askarn, Joint-governor of Agra was also a commander of 1000. *Akbar Nama*, III, 457 and 511.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the present writer's *Religious Policy of Aurangzeb* and the authorities quoted therein.

as against 14 Hindu Mansabdars and 137 Mansabdars in all under Akbar<sup>1</sup>. Akbar's list seems to include Public Servants, civil and military only. The Court Bulletins of Aurangzeb's reign furnish us with a curious insight into the Mansabdar organization. We have Qazis holding Mansabs<sup>2</sup> and Vakil-i-Shara being given high command<sup>3</sup>. It is doubtful whether under Akbar, News-Writers, pure and simple, held any Mansabs. Under Aurangzeb we find the News-Writers and Postal Messengers holding Mansabs varying from 100 to 250<sup>4</sup>. Coming to the imperial household and the royal court we find a royal mace bearer of 200<sup>5</sup> and their superintendent holding the rank of a Haft Sadi (700)<sup>6</sup>. The superintendent of the Royal Anteroom was a Panj Sadi (500)<sup>7</sup>. A Reader of the Court Bulletins in the Imperial Court is found to be a Sih Sadi<sup>8</sup> (300) whereas another held the rank of a Haft Sadi (700)<sup>9</sup>. A Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen was Do Sad Pachasi (250)<sup>10</sup>. A Superintendent of Royal Tours is found to be a 450er<sup>11</sup>. Among the manufacturers,

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, list of Mansabdars.

<sup>2</sup> *Court Bulletin* dated December 23, 1702.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 15-1-1703 mentions such an officer holding the rank of 250, whereas *Court Bulletin* dated 27-8-1705 mentions one holding the rank of 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*; 18-1-1702 mentions a News-Writer of the office of Khan-i-Saman holding the rank of 300. Sawanih Niagar of the province is mentioned as a commander of 100 and the News-Writers of Atawah and Surat as commanders of 250.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 5-1-1703.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 3-9-93.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 27-10-1702.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 13-11-1702.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 27-11-1704.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 26-1-1705.

we have a 1000er Superintendent of Goldsmiths, and Royal Drinks<sup>1</sup>. A 400er is found supervising a diamond mine,<sup>2</sup> whereas another was in charge of Ilaqband Khana.<sup>3</sup> In the army the Ahdis required three Bakhshis.<sup>4</sup> There was a Bakhshi (500er) of skilled labourers of various sorts<sup>5</sup> and a Superintendent (250) of Bearers.<sup>6</sup> In the ecclesiastical department, we find a Superintendent of Charities (Nisar) a 500er,<sup>7</sup> a Censor, a 200er<sup>8</sup> and a provincial Sadr, 500er.<sup>9</sup> In the Public Works Department we have a Mir-i-Amarat, 400er<sup>10</sup> and a Superintendent of the Buildings at Lahore a 250er<sup>11</sup>, a Superintendent of Irrigation in the province of Lahore holding two offices being a 400er.<sup>12</sup> The Superintendents of various types of Imperial Stores are found drawing their salaries as Mansabdars of from 200 to 2500.<sup>13</sup> Even the Store

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 17-10-1702 and 27-10-1702.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 10-2-1704.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 16-2-1704.

<sup>4</sup> One of them was an officer of 700 (*Ibid*, 4-11-1704) the Principal Bakhshi was a commander of 1000 (*Ibid*, 17-11-1702). A Bakhshi No. 3 of the Ahdis is also mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 29-4-1703.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 13-2-170.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 13-2-1704.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 11-1-1705.

<sup>9</sup> A Sadr of Province of Malwa was an officer of 500.

<sup>10</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 30-1-1703.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 18-1-1704.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 7-9-1704.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*,

Superintendent of the Beds, (400). 10-7-1702.

„ of Rosaries, (400). 14-7-1702.

„ of Dishes, (400). 1-7-94.

„ of Lamps, (200). 9-7-94.

„ „ „ (300). 21-7-1702.

Superintendent of Fruity, (600). 2-10-1702.

Karori of Elephants, (400). 7-10-1702.

Keepers<sup>1</sup> of the royal princes were Mansabdars. A manufacturer of scent was a 400er,<sup>2</sup> while another was more fortunate as he was a 500er.<sup>3</sup> A Superintendent of Stables is found to be a 400er.<sup>4</sup> The royal servants sent to make purchases also held Mansabs; we find one 300er<sup>5</sup> and another 400er<sup>6</sup> mentioned. A Superintendent of Gardens was a 150er.<sup>7</sup> An Overseer of Masons was a 250er.<sup>8</sup> Various types of permanent contractors of labour were also similarly paid. We find one holding the rank of a 300er.<sup>9</sup> Officers in the mining department are also found holding similar offices.<sup>10</sup> Many tax collectors also held Mansabs. A Superintendent of the Market was 200er in 1704.<sup>11</sup> An assessor of the remission to be granted to the cultivators for the land trampled by the armies was a 250er.<sup>12</sup> The customs officers at Surat was always an official of high rank. A Musharaf of the Library was a 200er in 1694.<sup>13</sup>

Superintendent of Royal Drinks, (1000). 27-10-1702.

„ „ Ras Khana, (300). 29-2-1705.

„ „ Dahandi Khana, (250). 17-5-1703.

„ „ Stores, (150). 28-6-1704.

„ „ Maidservants and Randar Khana,  
(2500). 8-8-1704.

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 31-7-81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 23-6-94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 31-9-1704.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 19-7-94.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 14-11-1702.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 17-4-95.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 23-12-1702.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 21-2-1704.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 30-1-1703.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 9-12-94.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 10-10-1704.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 2-8-1694.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, „



A Superintendent of the Royal Library who also held another office was more fortunate in 1703 as he was a 400cr.<sup>1</sup> A Tahvildar of the Library (sectional curator probably) was only a Sadi (100cr) in 1704.<sup>2</sup>

Aurangzeb created a new department for the collection of the Jazyā. Various officers here did not go beyond 700cr. There were various grades of collectors put in charge of parganahs, sarkars, provinces, sometimes a group of provinces, and particular cities.<sup>3</sup>

Certain officers on the staff of various princes and other members of the royal family also held Mansabs. A Superintendent of Maids in Kam Bakhsh's palace was a 300cr in 1703.<sup>4</sup> A physician in the palace of Queen Udaipur Begum was a 150cr.<sup>5</sup>

Bakhshis, Mir-i-Samans, Diwans, Sadrs, Diwan-i-Bayutats, Superintendents of the Palace, Superintendent of the Diwan Khana, Daroghas of Charities, and Mir-i-Tuzk of Princes and other members of the imperial family are spoken of in the *News Letters* of the period as Mansabdars of various ranks and grades.<sup>6</sup> A Superintendent of the Private Audience-hall also held a Mansab.<sup>7</sup>

Various types of members of the staff of executive officers also held Mansabs. A News-Writer of the

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 29-12-1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 17-9-1704.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the present writer's *Religious Policy of Aurangzeb*.

<sup>4</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 25-3-1703.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 11-1-1705.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, for the years 1681, 1694, 1672.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 15-4-96.



Khan-i-Saman's office was a 300er in 1702<sup>1</sup> and a personal assistant a 400er in 1704.<sup>2</sup> A personal assistant of the Governor of Lahore combined this office with that of Fojdar of Sirhind.<sup>3</sup> The writer of ranks in the office of the Imperial High Diwan was a 100er in 1704.<sup>4</sup> Physicians in charge of public dispensaries were also reckoned as Mansabdars. A Superintendent of a Public Dispensary in 1692 held the rank of a 700er.<sup>5</sup>

Under Aurangzeb many more officers were given Mansabs than was customary under Akbar. Further officials were multiplied to discharge the same duties. Not only was the work of the Diwan distributed among three officials, similar divisions appeared in the office of sectional or provincial Diwans as well.<sup>6</sup> The growing luxury of the imperial entourage also increased the number of public servants in attendance upon the emperor. The complexity of the work of the government was further responsible for this increase.

All Mansabdars were directly recruited by the emperors. The number of the new recruits added every year was not very large. We have the daily *Court Bulletins* for about ten months of the thirty-

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 18-11-1702.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 12-4-1704.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 29-9-1704.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 14-10-1704.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 18-11-1692.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, a second Bakhshi in Kabul and a Bakhshi of the Ahdīs in Kabul is referred to in the *Court Bulletin* dated February 12, 1701. Salabat Khan is spoken of as first Mir-i-Tuzak on December 12, 1692 presumably because there were others as well. A Mir Bakhshi of Ahdīs is mentioned on October 29, 1699.

eight year of Aurangzeb's reign. During this period only seventy-six new Mansabdars were appointed in the ranks of 40, 60, 80, 100, 150, 200, 300, 400, 500, 700, 1000, 2000, 3000, 4000, and 6000. The new recruits include, among others, Maratha deserters and the relatives of Mansabdars already in service. The number of foreigners among the new appointments of the year is almost negligible. Most of the appointments were made in the lower grades. The emperor usually acted on the recommendation of the leaders of military expeditions, the governors of the provinces, and the high court officials. When an appointment was first announced, usually the rank and the salary of the new entrant alone were stated. The actual work to be entrusted to him was decided upon later on. There were no public examinations and no interviews for selection. The imperial eye was always considered sharp enough to discern merit. But once an officer was enrolled in the Mughal public services it was mostly his capacity for pleasing the emperor in office, or at the battlefield, as a Qazi or a physician, that decided his promotion. Increment in rank and salary usually followed the two new year festivities, the royal birthday festivities and the termination or the beginning of an expedition. Besides successful service the presents made to the emperor also played some part in deciding promotions.

Various types of honours were conferred on the public servants. Titles were bestowed and confiscated,<sup>1</sup> use of certain emblems of greatness allowed and

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, October 10, 1669; March 27, 1671, May 6, 1693.

cash gifts bestowed. Robes of honour were bestowed sometimes from the emperor's own wardrobe.<sup>1</sup> Ornaments of various descriptions were given, swords and daggers with costly handles were awarded. Several types of means of conveyances, palkis, horses, and elephants with rich trappings often marked their recipients as special objects of the emperor's favour. 'Kettle drums and the permission to play them were granted' under certain conditions. No one was allowed to beat them like the emperor when coming out of his residence.<sup>2</sup> Further they were not to be sounded in the emperor's presence or near his camp. Out of this were born many complications. Sometimes the leader of an expedition might insist that inferior Mansabdars be not allowed to beat their drums.<sup>3</sup> Ordinarily they were not conferred on those below the rank of 20000 but the emperors could of course always make exceptions.<sup>4</sup> A greater honour was the permission to fly one's own flag. This was not supposed to be conferred on those below the rank of 50000.<sup>5</sup> We have however several cases in Aurangzeb's reign where many officers with lower ranks were granted this honour. Muhammad Ibrahim, a Hazari (10000) was given a flag on December 14, 1699. Even earlier the honour had become so cheap that on October 22, 1694, Aurangzeb called for a statement from one of his Superintendents showing

<sup>1</sup> In the *Tuzak Jahangir* mentions several such cases.

<sup>2</sup> *Bengal under Jahangir* in 'J. I. H.', XIII, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Bengal under Jahangir* records many such quarrels.

<sup>4</sup> On April 27, 1700 the Fojdar of Sator who was a 15000 was given kettle drums. *Court Bulletin* of the same date.

<sup>5</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 14-2-1703.

how many officials between the ranks of 1000 and 7000 had received the right to fly their own flags and beat their own drums.<sup>1</sup> The highest honour conferred was the use of the Mahi-o-Maratab, ('a representation fish on a pole carried on an elephant with certain other insignia'). It was not supposed to be given to any one below the rank of 6000er. But we find Aurangzeb conferring it on Nasrut Jang who had a lower grade.<sup>2</sup> Money grants were also frequently made. These might imply either the grant of an additional Jagir or a cash order on the treasury. All these honours, like the titles, could be confiscated by the emperor and were held during imperial pleasure only.

The method of paying salaries has been much misunderstood. The Mansabdars were usually paid their salaries in cash. Thus in 1690 or thereabout out of 11456 Mansabdars 7999 were receiving cash salaries. Only 3457 held Jagirs.<sup>3</sup> When a Mansabdar was given a Jagir in lieu of his salary this did not make him in any sense of the term the owner of the land in his Jagir. The cultivators remained owners of their lands as before. He simply got the right of collecting land revenue from the assigned tract. Further he was authorized to collect only the land revenue as the State had assessed it on the cultivators. If any incidental charges were remitted, he was expected to discontinue realizing them.<sup>4</sup> Under

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, dated 14-12-9 and 22-1-94.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, No. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Zawabat-i-Alamgiri* MS., 15a.

<sup>4</sup> *Khafi Khan*, II, 550, 551.

Akbar at least any remission of the land revenue granted by the emperor took effect in the crown lands as well as in the Jagirs.<sup>1</sup> In its own interests it was necessary for the State to see that the Jagirdar realized no more than the sanctioned dues. The Jagirdars were not farmers of land revenue who had purchased the right of collecting land revenue from the State at a consideration. They had a claim against the State for their salaries and were therefore asked to collect the land revenue equivalent thereto which the State would have had to collect otherwise itself. Any excess collected not only involved injustice towards the cultivators it was a fraud against the State as well. If the State learnt that a particular tract had been made to yield a larger amount than was due to the particular Mansabdar it could reduce the Jagir. A letter of Meghraj, the agent of the Raja of Jaipur in the imperial court dated 7 Zi Haj in the 36 regnal year of Aurangzeb informs the Raja that the excess of revenue collected had to be paid to the treasury.<sup>2</sup>

The Jagirdar did not usually replace all government authority in his Jagir. All other agents of the imperial government remained stationed even in the assigned districts.<sup>3</sup> He only replaced the public collectors of land revenue by his own agents. Even the assessment of land revenue on individuals seemed to have remained in the hands of imperial representatives as before. The land revenue accounts were

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 587, and 747.

<sup>2</sup> *Jaipur Records*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, for the quarrels between the Fojdar of Mattura and the representative of the Jagirdar's men there.

kept as usual by the Patwari on behalf of the village. The Muqaddam collected the land revenue as before from the cultivators in his village.

Under Aurangzeb however the powers of the jagirdars became very great when sometimes they were appointed to be executive officers of the assigned territory. No one was however allowed to exercise any executive powers by virtue of his holding a particular jagir only. Executive powers could only be exercised when a Jagirdar was appointed to hold a particular executive office as well. As early as September, 1669, we hear of Rustam being appointed the Fojdar of Nagpur where he already held a jagir. Similar cases occur in the accounts of the year 1696, and 1700.<sup>1</sup> These may however have formed an exception.

In replacing the collecting agency by his own servants, the Jagirdar acquired the right of adjudicating disputes about the land, if and when, they were brought to his agents by those concerned. This would usually happen only when the village or the caste Panchayat failed in deciding the case or in giving satisfaction to one of the parties by its decision. We have to remember that primary revenue records were prepared and kept on behalf of the villagers by the Patwari who was an agent of the community paid for by them. Thus there was no chance of any conflict of authority between the village Panchayat and village officials trying to increase their own jurisdiction. A case would go to the Jagirdar's court only if the

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, September, 4, 1669; August 26, 1696, and June 6, 1700.



Panchayat's decision was not acceptable to the parties.

In making payment by Jagirs the State gained a good deal. It was saved the necessity and the cost of appointing its own agents for collection. A Jagirdar was usually worse off than a Mansabdar who received his salary in cash and who had no cost of collection to pay. An interesting document in the *Jaipur Records* gives us some idea as to what the Jagirs were worth in Aurangzeb's reign to the assignees. Sayyid Masud had a Jagir in the Parganah of Chatsu worth 463786 Dams (Rs. 10,094- $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{3}{8}$ ). In the thirty-fifth year he farmed his rights to Kushal Singh, Subhal Singh and Swami Dass for a payment of Rs. 5,046 clear of all expenses to be paid to him in instalments wherever he might be.<sup>1</sup> If this is a typical case revealing the worth of the Jagirs to the assignees our ideas about the high salaries of the Jagirdar section of the Mansabdars will have to be radically revised. At any rate in the beginning of the eighteenth century the things do not seem to have been much better. We find Sadiq Khan, a 800er, asking for a cash salary in place of a Jagir<sup>2</sup> whereupon his Mansab was reduced to that of a 400er. Another Jagirdar did a little better. He got his salary changed from Jagir into cash at the rate of 7/12th.<sup>3</sup> A general order issued about this time tells us that the cash salaries were given at 1/2 of the value of the Jagirs.<sup>4</sup> In another case a Jagirdar fared even worse. He got 5 months' salary

<sup>1</sup> *Jaipur Records*, VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 10-2-1704.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 19-3-1704.

<sup>4</sup> *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 160.

in cash in exchange obviously for a full year's Jagir.<sup>1</sup>

As against this we have an interesting case in the reign of Akbar. Yusuf in Kashmir was given an assignment of the revenues at 22 lakh Kharvars (ass-loads) converted into cash at 16 dams an assload. He had thus been given a Jagir there worth Rs. 880,000 a year. A complaint was brought to the court that the assignments were worth much more, in fact worth Rs. 23,10,000 a year.<sup>2</sup> This happened in the year 36. Soon after—probably as the result of the investigations started at this time—the revenues of the province of Kashmir were resumed by the crown.<sup>3</sup>

Any chance of the Jagirdars being anything more than collectors of land revenue in their Jagirs was made impossible by the frequent transfers of Jagirs. "These and other places, are given away by the king according to his pleasure to the captains he is inclined to favour. Some are changed every year or half year, or once in two or three years...Thus no captain can depend upon the place given to him..... The servants of the king have no security of any place." Thus wrote a Dutch factor in the twentieth year of Jahangir's reign.<sup>4</sup> The Persian chronicles are also full of the records of transfer of officials, from one place to another. As they were transferred they tried to see that their Jagirs were also changed. But in this they were not always successful. When Aurangzeb spent twenty-seven long years in the Deccan, the

<sup>1</sup> *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 72b.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 595.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, III, 648.

<sup>4</sup> *De Jongh MS.*, pages 24 and 25.



Mughal officials, civil and military, serving there had not all their Jagirs in the south. Sometimes they tried to secure Jagirs there. But the Deccan was not large enough to support the entire Mughal administration. So in August 1703 an order was issued that cash payments should continue being made and no Jagirs be granted to any officer in the Imperial camp or in the Deccan without special orders of the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

The state helped its officials in times of need as well. Advances were made to them on furnishing adequate security.<sup>2</sup> An official appointed newly to a high command needed money and sometimes borrowed it from private money-lenders. There is a very interesting case reported in the *News Letters*. An official borrowed money on being appointed to high office. Before however he could actually take charge of the work, he died. The creditor thereupon complained to the emperor who ordered his successor to discharge the debt as his predecessor had mortgaged some official papers with his creditor.<sup>3</sup>

The frequent transfers of officials, and their Jagirs made the work of keeping accounts rather difficult. Not only were they transferred from one place to another, they were very often transferred from one department to another, from garrison duty to active command and the leadership of expeditions. These transfers often created confusion in accounts. When expeditions have to be organized, their leader would not wait for the audit certificates of the imperial

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 23-8-1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruqat-i-Hasan*, 48, 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaipur Records*, VIII, 169 to 174.

auditors and the emperors would be in too much hurry to insist on that. The result was that the settlement of accounts was not promptly made. The conduct of expedition would further result in complicating such accounts. We find Rustam Khan, for example, writing from Kabul to the emperor (Shah Jahan) detailing his expenses. He had 4500 men and he spent on them and other expenses Rs. 200,000 a month. He had received only Rs. 1,20,000 from his Jagir and had realized Rs. 1,20,000 from the imperial treasury in Kabul. He requested the emperor to send orders to the imperial Diwans in Lahore and Kabul to make him necessary payments in order to enable him to meet his monthly expenses. The amount thus advanced to him, he suggested, could be reimbursed from his Jagirs.<sup>1</sup> This was not an exceptional case. No wonder, then, that complication of accounts brought in its train the Mughal doctrine of escheat. When a Mansabdar died, naturally the State would like to have the accounts settled. The personal estate of the official mainly consisted of movable goods and may be his house. Immovable property bearing income did not exist as no one could acquire any right in the land; and building of houses for purposes of drawing rents was not very common and could be resorted to only in big cities. Thus if the state wanted its accounts squared, it had to prefer a claim to the movable property of the dead official. As there was the danger that his family might dispose it off, the state resorted to the custom

<sup>1</sup> *Haft Anjuman*, Part I, letter from Rustam Khan to Shah Jahan.

of seizing the official's property as soon as the news of his death spread. It stood as a security for whatever he may be owing to the State. Then began the settlement of accounts. With the Mansabdar dead it was possible for the revenue and military departments to spread those accounts and usually the whole property of the Mansabdar was swallowed therein. On their own side, the Mansabdars lived so well that very seldom did they leave much in their own houses which was not secured to some creditor. The payment of one's debts was a religious obligation, and not simply legal duty; but we know nothing about the way in which the State considered the claims on the estate of a dead Mansabdar by his creditors. If these were allowed to take precedence of the State's demands, not much would have been usually left for the State to claim as its own share for its dues. Thus arose the custom of escheat, zabti. As soon as a Mansabdar died, it was the duty of the Diwan-i-Bayutat or his representatives to take charge of the dead man's property, seal all his effects and wait for any order the emperor may like to give on any representation made by the bereaved family.

On his accession, Jahangir issued orders that whatever was the share of the orphans—of course after the State due had been exacted—be paid to them out of the property of their father.<sup>1</sup>

Aurangzeb's long stay in the Deccan complicated

<sup>1</sup> *Travels of Abdul Latif*, f. 11, 12.

Akbar had also issued similar orders earlier. The property of those who owed nothing to the State was not to be attached. Mirat, I, 185.

matters still further. It seems usually the accounts were settled every year. But when as usual the revenue ministry demanded the payment of Rs. 400 due to the State from a Mansabdar, Aziz Ullah Khan who had a Jagir of Rs. 40,000, made a representation to the emperor. On January 30, 1704, an order was thereupon issued that as long as he was serving in the Deccan the dues be not demanded.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that this was made into a precedent and other Mansabdars serving in the Deccan might have received similar relief. Settlement of accounts withheld for a long period must have created further complications and justified zabti.

Much has been said about the injustice and cruelty involved in this procedure.<sup>2</sup> Most of the sympathy shown for the dead nobles or their descendants is rather misplaced. To begin with, the wife—or rather the wives—of a noble never suffered much, as at the time of marriage, every Muslim women is allowed to claim a consideration from her husband. In the case of rich officials this was always a substantial sum and in those days when these officials kept large harems every member thereof must have managed to secure her dues herself. The marriage portion was hers by the Muslim Law and no institute set up by the Mughal emperors could override it. Then there were the children of these nobles. The emperors were almost always partial to the descendants of their

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 3-1-1704.

<sup>2</sup> Ovington, 197.

Cf. Hawkins, 104, 105, 112; Terry, 326, 327; Bernier, 5, 65, 164, 165, 212; Tavernier, 18; Mannuci, I, 205; Roe, 89; Pelsaert, 54, 55; Mandelso, 38; Ovington, 197.

officials whom they gave a generous start in life. Those who declaim loudly against the system of zabti should carefully read the list of grandees under Akbar and his successors when they would find the sons and the relatives of Mansabdars figuring so largely in the lists. Abdul Latif, writing early in the reign of Jahangir, tells us that Akbar cared for the children of the dead Mansabdars and brought them under his own protection.<sup>1</sup>

The trouble is that we do not possess evidence enough to assess the injustice, if any, done in this system to the descendants of a noble. But was any injustice involved at all? On what does the right of a descendant of a dead person to his property depend? Simply on the laws prevailing in the state. If these laws definitely limit the right of certain classes of people to their property to their lives alone, no one has a right to complain when he does not get what he never expected to possess. The persons concerned must have planned their lives fully knowing the existing laws effecting them, their property and their descendants.

Several cases recorded in the reign of Aurangzeb throw a welcome light on the process of zabti. On December 6, 1665, it was ordered that after settling the claims of the State whatever be left out of the escheated property of Maharban Khan be given to his descendants.<sup>2</sup> When Shaista Khan died, the government agent sent to take charge of his property gave away Rs. 8,000 in charity probably according to the

<sup>1</sup> *Travels*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 6-12-65.

last wishes of Shaista Khan. He was thereupon degraded on July 2, 1694.<sup>1</sup> In 1702 Luttfat Ullah Khan died. He owed Rs. 17,000 to the State. His elephants and horses were taken possession of by the State and the rest of his property was given to his son on October 7, 1702.<sup>2</sup> On November 11, 1694, the emperor bestowed the jagir of the late Janbar Khan on his descendants.<sup>3</sup>

But the Mughals seem to have been more than generous to their Mansabdars. Some of them at least received a pension on retirement. Muhammad Yar Khan, Governor of Delhi, resigned early in 1702 and on March 3, 1702 he was given a pension of Rs. 3,000 a year.<sup>4</sup> Soon after the Diwan of Delhi as well retired and on November, 1702 was given a pension of Rs. 2,000 a year.<sup>5</sup> Arz Khan was the Fojdar and commander of the garrison at Ranthanbore. He was summoned to the court on his retirement. He was too old to undertake the arduous journey to the imperial court. He had been a 500er. Rs. 4,000 a year were settled on him as his pension.<sup>6</sup> An old man applied for permission to retire as he could not, on account of his infirmities, discharge his duties. The permission to retire was withheld pending his attendance at court. He came. Aurangzeb satisfied himself that he was too old to continue usefully as a Mansabdar (100er) and on September 23, 1703 he

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 2-7-1694.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 7-10-1702.

<sup>3</sup> „ 11-11-94.

<sup>4</sup> „ 3-3-1702.

<sup>5</sup> „ 2-11-1702.

<sup>6</sup> „ 28-12-1703.

was given a Jagir of Rs. 500 a year.<sup>1</sup> Aqil Khan, we learn from another source, was given a pension of Rs. 12,000 a year on retirement.<sup>2</sup> Tarbiat Khan, a 3000er, resigned his Mansab and was granted a pension of Rs. 25,000 on October 15, 1666. Two Mansabdars from Kashmir were given similar grants on May 26, 1666. Mirza Beg, a 2500er, was given the revenue of a village worth Rs. 1,000 on August 24, 1681. Khwaja Musa was favoured with a grant of Rs. 20,000 on April 7, 1701. Mir Qutub-ud-Din, a 4000er, was given Rs. 2,000 a year on June 24, 1694. A Mansabdar of 200, a little later, was very fortunate as on retirement he was given a pension of Rs. 2,000 a year on June 28, 1694.<sup>3</sup> Pensions to the widows and the children of a deceased Mansabdar are referred to in an order of Aurangzeb in the Kalimat.<sup>4</sup> The *Abkam-i-Alamgiri* mentions a pension granted to a daughter of a dead Mansabdar.<sup>5</sup> Bernier's remarks are also worth quoting.

"The courtiers are often not even descendants of Omrahs, because, the King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the Omrah's death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally we might almost say, to beggary, and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry of some Omrah. The King, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family;

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin* 23-9-1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalimat*, 167.

<sup>3</sup> *Court Bulletins* of the dates mentioned in the text.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalimat*, 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Abkam*, 16(a).



and if the Omrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour, particularly if their persons be well formed, and their complexions sufficiently fair to enable them to pass for genuine Mogols."<sup>1</sup>

These Mansabdars led magnificent lives. 'The governor or Umaras of this place when they go to a garden or court, or another place, have an escort of 30 to 40 mounted and 40 to 50 foot soldiers. Some ride while others are carried in palankeens..... The magnates of the country keep great state.'<sup>2</sup> Daud Khan, Manucci tells us, spent Rs. 25,000 a year on his pet birds alone.<sup>3</sup>

Bernier tells us :—

"They maintain the splendour of the court, and are never seen out-of-doors but in the most superb apparel ; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horse-back, and not unfrequently in a Paleky attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the files and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks ; to carry the picquedent or spittoon, water to allay the Omrah's thirst, and sometimes account books, and other papers."<sup>4</sup>

Pelsaert's account is very interesting.

"Their mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, super-

<sup>1</sup> Bernier, 211.

<sup>2</sup> De Jongh, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Manucci, IV, 255; Thevenot, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Bernier, 21.



fluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness.

‘I shall now speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper story except a flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house ; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water, drawn by oxen from wells. The water is drawn, or sometimes raised by a wheel, in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only, because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy, and far superior to anything in our country. They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth ; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines like alabaster, or can even be used as a looking-glass.

‘They have no furniture of the kind we delight in, such as tables, stocks, benches, cupboards, bedsteads, etc. ; but their cots, or sleeping places, and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country, are lavishly ornamented with gold or silver, and they use more gold and silver in serving food than we do, though nearly all of it is used in the mahal, and is seen by scarcely anybody except women. Outside

the mahal, there is only the diwan-khana, or sitting-place, which is spread with handsome carpets, and kept very clean and neat. Here the lord takes his seat in the morning to attend to his business, whatever it is, and here all his subordinates come to salam him.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Arif Qandahari describes a lunch to which one of Akbar's officers invited the emperor. The ceremony observed, the dishes served, the carpets and curtains displayed, were all the last thing in magnificence.<sup>2</sup> Islam Khan, a Governor of Bengal under Jahangir, is said to have spent Rs. 100,000 a year on dancing girls alone.<sup>3</sup> Bernier thus described a good house. 'The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered with a cotton mattress from four inches in thickness over which a fine white cloth is spread during the summer, a silk carpet in the winter. At the most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses with fine covering quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery, interspersed with gold and silver. Each mattress has a large cushion of brocade to lean upon and there are other cushions placed round the room covered with brocade, velvet, or flowered satin..... The sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, in which are seen procelain vases and flowers. The ceiling is gilt and painted.'<sup>4</sup> Asaf Khan gave a dinner in honour of Shah Jahan. Special seats

<sup>1</sup> Pelsaert, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Arif Qandahari, pp. 216 to 226.

<sup>3</sup> *Subh Sadiq*, 1980a.

<sup>4</sup> Bernier, 248.

with gold and silver embroidery were provided for. In the four corners of the room were stands supporting gold vessels. Sweet perfumes were being burnt in silver scent burners. At the entrance was a water fountain. It threw scented water in a silver tub which remained half full and provided water for washing the feet and the hands of the guests. There were two seats of gold cloth, the rest of silver. The dinner lasted four hours. At the end Asaf Khan presented three gold vessels full of precious stones worth seven hundred thousand rupees.<sup>1</sup> Mandelslo thus bears witness to their splendour, 'There is no king in Europe that has so noble a court as the governor of Gujarat, not any that appears in public with greater magnificence.'<sup>2</sup>

The Mughal officials were not supposed to pay any ordinary taxes. They owned no landed property for which they could be asked to pay the land revenue. The land belonged to the cultivators. No income tax as such seems to have been levied on them. But if by tax we mean compulsory payments made to the state, the officials paid a very large amount of money. Irvine has described some of the payments made by the officials out of their salaries.<sup>3</sup> The Mughals seem to have followed the present custom with regard to the payment of the Income Tax and sometimes deducted the taxes out of the salaries of their public servants. In the shape of 'fraction of two dams' 'expenses of minting' 'days of moon's rise,' and the 'maintenance

<sup>1</sup> Manrique, II, 213 to 219.

<sup>2</sup> Mandelslo, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Irvine.

expenses for imperial stables' the public servants parted with their salaries as follows:

	from	to
1. Two dams (an income tax) .. .. .	5%	10%
2. Minting charges .. ..	1½%	1¾%
3. Days of moon's rise ..	3.3%	3.3%
4. Imperial stables (from those above 40000) ..		

The Jagirdars however usually paid these taxes after realizing their income from their Jagirs. This sometimes created difficulties. On July 18, 1702 we find the emperor ordering the Bakhshis to deduct the last tax from the Jagirs outright<sup>1</sup> i.e., to decrease the Jagirs of the Mansabdars by the amount of the tax. This seems to have been applicable to the Mansabdars below 2000. On June 17, 1703 an order was given that Mansabdars of 2000 and above be ordered to keep agents at the court who should be responsible for the payment of the fodder tax.<sup>2</sup>

A rather curious custom existed with regard to tips. When the emperor was very much pleased with any Mansabdar or when a Mansabdar was appointed to a high office, it was customary to send a dish from the imperial table to him. This 'gracious pleasure' of the emperor cost the recipient about Rs. 100 which he had to pay to the messenger who brought the dish. The tip received was credited to the imperial treasury; sometimes if the emperor was pleased he allowed

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 18-7-1702.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 17-6-1703.

the messenger to retain the whole or a part thereof. Sometimes the tips were returned to their givers.<sup>1</sup> Jahangir remitted the bridle money which every public servant had to pay when he was given a horse or an elephant as a present.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from these taxes the public servants had to make valuable presents to the emperor. An imperial audience always involved the presentation of some thing that would interest the emperor. On the New Year's Days and the Birth Days of the emperor every public servant present in the court had to make a present to the emperor. Of course the emperor also never forgot them. Gifts from the royal treasury were often sent on auspicious occasions to all public servants.

There were standing office orders regulating the procedure in the offices. All heads of department were required to be present in their office till midday whereas their subordinates had to attend office till the afternoon.<sup>3</sup> As now, sometimes officials would like to transact their business at their own homes. This was strictly forbidden.<sup>4</sup>

The Mansabdar system was a method of organizing the royal military forces as well. Of course, as we have already seen, it originated in the imperial need to define the number of men every military officer was to keep. Within eight years this broke down and a divergence appeared in the personal numerical rank

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletins*, 2-7-1702, 23-7-1702, 5-2-1703, 27-5-66.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 23-3-1702.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 6-9-1681.

of a Mansabdar and the number of soldiers he led to the field. This divergence at last compelled Akbar in his forty-second year to create grades in the same rank according to the number of soldiers an officer actually commanded.<sup>1</sup> The word Swar was not a technical term. It simply described a fact. A Panj Hazari Hazar Swar did not imply two separate offices of a Mansabdar. It simply implied that the official was paid the salary of a 5000er and was expected to bring into the field one thousand soldiers. How long this continued we do not know. Akbar seems to have enforced his own regulations and insisted by means of branding of horses and descriptive rolls of men that the public servants actually maintained the contingent they were supposed to lead and were paid for from the treasury. Moreland has suggested that during the general laxity in administration on Jahangir's accession these rules came to be violated and the public servants did not keep the number of horses they were paid for.<sup>2</sup> The accounts of Jahangir's reign however do not bear this out entirely. Of course we have the suggestive fact that when on the submission of Rana Amar Singh, the mansab of 5000er and 5000 horses was conferred on Karn, all that stipulated was that the Rana should keep at the imperial court a contingent of 1500 horses.<sup>3</sup> We have to remember, however, that the position of the Rana of Udaipur was peculiar; alone of all the Rajas of

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 671.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vir Vinod* for Jahangir's Farman conferring on Karn the rank mentioned above.

Hindustan he refused to advance his fortune by serving on the staff of the Mughal emperor. The rank conferred on him simply represented a 'book account.' He submitted to the Mughal emperor. So his territory in theory became imperial. It was given back to him by creating him a Jagirdar of these very districts of his own. The contingent of 1500 horses had to be maintained by him out of his own revenue. So the fact that Karn, though a Panch Hazari with 5000 soldiers, was to lead only 1500 horses need not have much significance. There are other cases as well where we have Mansabdars almost maintaining just the number for which they were paid. We can only say that some laxity did set in during his reign.

In the reign of Shah Jahan salaries of personal ranks and those given on behalf of soldiers maintained were lessened by 25%. This seems to have been done in the eleventh year of his reign. We have a table of salaries dated April 25, 1638 preserved in the *Dastur-ul-Amal Todar Mal* and the *Farban-gi-Kar Dani*.<sup>1</sup> Further he issued general regulations for the purpose of legalizing the departure between the Swar rank of an officer and his command. It was decided that if a Mansabdar had his Jagir in the same province he was to bring  $\frac{1}{3}$  of his nominal command (Swar) to the muster, otherwise one fourth. To the expeditions sent outside India only one fifth of the number of soldiers indicated by the Swar rank were

<sup>1</sup> *Farhang*, 21a to 23b.

A comparison of the Table of Salaries proves however that the decrease was much larger. See above.



to be brought to the field.<sup>1</sup>

Under Aurangzeb this regulation seems to have been continued. Aurangzeb generally required his officers to get one fifth the number of the Swars indicated by their Swar ranks branded.<sup>2</sup> Some Mansabdars however were asked to bring one fourth the number of their Swar rank.<sup>3</sup> But this only indicated the lowermost limits of the scale. We have for example Firoz Jung, a Haft Hazari (7000 or 7000 horses) bringing into the field a contingent of 3426 horses and 3250 foot on November 20, 1702.<sup>4</sup> An humbler public servant holding the rank of 500 or 500 horses had a contingent of 200 horses and 300 foot.<sup>5</sup> Tarbiat Khan led a contingent of horses where the total number of soldiers indicated by the Swar rank was 12850. According to the above he should have led 2570 horses, whereas we find him leading 4069 soldiers.<sup>6</sup>

The trouble was that the Mughal State, in order not to be defrauded without putting the Mansabdars to a too great inconvenience, adopted various methods of covering some of its institutional fictions. A man may be asked to have 500 Swars ready but be actually paid for them anything from a month's to a full year's salary.<sup>7</sup> Under such varying conditions by a rather complicated system of accounting the Mughal em-

<sup>1</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 228, 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Court Bulletins*, 26-12-76, 6-5-1702.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 31-3-67, 17-4-95.

<sup>4</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 20-9-1702.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 17-6-1704.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 6-7-1704.

<sup>7</sup> *Farhang*, 24a.



peror must have secured that they paid only for the number of soldiers actually led by their public servants. They were too clever to suffer such a fraud as to pay a public servant for 1000 horses whereas he was expected to bring into the field only 200. They must have secured that they paid no more than the salary due for the maximum the leader was expected to bring into the field. As suggested above a very easy method of securing it was by paying the officers for a shorter number of months than 12.

But there is reason to believe that the Mughal emperor paid for the actual number of soldiers a Mansabdar got branded. An imperial order issued on August 31, 1703 laid down that the Mansabdars should have their horses branded and receive from the Superintendent in charge of these operations the Dagh Nama. This was to be sent to the emperor who would grant a Jagir according to the Dagh Nama<sup>1</sup> i.e., according to the number of horses the Mansabdar had got branded. If this represents general practices of the period, it is clear that the Mughal emperors only paid for the horses that the Mansabdar got branded.

Under Aurangzeb branding of horses came to be very much in discount. On August 19, 1694 an order was issued that all Rajput Chiefs holding the rank of a 2000er or above need not have their horses

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 31-8-1703.

Earlier on June 26, 1703 when the Superintendent of Branding had reported about the shortage of men in Bihar, orders were given to realize the excess money paid to the Mansabdars.

branded.<sup>1</sup> Later on all Mughal officials were excused Dagh if their ranks were above 3000.<sup>2</sup> In the south under the constant warfare to which the Mansabdars were subjected it seemed most of the higher public servants also got themselves excused from branding their horses.<sup>3</sup>

The army that the Mansabdars made available for imperial service was a heterogeneous collection. It represented a grouping together of isolated units rather than a well organized fighting machine. In 1637 there were 8000 Mansabdars and 185000 horsemen ready for service entertained by Shah Jahan.<sup>4</sup> Now the 185000 horsemen owed allegiance to their own individual commanders and may have all been differently organized. When a military expedition was sent, its members of course acknowledged the officer appointed as a commander-in-chief as their leader but there was always a want of cohesion among the various leaders. Personal jealousies, mutual bickering, difficulties about nice points of precedence many a time created, and added to, the difficulties of the Mughals. Under such conditions no team work could be expected. We find this illustrated in the Mughal expeditions sent to various parts of Bengal under Jahangir and in the armies sent across the frontier to conquer Qandahar, Balkh, and Badakhshan.<sup>5</sup> Every commander wanted to distinguish

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 19-8-1694.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The *Court Bulletins* are full of such orders.

<sup>4</sup> *Badshah Nama*, II, 715.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Babaristan-i-Ghaibi* and *Lataif-ul-Akbar* for the quarrels that disfigured the conduct of Mughal expedition to Qandahar and the expeditions in Bengal.

himself rather than make the expeditions successful.

The numbers the Mughal emperor could bring into the field or did actually bring cannot be definitely ascertained. If the figures of Akbar's reign as given in the *Ain* are to be our guide 138 living Mansabdars of 500 and above in about 1590 could have been asked to bring into the field a force of 2,03,850 horses.

The amount spent by the Mughal Emperor in maintaining their public services cannot be easily estimated. Here we have to remember that Jagirs and the cash salaries granted to Mansabdars were not payment for the salaries of the public servants alone. The Mansabdars were paid for their military contingents as well. Taking the rates of salaries in Akbar's time when the *Ain* was compiled Akbar's public servants cost the State Rs. 15,953,950 a year.

The nature of the Mansabdar organization has often been misunderstood. Contemporary European observers discovered in the Jagirs a superficial resemblance to the feudal organization of government in Europe and handed down the tradition that the Mansabdars were great feudal nobles. As we have already seen Mansabdars were nothing of the kind. They had no rights in the land except to collect the land revenue due to the State in lieu of their salaries fixed in cash. Their Jagirs imposed on them no other duties and were frequently changed. As we have seen above a very large number of public servants received salaries in cash. Whatever the origin, in its later stages a Mansab by itself did not involve any military duties. It was only when a public servant was specifically asked to maintain and was paid for a

certain number of men that he became a military leader. Otherwise he was a public servant paid so much a month in the terms of his contract. Whereas feudalism created a hereditary class based on the accident of an ancestor having rendered some notable service to the monarchy, the Mughal Mansabdar was a public servant paid for his own actual worth to the state rather than that of some far off ancestor of his. Most of the criticism of the system is based on this false analogy.

It is customary to speak of the Mughal nobles. That again is due not only to the term first made familiar by contemporary European writers but also to the wrong translation of the technical terms, Amir and Amir-i-Azam. The European writers were familiar with their own customs where a nobility of birth was utilized in the service of the State in contemporary Europe. Though Bernier clearly brings out the difference, he was more concerned with tracing the origins of these Mughal public servants than describing the system that prevailed there. Though the European writers sometimes described them as nobles some of them do bring out the distinction between Mughal public servants and European nobles of the time.

This apparent abuse of the term noble was magnified when Persian texts came to be translated. Public servants in general were divided into three classes, Mansabdars, Amirs, and Umrai Kabir. The last two classes came to be comprehended in the term nobles and were thus translated. It is a correct literary translation but it mars the technical sense

involved in the two terms. If we used the modern terminology and called the three divisions as a Sub-ordinate Service, a Provincial Service, and an Imperial Service we would be conveying the contents of these terms better. In no sense did they form a nobility. As well call the Indian Civil Servants nobles ! The Mughal system was averse to creating any distinctions by birth. As genius could not be ordinarily handed down by father to son, the Mughal emperors refused to go out of their way and recognise any rights of the sons to positions in the public services on account of the services of their fathers and relatives. Herein, if they departed from the contemporary European and Asiatic standards, they came very near modern methods of recruitment of the services. If there were no public competitive examinations, the way was open to talent to catch the emperor's eye and find an opportunity to serve the State.

Much of the criticism of the Mughal Public Services were inspired by wrong analogies. Some of the charges levelled against the system can as well be levelled against the organization of most public services in the world today. That it was not hereditary, as Bernier lamented, was an advantage rather than a shortcoming. That the State levied a death duty which might sometimes amount to the confiscation of the entire estate of a Mansabdar meant redistribution of wealth. It has yet to be proved by definite examples that the descendants of any Mansabdar were actually left in want as the result of the operation of the system of Zabti. We have already seen that under Akbar the surplus of the estate after

realizing the State due was handed over to the successors of the bereaved family. Jahangir repeated these orders. Those who lament that the Zabti made it impossible for a strong nobility (?) to arise seem to be overlooking several important factors. A nobility of birth is never an unmixed blessing and it has yet to be proved that it would have ensured better results in India than it did elsewhere. Further, as it was, the disintegration of the Mughal Empire was partially due to its overmighty public servants. Is it contended that had they been stronger they would have proved more useful (to themselves or the Mughal Empire?)

It will have however to be admitted that the Mughal public servants were paid inordinately high salaries for a country where living was so cheap. Most of their allowances however were usually spent in the country. Whatever the land of their origin, the public servants made India their home. The example of the emperor made them live in a style which usually made them run into debt. Most of their money was spent on their huge harems in which they delighted. Yet many of them were keen students and patronized all sorts of studies. We have Bernier's employer who even in camp could not do without his study of Greek Philosophy. There was Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana whose patronage of men of learning gives him a unique place among public servants, ancient and modern. There were others under whose wings painting, music, dancing, architecture and other arts found a shelter. They encouraged trade and industry. If an imported article



caught their fancy, it was always their desire to have it matched here in India. Their demands kept the royal workshops in various parts of the country work overtime. They loved hunting and open sports of all kinds. It is true that if they had spent less on their harems, if they had been given less to useless pomp and show they might have stopped the rot that set in the Mughal empire.

In the later stages several new evils appeared in the system. Akbar had made several experiments in appointing joint holders of a single office. As his biographer tells us the experiment was meant for providing a man on the spot if the governor happened to be called to the court or fell ill. Under Aurangzeb however joint commands of expeditions were used for the purpose of making the colleagues spy on each other. This sapped all sense of responsibility among them. Worse than this, was the system of multiple offices which was favoured by Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. To begin with, the princes, but later on others in high favour, were appointed to hold at one and the same time a plurality of offices. Of course they could hold some of them by appointing deputies. Now this blocked the path of advancement to real talent. When an officer was appointed to hold more than one office he appointed as his deputies his own men rather than promote men of ability from among other public servants. Sons, brothers, or other relatives were usually appointed to discharge the routine duties of some of the minor offices which might have been thus combined. Even the initiative of these deputies was not given much chance. As

the substantive holder of the office alone was responsible to the emperor they had to depend on him for orders on every major issue rising in administration.



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## THE GĀTHĀS OF ZARATHUŠTRA:

YASNA HĀ 29

By DR. MANILAL PATEL, Ph.D.

In the whole of the Avestan literature the place occupied by the *Gāthās* is unique. That they are, in the main, the *dicta prophetae* of Zarathuštra, and, admittedly, the oldest literary monument of the Iranian people marks them out as the most important texts of the Zoroastrian religion. A study of these texts is therefore rightly considered indispensable for a student of the Avesta and of comparative Religion. It is none the less so for that of the Veda and of Linguistics owing, as is well known, to the striking affinities between the Gāthic dialect and the Vedic Sanskrit.

And yet it is sadly true that notwithstanding the rapid strides which have been made in the knowledge of Indo-Iranian philology and culture since the time when the Avesta first became the subject of scientific study and research on modern lines, the task of interpreting the *Gāthās* has still remained baffling to the Avestan scholar. Fresh attempts, therefore, are permissible. In the following, I have adhered, as far as possible, to the principles of Gāthic interpretation as enunciated by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings*, The Fifth Oriental Indian Conference, Lahore, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 199ff.

in a paper read at the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, held at Lahore. Previous translations have been carefully studied and their results utilized, with due recognition, wherever necessary. Taking Geldner's text<sup>1</sup> as a basis, and bearing in mind the *Urtext* as fixed by Andreas-Wackernagel,<sup>2</sup> I have attempted to reconstruct the Gāthic verses so that the metrical requirements have been met and 'a tendency to introduce prothetic and other vowels, to amplify simple vowels into diphthongs and even introduce wholly needless and redundant vowels in the middle of words'<sup>3</sup> has been detected and done away with. In point of interpretation, though the modern philological methods are adopted, I have always remembered that the Gāthās represent, in most parts, the inspired words of a *spiritual* teacher, of a Poet-Prophet. No prejudice, moreover, is entertained against the traditional *Pahlavi* interpretations<sup>4</sup> whose value, so far as the Gāthās are concerned, is, however, considerably limited.<sup>5</sup> Both in the transliteration and the translation, hypermetrical and otherwise unnecessary letters

<sup>1</sup> *Avestā, the Sacred Books of the Parsis*, edited by Karl. F. Geldner, Stuttgart, 1896, Part I.

<sup>2</sup> *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Abbr. NGWG.), Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1913, pp. 363-385. These pages cover Ys. 28, 29, and 32. For a brief enunciation of the method of Andreas-Wackernagel, see Taraporewala, *ibid.*, pp. 200f.

<sup>3</sup> Taraporewala, *ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> For these, I have solely depended on Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (AW.), Strassburg, 1904, and Mill's *Gāthās*, Leipsic, 1894.

<sup>5</sup> For a correct appreciation of the value of the Pahlavi interpretations, see Geldner, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (GIP.), II, §§ 42ff., pp. 46ff.

or words have been indicated by [ ], and those claiming insertion on grammatical or other grounds are bracketed ( ). Numbers and punctuations are used in the transliterated text so as to facilitate the understanding of the translation. All the alterations have been fully explained in the notes.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

To come to *Yasna Hā*<sup>1</sup> 29, the subject-matter of the present study.

The Gāthās are said to be five and each one of these has its own name derived from the opening word.<sup>2</sup> The first one is called *Ahnavaiti* because, in its *original form*, the *Ahuna-Vairya*<sup>3</sup> prayer formed its opening verse. The present arrangement, based on tradition, is, therefore, slightly incongruous. Another incongruity in the present order of the *Ahnavaiti*<sup>4</sup> is, as already pointed out by Mills,<sup>5</sup> that *Yasna Hā* 29, usually put second, ought, in the fitness of things, to occupy the first place, while *Hā* 28 should come second. This is clearly borne out by the contents of both the *Hās*. In *Hā* 29 it is allegorically reported that the 'soul of the cow,' personifying 'Mother-Earth,' approaches Ahura Mazda and complains of the terrible outrages committed on her by the evil-doers and the unbelievers. Thereupon, on

<sup>1</sup> *Hā*, *Hāiti*—'Chapter.'

<sup>2</sup> For details, see Pouré Davoud, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra*, Bombay, 1927, Introduction (Eng. translation by D. J. Irani), pp. 41f.

<sup>3</sup> According to the traditional arrangement, Y. 27, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Ys. 28-34.

<sup>5</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI, p. 4.

the suggestion of Vohu Manah, Zarathuštra is appointed as the Protector by the Wise Lord. As, therefore, Hā 29 deals symbolically with the preparations in heaven for Zarathuštra's mission before he attained the full status of Prophet, it should naturally precede Hā 28 in which Zarathuštra already appears upon earth and begins his work as Saviour.

Every stanza (*vacastašti*-) of the Gāthā Ahunavaitī consists of three lines (*afsmān*-) each having two *pādas* and 16 syllables. The *caesura* occurs at the end of the seventh syllable ; e.g. :

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16  
aē-cā gōuš<sup>1</sup> urvā raostā<sup>2</sup> | yā anaēšam<sup>3</sup> xsānmānē<sup>4</sup> rādām ||

Y. 29, 9ab.

This scheme of versification reminds one of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre of the Vedas. The only difference is that the latter has two lines, each of the two *pādas* regularly consisting of 8 syllables. That is to say, each verse of the Ahunavaitī is in length equal to one *anuṣṭubh* verse and a half, or to two *gāyatrī* verses. It is safe to contend, therefore, that both the Gāthic and the Vedic metres are of the same Indo-Iranian type and have their origin in an earlier Indo-European tradition.<sup>1</sup>

Stanza 1 :

(a) xśmaibyā<sup>1</sup> gōuš<sup>2</sup> urvā<sup>3</sup> gərəzdā<sup>4</sup> :

(b) ' kahmāi<sup>5</sup> mā<sup>6</sup> ǵwar[ō]zdūm<sup>7</sup> ? kō<sup>8</sup> mā<sup>9</sup>  
taśa<sup>10</sup> ?

(c) ā<sup>11</sup> mā<sup>12</sup> aēš[ə]mō<sup>13</sup> hazas<sup>14</sup>. cā<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meillet, *Les origines indo-européennes des metres grecques* ; cf. Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, § 65; Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 5.

(d) rəmō<sup>16</sup>[ā]<sup>17</sup> hiśāyā<sup>18</sup> dərəs<sup>19</sup>[cā]<sup>20</sup> təvis<sup>21</sup>.cā.<sup>22</sup>

(e) nōi<sup>23</sup> mōi<sup>24</sup> vāstā<sup>25</sup> xśmat<sup>26</sup> anyō<sup>27</sup>.

(f) aṣṭā<sup>28</sup> [mōi]<sup>29</sup> sṣtā<sup>30</sup> vohū<sup>31</sup> vāstr(i)yā<sup>32</sup>.'

*Translation :*

To-you<sup>1</sup> the Soul<sup>3</sup> of-the-Cow<sup>2</sup> complained<sup>4</sup> :  
 'For-whom<sup>5</sup> did-you-fashion<sup>7</sup> me<sup>6</sup>? Who<sup>8</sup> created<sup>10</sup>  
 me<sup>9</sup>? Passion<sup>13</sup> and<sup>15</sup> violence<sup>14</sup>, blood-thirstiness<sup>16</sup>,  
 outrage<sup>19</sup> and<sup>22</sup> force<sup>21</sup> oppress<sup>11,18</sup> me<sup>12</sup>. Not<sup>23</sup> for-  
 me<sup>24</sup> (is there) a shepherd<sup>25</sup> other<sup>27</sup> than-you<sup>26</sup>.  
 Procure<sup>30</sup>, therefore<sup>28</sup>, good<sup>31</sup> things-of-pasturage<sup>32</sup>.'

*Notes<sup>1</sup> :*

The Hā seems to open rather abruptly, which  
 strengthens the theory that the Gāthās were originally  
 interspersed by sections of prose pieces. So also

<sup>1</sup> The main abbreviations used in the notes are explained  
 below :—

- |                    |    |  |
|--------------------|----|--|
| Bartholomae, Chr.  | .. | <i>Arische Forschungen</i> , 1-3; Halle,<br>1879 (AF).<br><i>Die Gāthā's des Avesta</i> , Strass-<br>burg, 1905 (GA.). |
| Bharucha, E. S. D. | .. | <i>A Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian<br/>Religion and Customs</i> , 2nd Edi-<br>tion, Bombay, 1903 (SZRC.).            |
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| Geldner            | .. | <i>Vedische Studien (Vst.)</i> .<br><i>Glossar-Rigveda (Gloss.)</i> .  |
| Grassmann          | .. | <i>Wörterbuch des Rigveda (WR.)</i> .  |
| Neisser            | .. | " zum "  |
| Moulton            | .. | <i>Early Zoroastrianism</i> , London,<br>1913 (EZ).  |
| Meillet            | .. | <i>Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā de<br/>l' Avesta</i> , Paris, 1925 ( <i>Troi<br/>Conf.</i> ).                       |

Other abbreviations are those commonly known, and  
 given in Bartholomae's *AW*.



Smith, *Studies*, p. 66. Cf. the beginning of the Hā 28. For the discussion of the theory, see Geldner *GIP.*, II, p. 29; Bartholomae, *GA.*, IV-V; Meillet, *Troi Conf.*, pp. 39-52.

(a) *xsmaibyā*—Ved. *yusmābhyam*. The use of pl. here is enigmatic. Smith's suggestion (*Studies*, § 52) that the 'aspects' may have been mentioned in a preceding prose passage, now lost, may be accepted. Cf. Y. 29, 10ab; 32, 2 and 3; 34, 7; 43, 11cde; 43, 13cde; and 44, 17bc.

*gəuš urvā*—lit. 'soul of cow.' For various interpretations, see Dhalla, *ZT.*, p. 44 and footnotes thereto. Taraporewala (*MMV.*, p. 294), 'in accord with the idea that the Gāthās are spiritual, not agricultural,' translates this as 'Soul of Mother-Earth.' Bharucha (*SZRC.*, p. 48) sees in *gəuš urvā* the personification of the whole living world. Compare with this the Hindu belief that the cow represents the earth: SB. II, 2, 1, 21; XII, 9, 2, 11. Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50): 'Lebenslicht.' For the details of the part played by Gəuš Urvan, see Gray: *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, pp. 79-82.

*gəuš*—Ved. *gós*, gen. sg. of *go*- 'cow.' The etymology of *urvā* is not clear; it may be from *Ār.* *\*(s)ruuan-*. Jackson (*GIP.*, II, p. 674) derives *urvā* from *√var-* 'to choose': this is, in Bartholomae's opinion (*AW.* col. 1451), wrong; so also *WZKM.* 9, 382. However, Casartelli accepts Jackson's derivation (see his paper in *A Volume of Oriental Studies* (pp. 127f.) presented to E. G. Brown, Cambridge, 1922). Phl. *ruvān*, MP. *ravān*, Skt. Tr. *ātmanā*.

*garəzdā*—impf. mid. 3 sg., *√garəz-* 'to complain,'

Ved.  $\sqrt{garb}$ - 'to complain, to rebuke' ; West Osset.  $\sqrt{ärzun}$  'to groan.' Cf. MP. *gila* 'complain.'

(b)  $\sqrt{warzdüm}$ —Geldner's text has  $\sqrt{warōzdüm}$  which reading has been respected by Smith, Bartholomae and Reichelt; the last-named scholar has, however, recognised  $-ō-$  to be anaptyctic (*AE.*, §151). That this  $-ō-$  is hypermetrical will be easily admitted; see MS. K 37. Further, cf. Andreas-Wackernagel's reconstruction  $\sqrt{wurzdum}$ : *NGWG.* 1913, pp. 370-371. The form is *s-aor.* mid. 2 pl. of  $\sqrt{warəs}$ - 'to cut, carve, fashion, give a shape to.' Etymology of this root is hardly traceable. Phl. Tr. *brītan* (of Y. 29; 57; V. 3, 7). Cf. Ved.  $\sqrt{tvaks}$ - 'to fashion, to carve.'

*kā mā tašaṭ* (impf. 3 sg.  $\sqrt{taš}$ - 'to hew, chop, fashion, shape, form,' Ved.  $\sqrt{taks}$ -) — 'who created me?' — the question induces *tašā gāuš* (stanza 2a), 'the Creator of Cow,' to reply the first question: *kahmāi mā warzdüm*, cf. Bartholomae, *AF.* 3, 23; Andreas-Wackernagel: *NGWG.* 1931, p. 319.

(c) *aēšmō*—(Pd. H<sub>1</sub>. J<sub>7</sub>. K<sub>11</sub>). The reading adopted in Geldner's text and followed by Smith, Bartholomae and Reichelt in their respective treatments is *aēšamō*. The hypermetrical  $-a-$  needs hardly any comment. The form is nom. sg. meaning 'anger, passion, wrath, fury,' from  $\sqrt{aēš}$ —'to move oneself quickly,' Ved.  $\sqrt{īṣ}$ -. MP. *xišm*, *xašm* (cf. Hübschmann: *PS.* 142) 'anger' ; cf. Gk. *oima* (*BB.* 4, 334; *KZ.* 29, 83; 30, 296); Lat. *ira*, Gk. *oisiros* 'mad desire, frenzy' and Lith. *aistra* 'passion, ardour' are also quoted as cognates (Boisacq. *Dictionnaire*, p. 693; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 392-3; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p.

162; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 106-7. Phl. Tr. *ēśm* (cf. Hübschmann, *PS.* 142); Skt. Tr. *kerodha-* m., *kopa-* m., *amarṣa-* m., *kopālu-* adj.

*bazas.* *cā*—neu. nom. sg. 'violence, force': Ved. *sābas-* neu. The substantive is formed from  $\sqrt{baṣ}$ - 'to lay hold of, to get possession of'; Ved.  $\sqrt{sab}$ -, Gk. *skēbēs*, *iskēō*-.

(d) Nos. 17 and 20 are superfluous on metrical grounds; that *ā* (17) before *hišāyā* is unnecessary is further clear from the fact that the verbal preposition *ā* (No. 11) stands already at the beginning of the sentence—which is its proper place; see, for instance Y. 31, 8d; 31, 13f; cf. Andreas-Wackernagel *ibid.*, 1931, pp. 317-318; and Geldner's Footnote to his text: 'according to metre *hišāyā* should be restored.' It would therefore be more appropriate to dispense with *ā* (No. 17) and *cā* (No. 20) than to propose the elimination of *ramō*, declaring it to be an old gloss (Bartholomae, *AW.*, col. 1528; Reichelt, *AR.*, p. 186; Smith, *Studies*, p. 66).

*ramō*—mas. nom. sg. 'cruelty, blood-thirstiness,' occurs only twice in the Gāthās: here and in Y. 48, 7. Phl. Tr. *araskē* (cf. Y. 48, 7) 'envy'; Skt. Tr. *īrsyālu manusyah*; *īrsyāluḥ*. Bartholomae (*AW.*, col. 1528) is not certain about the etymology of the word (cf. Geldner, *KZ.* 30, 531). Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50), however, asserts that *rāma-*, *rama-* belongs to *rāna-* 'fighter,' cf. Ved. *rāna-* 'battle.'

*hišāyā*—perf. act. 3 sg.  $\sqrt{hāy}$ -,  $\sqrt{hā}(y)$ - 'to chain up, bind, fetter'; with *ā*: 'to oppress, to harass': Ved.  $\sqrt{so}$ - (*syāti*; *siṣāya*; *sitāḥ*). On the Avestan base *baya-* and the Vedic base *sya-*, see Bartholomae, *IF.*,

10, 197. Cf. MP. *gušāyad* 'he opens.'

*dərəs*—fem. nom. sg. 'assault, outrage,' from  $\sqrt{dars}$ - 'to dare,' Ved.  $\sqrt{dhr̥s}$ -, cf. Ved. inf. *ādh̥r̥se*. Phl. Tr. *darrītār*; Skt. Tr. *dārayitā* and explanation: *yo me jīvavighātakam kurute*.

*təvis*—(used only here) fem. nom. sg. 'force, brutality,' cf. *təvisi* 'physical strength.' Phl. Tr. *tirftār*-, Skt. Tr. *stenah*. Meillet (*Journ. des Sav.* 1902, 388) sees in *təviscā* a graphic mutilation of \**tayuscā* (from *tāyu*- 'thief'). But Bartholomae differs (*AW.*, col. 649).

(f) It is proposed—first by Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1913, p. 371), then followed by Smith (*Studies*, p. 67)—that to suit the metrical requirements *aθā* be amended as *aθ*. This is, however, unnecessary. On the other hand we have to eliminate *mōi* (No. 29) which has been mistakenly inserted under the influence of the Pāda (e).

Cf. Vr. 15, 1: *\*vərəz yatam. cā iḍa vohu vās-trya*.

*sastā*—s-aor. act. 2 pl. of  $\sqrt{sand}$ - 'to create, procure.' Geldner (*BB.* 14, 28):  $\sqrt{sand}$ - 'to make'; Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50): 'to radiate,' 'beam' ('strahlen').

#### Stanza 2:

- (a) *adā<sup>1</sup> taśā<sup>2</sup> gōuš<sup>3</sup> pərəsa<sup>4</sup>*
- (b) *aśəm<sup>5</sup>: kaθā<sup>6</sup> tōi<sup>7</sup> gavōi<sup>8</sup> ratus<sup>9</sup>*
- (c) *hyat<sup>10</sup> hīm<sup>11</sup> dātā<sup>12</sup> xšayantō<sup>13</sup>*
- (d) *hadā<sup>14</sup> vāstrā<sup>15</sup> gaodāyō<sup>16</sup> θwaxso p<sup>17</sup>*
- (e) *kēm<sup>18</sup> hōi<sup>19</sup> uštā<sup>20</sup> ahurəm<sup>21</sup>*
- (f) *yō<sup>22</sup> drəgvō.d[c]bīs<sup>23</sup> aēs[ə]mən<sup>24</sup>*  
*vādāyōi<sup>25</sup>.*

*Translation :*

Thereupon<sup>1</sup> the Creator<sup>2</sup> of-the-Cow<sup>3</sup> asked<sup>4</sup> Righteousness<sup>5</sup>: How<sup>6</sup> (is it with) thy<sup>7</sup> (protecting-) judge<sup>9</sup> (?) for the-Cow<sup>8</sup> so-that<sup>10</sup> (You as her) possessors<sup>13</sup> shall-give<sup>12</sup> her<sup>11</sup>, along-with<sup>14</sup> pastures,<sup>15</sup> cattle-tending<sup>16</sup> care<sup>17</sup>? Whom<sup>18</sup> would-You-want<sup>20</sup> for-her<sup>19</sup> (as) a Master<sup>21</sup> who<sup>22</sup> might-repel<sup>25</sup> Passion<sup>24</sup> (etc.) together-with-the-wicked<sup>23</sup>?"

*Notes :*

(a) *adā*—Ved. *ádā*; Phl. Tr. *āngāh*.

*taśā*—nom. sg. 'creator,' from  $\sqrt{tas}$ , cf. my note on *taśat* in stanza 1 (b).—There is no unanimity among the Avestan scholars, as yet, as regards the exact significance of *gāuš taśan* and *gāuš urvan*; cf. Dhalla ZT. pp. 44f. Some interpret *gāuš taśan* as the personification of the creative energy of Ahura Mazda Himself, that is to say, they identify *gāuš taśan* with Ahura Mazda (for references, see Jackson, *GIP*. II, 633; Moultan, *EZ*. p. 347). Others see in *gāuš taśan* an independent creator of animal life—separate from Ahura Mazda (cf. particularly Bartholomae *AF*. 3, 25-29; *AW*. s.vv., *GA*., Anhang, s.vv.; Reichelt *AR*. p. 186). There are also some who, as they view the cow as a symbol of the earth, take *gāuš taśan* and *gāuš urvan* as representing the entire universe (cf. Haug, *Essays*, p. 148).—The word occurs thrice in the Gāthās: 29, 2; 31, 9; and 46, 9; and it has been shown by Smith (*Studies*, § 70) that *gāuš taśan*, as the term for a specific expression of Ahura's creative power exercised in the creation of the herd, should be identified with Ahura Himself.

(b) *kaṣṭā*—Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid*, 1931, p. 320): *kuṣṭā* according to *scriptio plena* of the Younger Avesta. Ved. *kathā́* also is recast from *\*kuthā́*; only thus can its accent be explained (*ibid*, 1914, p. 32).

*ratus*—nom. sg. mas. This is one of the most important, and at the same time difficult, technical terms of the Avestan *Weltanschauung*. Bartholomae (*AW*. coll. 1497ff.), in discussing the word as used in the Gāthās, translates it “judex, Richter, Schiedsrichter” as against *abū*—“Gerichtsherr.” Andreas-Wackernagel translate it “Anordnung” but without giving any reasons. Nor is J. Hertel’s recent discussion of Av. *ratu-*, *aratu-*, *aratu-*, Ved. *ṛtū-* (*AO*. 1933, Vol. V, p. 41ff.) very helpful. He translates it (p. 51) “Ausstrahler des Herrschafts- und Siegesfeuers”=“Schutzherr.” For want of a better suggestion I have rendered it as “a (protecting) judge.”—*ratu-* and *abura-* of this stanza correspond to *abu-* and *ratu-* in st. 6.

(c) *dātā*—sec. pers. pl. imperative of  $\sqrt{dā}$  ‘to give,’ Ved.  $\sqrt{dā}$ -. Therefore *ṣṣayantō* (from  $\sqrt{ṣṣi}$  ‘to rule, to possess’) “You who are possessors.” Reichelt (*AR*. p. 186) translates the whole question thus: ‘Hast thou a Judge (appointed) for the ox, that Ye (the number changes, *Asa* and other Gods being addressed) may yield (to it) besides its fodder anxious care?’ Smith (*Studies*, p. 66, n. 5) takes *ṣṣayantō* as a generalisation of the specific *ratus* (‘a judge’), “believing this to be a possible explanation of the otherwise puzzling change from the sg. *tōi* to pl. *dātā* *ṣṣayantō*.”

(d) *hadā*—adv. ‘with’ from Idg. *\*ham-* ‘one.’—

Ved. *sabhá* adv. (note also its use as a preposition in Ved. *sadbástuti* etc.); Oss. *äd* 'with.'

*vāstrā*—acc. pl. neut. 'pastures.' Smith (*Studies*, p. 66) takes it "as the noun of agency rather than as the abstract noun." Bartholomae (*AW*. col. 1413) connects this word with an Aryan base \**uāt*- 'to go to pastures (in search of fodder of creepers)', 'to lead to the pastures and watch thereon' (Paul, *Wb.* 537). Cf. Old High German *weida*, Modern German *weide*. See Noreen *UL*, 211; Brugmann, *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup>, 504. Skt. tr. *pālanam*, *āhārah*, *pālayitā*.

*gaodāyā*—adj (here acc. sg. n.), *gao*+*dāyab*- (from  $\sqrt{dā(y)}$ - 'to tend,' cf. Ved. *dbinōti*), Ved. *gōdhāyas*-adj. 'cattle-tending.'—Phl. tr. *gōspandān dabiśn*; Skt. tr. *gosrṣṭivayasāyi*.

*ṣmaxśab*—acc. sg. neut. lit. 'zeal, activity, agility,' here, therefore, 'care'; from  $\sqrt{ṣwakś}$ -. Ved. *tvákṣas*-neut. Phl. tr. *tuxśākīh*; *tuxśāk*; Skt. tr. *vyavasāyatā*. *vyavasāyah*, *vyavasāyī*.

(e) *ustā*—impf. act. 2 pl.  $\sqrt{vas}$ - 'to wish,' Ved.  $\sqrt{vas}$ -. Smith (*Studies*, p. 66) takes it "as the common adverb (*AW*. col. 417), referring to the desire of the herd-soul expressed in the last line of Stanza 1."

(f) *dragyō.dbīś*—instr. pl. in a sociative sense: Reichelt *EA*. §446 b, β; *AR*. p. 186. Both Bartholomae and Reichelt translate the word as "the companions of *Drug*." "In the *Gāṣās* 'Companion of *Drug*' is often found referring to some definite character known to the hearers, an unbelieving prince (as in Y. 32, 5) or prophet (as in Y. 32, 14)"; Reichelt *AR*. p. 186. Smith (*Studies*, §26): "The reverse of human *aśa*- is *drug*-. It expresses antagonism

to the divine order and represents what is contrary, out of harmony, untrue, false. I have rejected the usual translation 'lie' because of its specific English connotations and have preferred 'wickedness,' defined as 'departure from the rules of divine law' (Webster's *New International Dictionary*, 1914, s.v.). The *dragvant-* is the 'wicked man,' the opposite of the *aśavan*—."

*vādāyōit*—opt. 3 sg. of the base *vādāya-* of  $\sqrt{vād-}$  (See Reichelt *AR.* p. 260; Bartholomae *AW.*, Col. 1410; *GIP.* I, §144 p. 81), 'to thrust off, to repel.' Cf. *Gk.* *ōtḥéō*, Ved.  $\sqrt{bādh-}$ .—Skt. tr. *yo.....tādanām datte*; Phl. tr. *kē.....zaniśn dabēt*.

*Stanza 3:*

- (a) ahmāi<sup>1</sup> aśā<sup>2</sup> nōit<sup>3</sup> sar[ə]jā<sup>4</sup>
- (b) advaēsō<sup>5</sup> gavōi<sup>6</sup> paitī<sup>7</sup>-mravat<sup>8</sup>:
- (c) avaēsam<sup>9</sup> nōit<sup>10</sup> vīduyē<sup>11</sup>
- (d) yā<sup>12</sup> śavaitē<sup>13</sup> ādrēng<sup>14</sup> ərəšvānhō<sup>15</sup>.
- (e) hātām<sup>16</sup> hvō<sup>17</sup> aojištō<sup>18</sup>
- (f) yahmāi,<sup>19</sup> zavēng<sup>20</sup>, jīmā<sup>21</sup> kərədušā<sup>22</sup>.

*Translation:*

To-him<sup>1</sup> Righteousness<sup>2</sup> replied<sup>7-8</sup>: "(There is) not<sup>3</sup> a helper<sup>4</sup> (who is) unhostile<sup>5</sup> to-the-Cow<sup>6</sup>. One does-not-know<sup>10-11</sup> how<sup>12</sup> the high<sup>15</sup> amongst-them<sup>9</sup> treat<sup>13</sup> the lowly<sup>14</sup>. The strongest<sup>18</sup> of-the-beings<sup>16</sup> (is) he<sup>17</sup> to-whom<sup>19</sup>, at call,<sup>20</sup> I go<sup>21</sup> with-succour<sup>22</sup> (?)..."

*Notes:*

There is no great difficulty in explaining the individual words of the stanza but its sense is far



from being clear. It is natural to expect this verse to contain Aśa's reply to the inquiries made by the Creator of the Cow in the previous stanza but it is hard to determine the logical sequence between the first four *pādas a-d* and the last two. Nor is Bartholomae's attempt to put the last two *pādas e-f* in the Creator's mouth very successful.

(a) *sarjā*—nom. sing. of *sargan-* m. 'helper.' Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 1566) connects it with an Idg. base *\*xalg-* (with this Goth. *hilpen* is to be connected, just as Ksl. *vruga* with Goth. *wairpan*). The Afgh. post-position *sarab* 'together with,' which was originally a noun (Trump, *Grammar of the Pašto*, 294), is also related to *sar-* in *sarjā* (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 320).

(c) *avaēšam*—gen. pl. of the demonstrative base *ava-*, signifies here mankind in general and goes with the last two words in (d). Bartholomae, Reichelt and Smith connect it with *nōit vīduyē* but that is hardly acceptable, cf. Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 320.

*vīduyē*—inf. of *√vid-*, Ved. *√vid*, 'to know.'

(d) *yā*—here adverbially used, 'how.'

*šavaitē*—pres. mid. 3 pl. of *√syu-*, Ved. *√cyā-* 'to move oneself,' 'to deal,' 'to act.' MP. *šavad* 'he goes.'

*ādrōng*—acc. pl. m. of *ādra-* adj. Ved. *ādrā-* adj. 'lowly,' 'dependant,' 'mean.' Etymology of the word is uncertain.

*arāsvā<sup>o</sup> n̄ho* nom. pl. m. of *arāsva-*, Ved. *ṛsvā-* adj. 'high,' 'noble.'

(f) *zavōng*—Bartholomae (*AW.*, coll. 1668 f.) and Reichelt (*AR.*, p. 186) take this form as a loc. sing.

of time both here and in Y. 28, 3 in preference to a possible acc. pl. of \**zava-* (Ved. *háva-* m., cf. RV. I, 183, 5). Here in Y. 29, 3 the accusative for the verb *jimā* is, according to Bartholomae, already implied in the dative *yahmāi*.

*jimā*—subjunctive used in the future sense, cf. Reichelt, *AE*. §646.

*karaduśā*—instr. sg. of *karaduś-*. Etymology and exact meaning of the word are obscure to me. Bartholomae (*AW*. Col. 467) takes it as a neuter noun meaning 'protection, help, aid' and compares it with Ved. *chardīś-* neuter, 'protection, protecting army,' Goth. *skildus* (cf. Bartholomae *Studien* 2, 58; Oldenberg *ZDMG*. 55, 312). As to the difference in anlaut, Bartholomae compares Ved. *chavī-* 'skin,' Gk. *skūtos*, Goth. *skauda* and Gk. *kūtos*, Lat. *cutis*, OHG. *hūt*.—Pahl. tr. *hac astān ān ōzōmandtar kē ō ān pa xvānišn rasēt ō kartārih* (Skt. tr. *kartṛtve*).—As regards the instrumental case being used in this manner, cf. RV. I, 39, 7: *gántā nūnám no 'vasā* as against RV. VIII, 9, 1: *ā nūnám...gantam dvase*.

*Stanza 4:*

- (a) [mazdā<sup>1</sup> sax<sup>v</sup>ār[ē]<sup>2</sup> mairištō<sup>3</sup>
- (b) yā<sup>4</sup> zī<sup>5</sup> vāvərəzōi<sup>6</sup> pairi<sup>7</sup>. ciθi<sup>8</sup>.
- (c) daēvāiš.cā<sup>10</sup> mas(i)yāiš<sup>11</sup>.cā<sup>12</sup>
- (d) yā<sup>13</sup>.cā<sup>14</sup> var[ə]šaitē<sup>15</sup> aipī<sup>16</sup>.ciθi<sup>17</sup>]
- (e) hvō<sup>18</sup> vicirō<sup>19</sup> ahurō<sup>20</sup>;
- (f) aθā<sup>21</sup> [nē]<sup>22</sup> aňha<sup>23</sup> yaθā<sup>24</sup> hvō<sup>25</sup> vasa<sup>25</sup>.

*Translation :*

[The Wise (Lord)<sup>1</sup> (is) most-mindful-of<sup>3</sup> plans (?)<sup>2</sup> which<sup>4</sup>, indeed<sup>5</sup>, were-performed<sup>6</sup> in the past<sup>7-8</sup> both<sup>10</sup>

by-the-*daēvas*<sup>9</sup> and<sup>12</sup> by-men<sup>11</sup> and<sup>14</sup> which<sup>13</sup> shall-be-performed<sup>15</sup> in the future<sup>16-17</sup>]. He,<sup>18</sup> the Lord,<sup>20</sup> (is) the decider;<sup>19</sup> therefore<sup>21</sup> let-it-be<sup>23</sup> as-<sup>24</sup> He<sup>25</sup> shall-will.<sup>25</sup>

*Notes :*

The portion (a)-(d) does not very well fit in the expected reply of *Aša*; therefore, perhaps, it does not originally belong to this stanza.

(a) *sax<sup>v</sup>ār*—acc. pl. neuter. The ending -*ā* given in Geldner's text is superfluous on metrical grounds. Both the etymology and the meaning being obscure to me, I have followed Bartholomae (*AW*. Col. 1569): 'plan', 'plot'; from  $\sqrt{saq}$ -; lit. "proclamation (of an intention, plan)." —Pahl. tr. *sax<sup>v</sup>anān*. Skt. tr. *vacasām*.—Roth connected *sax<sup>v</sup>āra* with Ved. *sasvár* 'secretly' (*ZDMG*. vol. 25, p. 5) but Bartholomae rejected it (*AF*. III, 37).

(b) *vāvarəzōi*—perfect. mid. 3 pl. of  $\sqrt{varəz}$ - 'to work,' 'perform,' 'carry out.'

*pairī*—'formerly,' 'in the past.' This cannot be equated with the Ved. *pāri* 'about,' 'round,' On the other hand, this is the same as gAv. *parā*, yAv. *parō* 'before,' 'formerly,' Ved. *purā* and *purāḥ*. The formation of *pairī* from *parā* is due to the influence of the antithetic *aipī* (No. 16) 'subsequently' 'later on' 'in the future' (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid*, 1931, p. 320).

(d) *varšaitē*—s-aor. subj. 3 sg. mid. of  $\sqrt{varəz}$ -.

(e) *vīcirō*—nom. sg. of *vī-cira*-adj. 'deciding' 'decider,' from  $\sqrt{ki}$ - (Ved.  $\sqrt{ci}$ -) with *vī* 'to decide' 'to distingusih.' Cf. Ved. *nicirā*-adj.—Bartholomae (*AW*. col. 1438) gives MP. *vazīr* as a cognate but that

is untenable as has been shown by Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, p. 320): the word *vāzīr* is from  $\sqrt{v}ez-$ , Skt.  $\sqrt{v}ac-$ , and literally means 'a spokesman.'

(f) No 22 [*nā*] is clearly superfluous on metrical grounds.

*Stanza 5:*

- (a) at<sup>1</sup> vā<sup>2</sup> ustānāis<sup>3</sup> ahvā<sup>4</sup>
- (b) zastāis<sup>5</sup> frīnəmnā<sup>6</sup> ahurāi<sup>7</sup> ā<sup>8</sup>—
- (c) mō<sup>9</sup> urvā<sup>10</sup> gəuš.<sup>11</sup>cā<sup>12</sup> azyā<sup>13</sup>—
- (d) hya<sup>14</sup> mazdā<sup>15</sup> dvaiddi<sup>16</sup> fərasābyō<sup>17</sup> :
- (e) nōi<sup>18</sup> ərəzəjyōi<sup>19</sup> frajyāitis<sup>20</sup>
- (f) nōi<sup>21</sup> fsuyentē<sup>22</sup> drəgvasū<sup>23</sup> pairi<sup>24</sup>.

*Translation:*

(The Soul of Cow speaks :) "So<sup>1</sup>, are<sup>4</sup> (we) praying<sup>6</sup> to You<sup>2</sup>, with-hands<sup>5</sup> upstretched<sup>3</sup> towards<sup>8</sup> Ahura<sup>7</sup>,—(we, namely,) my<sup>9</sup> soul<sup>10</sup> and<sup>12</sup> (that) of-the-pregnant<sup>13</sup> cow<sup>11</sup>,—while<sup>14</sup> (we) move<sup>16</sup> Mazda<sup>15</sup> for instructions<sup>17</sup>: Never<sup>18</sup> (may there be) tyranny<sup>20</sup> unto the right-living<sup>19</sup>; nor<sup>21</sup> unto (our) shepherd<sup>22</sup> (though) amongst-the wicked<sup>23</sup> (who are) on-all-sides<sup>24</sup>."

*Notes:*

(a) *vā*<sup>2</sup>—Geldner prefers *vā* (6 mss.) to *vā*<sup>2</sup> (J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>5</sub>, Pt<sub>4</sub>, P<sub>11</sub>, Mf. 1). Bartholomae and Reichelt take *vā* as an emphatic particle. Smith (*Studies*, p. 67) and Taraporewala (*The First three Chapters of Gatha Abunavaiti*, Sanj Vartaman Annual, 1929) translate it as 'indeed' 'verily.'—I take *vā*<sup>2</sup> acc. pl. 'you' as an object to *ahvā*.....*frīnamnā*, cf. Andreas—Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1913, p. 372.

*abvā*—impf. act. I du. of  $\sqrt{ab-}$ , Ved.  $\sqrt{as-}$ , 'to be.'

(b) *frīnamnā*—adjectival pres. part. mid. of  $\sqrt{frī-}$ , Ved.  $\sqrt{prī-}$ , 'to please' 'to please a deity with praise' 'to pray.'

(c) *mā*—possessive adj. nom. sg. masc.

*az yā*<sup>a</sup>—gen. sg. of *azī*- adj. f. "carrying, pregnant," Ved. *abī*<sup>f</sup>- f. Leumann *EW.* 30; Oldenberg *Rgveda*, on IX, 77, 3; Geldner *VSt.* 3, 55, and *Gloss.*; Neisser *WR.* s.v. Nigh II, 11 places *abī*<sup>f</sup> amongst *gonāmāni*.

(d) *dvaiddī*—pres. med. I dual. Bartholomae derives the form from  $\sqrt{dav-}$  "(sich) drängen," Ved.  $\sqrt{dbū-}$ ; but that is hardly possible, as shown by Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 320 f.). According to the latter, the root appears to be *dā*, Ved. *dā-*, *dhā-*. In RV.  $\sqrt{dhā-}$  (with personal accusative and objective dative) means 'to induce a person to do (something).'

*fārasābyō*—dat. pl. of *fāra-sāb*-f. Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 1002) takes this form as abl. pl. (so also Reichelt, *AR.* p. 187) as used for instr. pl. and Reichelt (*AE.* §428) explains *-byō* for *-bīs* as syncretism. This is unnecessary: a form in *-byō* cannot have an instrumental significance. The form is clearly dative pl. ('dative of purpose': Smith, *Studies*, p. 67). The substantive is from  $\sqrt{sāb-}$  with *frā* 'to teach' 'instruct' 'reveal,' cf. Y. 28, 11, and 45, 6. The meaning of the word is, therefore, 'teaching,' 'instruction' 'revelation (of knowledge)'; and not 'Bitte' (Bartholomae), nor 'entreaties' (Reichelt, Tarporewala, Sanj-Vartaman Annual 1929).

(e) *frājyāitiś*—nom. sg. f. 'harm' 'tyranny' 'destruction,' from √*jyā*- 'to debilitate' (cf. Skt. *jināti* 'he becomes aged') with *frā*.—Skt. tr. *prakerṣṭā bhāṇiḥ*.

(f) *dragvasū pairi*—*dragvasū* < \**dragvas-su* < *dragvat-su*, loc. plu. m. The construction appears to be rather strange as *pairi* in Indo-Iranian does not appear to have been used with a locative, cf. Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt.* I, 711f. Bartholomae (*AF.* 3, 15; *GA.* p. 7) and Reichelt (*AR.* p. 187) see here an ablative sense: "from (the hands of) the companions of *Drug*;" but there is no reason why we should take the loc., for abl., cf. also Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 321.

*Stanza 6:*

- (a) *at*<sup>1</sup> *avaocat*<sup>2</sup> *ahurō*<sup>3</sup>
- (b) *mazdā*<sup>4</sup> *vidvā*<sup>5</sup> *vafūs*<sup>6</sup> *vyānayā*<sup>7</sup>:
- (c) *nōit*<sup>8</sup> *aēvā*<sup>9</sup> *ahū*<sup>10</sup> *vistō*<sup>11</sup>
- (d) *naēdā*<sup>12</sup> *ratus*<sup>13</sup> *aśāt*<sup>14</sup>-*cī*<sup>15</sup> *hacā*<sup>16</sup>.
- (e) *at*<sup>17</sup> *zi*<sup>18</sup> *ōwā*<sup>19</sup> *fšuyantaē*<sup>20</sup>. *cā*<sup>21</sup>
- (f) *vāstr(i)yāi*<sup>22</sup>. *cā*<sup>23</sup> *ōwōr[a]štā*<sup>24</sup> *tatašā*<sup>25</sup>

*Translation:*

Thereupon<sup>1</sup> spoke<sup>2</sup> the Wise<sup>4</sup> Lord<sup>3</sup>, Omniscient<sup>5</sup>, Wonderful<sup>6</sup> by- (in His) soul<sup>7</sup>: "Indeed,<sup>9</sup> not<sup>8</sup> a master,<sup>10</sup> not-yet<sup>12</sup> a (protecting) judge<sup>13</sup> (has been) found<sup>11</sup> merely<sup>15</sup> through<sup>16</sup> (the arrangements of) Righteousness.<sup>14</sup> For,<sup>17</sup> surely,<sup>18</sup> thee<sup>19</sup> the Creator<sup>24</sup> hath—fashioned<sup>25</sup> for both<sup>21</sup> those-that-nourish-cattle<sup>20</sup> and<sup>23</sup> those-that-find-pastures<sup>22</sup> (for them)."

*Notes:*

- (a) *avaocat*—pluperfect 3 sg. act. √*vak*-, Ved.

√*vac-* 'to speak.' Geldner has *ā vaocatē* and *ā* has been explained by Bartholomae, Reichelt and Smith as nom. sg. of *a*-pronoun. But that is not the case, see Andreas-Wackernagel's note (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 321) in translation: "In consideration of the strange *ascōtē* in Y. 46, 18 it seems to us at least hazardous to take here *ā* as a nom. sg. of a base *a-* 'self' which is morphologically extremely impossible. (Cf. Sommer, *IF.* 30, 394). It is natural to assume an augment-form here."

(b) *vafūš*—acc. sg. adj. Ved. *vápuṣ-*. For Av. -f- = Ved. -p- cf. *huśx<sup>v</sup>afa* (Y. 57, 17): Ved. *susvāpa* (Bartholomae, *AW.* coll. 1862f.). Ved. *vápuṣ-* is used both as a neuter noun and an adj. So in the Gāthās, too. Here it is more appropriate to take it as an adj. despite Andreas-Wackernagel's preference for a noun (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 321). In Y. 48, 9c it is a noun. In RV. II, 3, 7, as jointly pointed out by these two scholars, we read *dāivyā bōtārā..... vidūṣtarā.....vapūṣtarā* where *vidūs-* and *vápuṣ-* have been coordinated as attributes of a divine being. My interpretation is influenced by this striking similarity. Ved. *vapūs-* as an adj. means 'wonderful' 'exquisitely beautiful,' and as a noun 'brilliant form' 'wonderful appearance.'—H. W. Bailey's recent interpretation of this word as "destructions" (*Pavri Oriental Studies*, pp. 23f.) is unacceptable.

*vyānāyā*—instr. sg. of *vyānā*-f. Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 1478) translates it as 'wisdom,' without however being sure of the meaning or the etymology of the word. According to Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 322) *vyānā*-(*vyōnā*\*) belongs to Turfan *w'rg*, older

*viyān* and MP. *jān*; it therefore means 'soul.'

(c) *vistō*—perf. part. pass. of  $\sqrt{vaēd}$ - 'to find' 'discover,' Ved.  $\sqrt{vid}$ - 'to obtain.'

(f)  $\delta wōr's tā$ —identical with Ved. *tvāṣṭā* 'the heavenly Creator,' as already mentioned by Justi (*Handbuch*, 142). For Ved. *-ṣṭ-* from *-rṣṭ-*, see Wackernagel, *Ai. Gram.* I, 270 §234<sup>b</sup>. "Auffällig ist die dunkle Färbung der Wurzelsilbe, da doch *ig. er* zugrunde liegt. Aber bei *cōraṭ* : ai. *kār* aus *ig. -ger-t* liegt ganz derselbe Fall, bei *dōrsat* Y. 49, 2c aus *ig. dbērst* wenigstens etwas ähnliches vor. Vgl. *cōisam cōis cōisṭ mōisṭ*, wo überall der Diphthong sicher auf indogerm. *ei* zurückgeht." (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 322).

### Stanza 7 :

- (a)  $tām^1 āzūtōis^2 ahurō^3$
- (b)  $maθrēm^4 taša^5 aśā^6 hazaośō^7$
- (c)  $mazdā^8 gavōi^9 xśvīdēm^{10}-cā^{11}$
- (d)  $[hvo.]^{12} uruśaēibyō^{13} spəntō^{14} sāsna yā.^{15}$ —
- (e)  $kas^{16}-tē^{17}, vohū^{18} manañhā^{19}$
- (f)  $yə^{20} i^{21} dāyā^{22} əəāvā^{23} martaēibyō ?^{24}.$

### Translation :

The Wise<sup>8</sup> Lord<sup>3</sup>, of-one-will<sup>7</sup> with Righteousness<sup>6</sup>, has-created<sup>5</sup> for the Cow<sup>9</sup> that<sup>1</sup> Sacred-Word<sup>4</sup> of butter<sup>2</sup> and<sup>11</sup> milk<sup>10</sup> for (the use of) those-who-would-protect<sup>13</sup> (her);—(He) the Holy<sup>14</sup> through-(His)-Law.<sup>15</sup>—(The Soul of Kine speaks :) "Who<sup>16</sup> (is that Protector) of thine,<sup>17</sup> O Good<sup>18</sup> Mind,<sup>19</sup> who<sup>20</sup> shall, indeed,<sup>21</sup> grant<sup>22</sup> us-two<sup>23</sup> (protection) from (the tyranny of) men<sup>24</sup>?"



## Notes :

This is one of the most difficult verses of the Gāthās, and is variously interpreted by scholars. The most recent translation is that of Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala (*Pavri Oriental Studies*, pp. 462-466) whose interpretations are eminently governed by religious ideas. —The first part (*a-d*), in my opinion, is spoken by Vohu Manah, the last part (*e-f*) by the soul of Kine.

(*a*) *tām*—The demonstrative might suggest that a prose passage had preceded; cf. Smith, *Studies*, p. 68 n; Bartholomae, *GA.*, pp. 11f., Anm. 6.

*āzūtōiš*—gen. sg. of *āzūti*-fem. 'butter' 'sacrificial butter,' cf. Ved. *ābuti*- 'offering.' Bartholomae (*AW.*, col. 344) is incorrect in assuming that the word refers to the flesh of cattle as a source of food for men. The origin of such a preposterous assumption of Bartholomae is, as pointed out by Dr. Taraporewala (*ibid.*, p. 463), in the Pahlavi version of the passage. No doubt, *āzūti* in the Pahlavi writings and other later works like Vendidad signified 'fat'; Alberuni's *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Sachau's translation, p. 224) makes mentions of a feast *āz(u)šākandxvār*, 'feast of fat and bread,' that took place in the seventh month of the Khwarezmians (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 322; Gauthiot *Mém. Soc. ling.*, 19, 129f.). But in the Gāthās, the word decidedly means 'sacrificial butter.' Dr. Taraporewala translates it as 'sacrifice.'

(*b*) *mašram*—acc. sg. of *mašra*-masc. Ved. *mántra*- 'sacred formula' 'sacred word.'—Here the 'sacred word' is only alluded to. It is, in Dr. Taraporewala's opinion, the *Abuma-Variya* prayer.

*haxaošō*—nom. sg. of *haxaoša*-adj. Ved. *sajōša*-adj. 'of one will.'—Pahl. tr. *pa ham dōšišnīb*.

(c) *xsvidam*—acc. sg. of *xsvid*- m. 'milk.' Dr. Taraporewala prefers "sweetness" (of the Mother-Earth).—In view of its close connection with and its having the same case as *āxūti*-in other places in the Avestā (see Bartholomae *AW*. col. 562), Andreas-Wackernagel suggest (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 322) that here there is either laxity of construction, viz. *xsvidam* for *xsvidō* (gen. sg.) after *mašram*, or the ending is defectively written and a gen. pl. *xsvidām* is to be taken for granted on the analogy of the Vedic plurals *páyāmsi*, *páyobhiḥ*.

(d) No. 12 *hvo* seems to be an interpolation or to have been unconsciously inserted by the copyist under the influence of exactly the same *pāda* in the next verse. Bartholomae compounds it with *urušāēibyō* and derives it from  $\sqrt{x^ar}$ - 'to eat,' hence the compound *hvo-uru*° would mean 'those that crave nourishment.' But Dr. Taraporewala (*ibid.*, pp. 464f.) has conclusively shown that such a construction hardly suits to the context and to the spirit of the Gāthās.

*urušāēibyō*—dat. pl. of *urušya*- m., a difficult word. Vedic *urusyá* (RV. VI, 44, 7) is taken to mean "with desire to protect" (Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 218). I have therefore translated the word here as "for those-who-would-protect (the cow)." Dr. Taraporewala translates it "unto (His) helpers."

(f) *i*—Barthol. (*AW*. coll. 154f.) takes this as an acc. du. of the demonstrative pronoun *ay*-(weak grade). But it seems rather to be an enclitic of asseveration

as Bartholomae himself (*AW*. col. 362) takes it to be in Y. 31, 22 and 53, 6. See also Dr. Taraporewala, *ibid.*, p. 466.

*əəāvā*—for want of a better suggestion, I have accepted the meaning “us-two” given by Roth, Bartholomae and Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 322). Dr. Taraporewala reads the word as *avā* (acc. pl. neut. of *avəm*) and translates it ‘help.’

*Stanza 8 :*

- (a) a(y)ēm<sup>1</sup> mōi<sup>2</sup> idā<sup>3</sup> vistō<sup>4</sup>
- (b) yē<sup>5</sup> nē<sup>6</sup> aēvō<sup>7</sup> sāsna<sup>8</sup> gūsatā<sup>9</sup> :
- (c) Zaratruštrō<sup>10</sup> spitāmō.<sup>11</sup>
- (d) hvō<sup>12</sup> nō<sup>13</sup> mazdā<sup>14</sup> vašti<sup>15</sup> asāi<sup>16</sup>-cā<sup>17</sup>
- (e) car[ə]kərəθrā<sup>18</sup> strāvayenhē<sup>19</sup>
- (f) hya<sup>20</sup> hōi<sup>21</sup> hud[ə]mēm<sup>22</sup> d(i)yāi<sup>23</sup> vax[ə]-  
θrahyā<sup>24</sup>.

*Translation :*

“This-one<sup>1</sup> here<sup>3</sup> has-been-found<sup>4</sup> for me<sup>2</sup>, who<sup>5</sup>, alone<sup>7</sup>, has-listened<sup>9</sup> to our<sup>6</sup> teachings<sup>8</sup> : Zarathuštra<sup>10</sup> Spitāma.<sup>11</sup> He<sup>12</sup>, O Wise<sup>14</sup> (Lord), is willing<sup>15</sup> for us<sup>13</sup> and<sup>17</sup> for Righteousness<sup>16</sup> to proclaim<sup>19</sup> duties<sup>18</sup>. Therefore<sup>20</sup>, to him<sup>21</sup> shall-be-given<sup>23</sup> sweetness<sup>22</sup> of speech<sup>24</sup>”.

*Notes :*

Vohu Manah speaks.

(a) *vistō*—perf. part. pass. of √*vid*-Ved. √*vid*-‘to find,’ ‘obtain.’ See Gray, *JAOS.*, 21, 2, 115.

(b) *gūsatā*—impf. mid. 3 sg. √*gaoṣ*- ‘to hear’ ‘listen to,’ Ved. √*ghuṣ*- ‘to resound.’

(c) *spitāmo*—nom. sg. Cf. *aršāma*- an old Persian

name of a person : both appear to have a postposition *-ama* (Andreas-Wackernagel *ibid.*, 1931, p. 323). *Spitāma* was Zarathuštra's family-name and might mean "most white one;" cf. Skt. *sveta-tama*. The name is found also in Median environs in connection with the royal house (Ktesias, *Pers.* 2) and is referred to in Babylonian records of the time of Darius II (cf. A. T. Clay, *Business Document of Murashū Sons pp.*, Philadelphia, 1912, 25). For further references, see O. G. von Wesendonk's recent book, *Das Weltbild der Iranier*, Munich, 1933, p. 59.

(e) *carkarəθrā*—acc. pl. of *carkarəθra*- neut., from the intensive base of  $\sqrt{\text{kar-}}$  'to do' 'act.' Cf. Ved. *car-ṛṭya*- adj., and other intensive forms of  $\sqrt{\text{kar-}}$ . Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 582) translates the word as 'thought' but the idea of 'duty' suits better than that of 'thought' both in point of meaning and Zoroastrian doctrines; see Gray, *l.c.*; Smith, *Studies*, p. 68n.

*srāvayenihē*—inf. of the causative of  $\sqrt{\text{sru-}}$  'to hear,' Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{sru-}}$ . Here the inf. is used as an object, see Reichelt, *AE.*, §707.

(f) *budmām*—acc. sg. of *budma*- masc. "sweetness," Ved. *svādmām*—masc. (from Indog. \**sudma*-).

*d(i)yāi*—inf. of  $\sqrt{\text{dā-}}$ , Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{dā-}}$  'to give,' 'grant.' *vaxθrahyā*-gen. sg. of *vaxθra*-neut., Skt. *vaktra*-neu. "mouth, speech" from  $\sqrt{\text{vak-}}$  'to speak.' Pahl. Tr. *gōwīšn*.—For the expression *budmām.....vaxθrahyā* cf. Ved. *svādmānam vācāb*, R.V. II, 21, 6.

#### Stanza 9 :

(a) *at*<sup>1</sup>- *cā*<sup>2</sup> *gəuš*<sup>3</sup> *urvā*<sup>4</sup> *raostā*<sup>5</sup> :

(b) *yə*<sup>6</sup> *anaēšəm*<sup>7</sup> *xšānmənē*<sup>8</sup> *rādəm*<sup>9</sup>

- (c) vācōm<sup>10</sup> nərəś<sup>11</sup> asūrahyā<sup>12</sup>—  
 (d) yə<sup>13</sup> mā<sup>14</sup> vas[ə]mī<sup>15</sup> +isā<sup>16</sup>-xšaθrī(iyə)m<sup>17</sup>!  
 (e) kadā<sup>18</sup> yavā<sup>19</sup> hvō<sup>20</sup> aīha<sup>21</sup>  
 (f) yə<sup>22</sup> hōi<sup>23</sup> dadat<sup>24</sup> zastavat<sup>25</sup> avō<sup>26</sup>

*Translation :*

And<sup>2</sup> thereupon<sup>1</sup> the Soul<sup>4</sup> of Kine<sup>3</sup> bewailed<sup>5</sup>:  
 "O that<sup>6</sup> I-should-suffer<sup>8</sup> a powerless<sup>7</sup> protector<sup>9</sup>, the  
 voice<sup>10</sup> of a weak<sup>12</sup> man<sup>11</sup>;—I, who,<sup>13</sup> in fact,<sup>16</sup> want<sup>15</sup>  
 a mighty<sup>16</sup>-ruler<sup>17</sup>! When,<sup>18</sup> (if) ever,<sup>19</sup> shall he<sup>20</sup>  
 be,<sup>21</sup> who<sup>22</sup> shall-give<sup>24</sup> him<sup>23</sup> strong-armed<sup>25</sup> suc-  
 cour?<sup>26</sup>"

*Notes :*

(a) *raostā*—s-aor. mid. 3 sg. of √*raad*-, Ved.  
 √*rud*- 'to weep' 'lament' 'bewail.'

(b) *xšqmōnē*—inf. in the conjunctive sense,  
 (Bartholomae *AW.*, col. 554) of √<sup>\*</sup>*xšqm*-, Ved.  
 √*kṣam*- 'to put up with' 'suffer' 'permit.' For the  
 change of -*n* from -*m* and for the form see Bartho-  
 lomae, *GIP.*, I, 1; §68, p. 27 and *l.c.* §258, 2c  
 respectively.

*rādam*—acc. sg. of *rāda*- masc. 'protector' 'care-  
 taker' 'provider' from √*rād*- 'to prepare,' cf. Ved.  
 √*rādb*-, Slav. *raditi* 'to take care.'

(d) *isā-xšaθriyam*—Geldner has *isā* separated  
 from *xšaθrim*. But, as Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 375)  
 has pointed out, *isā* stands opposite to *anaēšam* and  
*xšaθriyam* to *nərəś asūrahyā*; therefore it is more  
 appropriate to take both the words as forming one  
 compound *isā.xšaθriya*- "a mighty ruler."—The  
 younger form of *xšaθriya*- is *šēr* which has been

preserved as a title of princes in the eastern provinces of Iranian language (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 323).

(e) *yavā*—here adverb, originally instr. (or loc.) sg. of *yav*-neut. “duration.”

*Stanza 10 :*

(a) *yūzēm*<sup>1</sup> *aēibyō*<sup>2</sup> *ahūrā*<sup>3</sup>

(b) *aogō*<sup>4</sup> *dātā*<sup>5</sup> *asā*<sup>6</sup> *xšaθrēm*<sup>7</sup>-*cā*<sup>8</sup>

(c) *ava*<sup>9</sup> *vohū*<sup>10</sup> *manānhā*<sup>11</sup>

(d) *yā*<sup>12</sup> *huś[ə]itīs*<sup>13</sup>-(*cā*)<sup>14</sup> *rāmam*<sup>15</sup>-*cā*<sup>16</sup> *dāt*<sup>17</sup>

(e) *azēm*<sup>18</sup>-*cīt*<sup>19</sup> *ahyā*<sup>20</sup> *mazdā*<sup>21</sup>

(f) *θ(u)wam*<sup>22</sup> *mānhī*<sup>23</sup> *paorvī(iyā)m*<sup>24</sup> *vaē-dəm*<sup>25</sup>.

*Translation :*

“(Do) You<sup>1</sup> for them,<sup>2</sup> O Lord<sup>3</sup>, give<sup>5</sup> (him) strength<sup>4</sup> through Righteousness<sup>6</sup>, and<sup>8</sup> that<sup>9</sup> power<sup>7</sup> through Good<sup>10</sup> Mind,<sup>11</sup> by which<sup>12</sup> he-shall-found<sup>17</sup> good-dwelling-places<sup>13</sup> and<sup>14-16</sup> tranquillities<sup>15</sup>. I<sup>18</sup>, on-my-part<sup>19</sup>, have recognised<sup>23</sup> Thee<sup>22</sup>, O Wise-one<sup>21</sup>, as-the-chief<sup>24</sup> provider<sup>25</sup> of this thing.<sup>20</sup>”

*Notes :*

The soul of kine continues.

(d) No. 14 has been inserted to meet the metrical requirements.

*huśitīs*—acc. pl. of *hu-šiti*-, Ved. *su-ṣittī*-f., “good dwelling-places.”

*rāmam*—acc. pl. of *√rāman*- neut. ‘peace’ ‘quiet’ ‘tranquillity,’ from *√ram*-, Ved. *√ram*-, ‘to rest.’

(f) *mānhī*—s-aor. mid. 1 sg. of *√man*-, Ved. *√man*- ‘to think’ ‘recognise.’

*vaēdēm*—acc. sg. of *vaēda-* masc. 'obtainer' 'provider,' from  $\sqrt{\text{vid-}}$  'to find' 'obtain.' Cf. Ved. *vēdas-* neut. 'possession' (Grassmann, *WR.* col. 1353).

*Stanza II :*

- (a) kudā<sup>1</sup> aśəm<sup>2</sup> vohu<sup>3</sup>-cā<sup>4</sup>
- (b) manō<sup>5</sup> xšaθrəm<sup>6</sup>-cā<sup>7</sup> at<sup>8</sup> mā<sup>9</sup> [m]aśā<sup>10</sup>
- (c) yūzēm<sup>11</sup> mazdā<sup>12</sup> frāxšnənē<sup>13</sup>
- (d) mazōi<sup>14</sup> magāi<sup>15</sup> ā<sup>16</sup> paitī<sup>17</sup>-zān[a]ntā<sup>18</sup>.
- (e) ahurā<sup>19</sup> nū<sup>20</sup> nā<sup>21</sup> avar[ē]<sup>22</sup>
- (f) ēh(a)mā<sup>23</sup> rātōis<sup>24</sup> yūsmāvatam<sup>25</sup>.

*Translation :*

"Where<sup>1</sup> (are) Righteousness<sup>2</sup> and<sup>4</sup> Good<sup>3</sup> Mind<sup>5</sup> and<sup>7</sup> Power<sup>6</sup>? (May) You<sup>11</sup> now<sup>8</sup> recognise<sup>16-17-18</sup> me<sup>9</sup> (as worthy), O Wise-one,<sup>12</sup> through Righteousness<sup>10</sup> to acknowledge<sup>13</sup> the great<sup>14</sup> gift<sup>15</sup>. O Lord<sup>19</sup>, now-that<sup>20</sup> They-have-helped<sup>22</sup> us,<sup>21</sup> we-shall-be<sup>23</sup> of-service<sup>24</sup> unto-such-as-You<sup>25</sup>."

*Notes :*

Zarathuštra speaks.

(b) *mā maśā* is apparently miswritten by the copyist, as Andreas-Wackernagel point out (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 323), for *mā aśā*, for by the side of *mazdā*..... *ahurā* there cannot be any place for *maśā*. Or, should we read *mām aśā*?—Mark the following *yūzēm*.

(c) *frāxšnənē*—inf. (formed datively with a dative as an object) from  $\sqrt{\text{xšnā-}}$  with *fra* 'to acknowledge' 'to receive instruction in.' Cf. Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{jan-}}$  'to know.'

(d) *magāi*—dat. (as obj.) sg. of *maga-* 'gift' 'present.' The 'gift' is of course the doctrines of Zarathuštra.—Cf. Messina: *Ursprung der Magier*

(Roma 1930), pp. 68 ff.

*ā*—postposition with a dat. in gAv., only after -*āi* datives of *a*-stems. Has no particular meaning.

*paiti-ṣāntā*—impf. active 2 pl. of √*ṣan*-with *paiti*, Ved. √*jan*- 'to know' with *prati* 'to recognise.' Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 1660) and Reichelt (*AR.* p. 188) take *ṣānatā* as a thematic form but -*a*- is superfluous and, moreover, *ṣāntā* having two syllables is a good non-thematic form and a normal cognate of Ved. *jānītā*, see Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 323.

(f) *āhmā*—impf. act. 1 pl. of √*ah*- 'to be,' Ved. √*as*-. Here the form is in the sense of a voluntative injunctive, see Reichelt *AE.* §658; *AR.* p. 188.

*rātōis*—gen. sg. of *rāti*-fem. 'willingness of service' 'service,' cf. Ved. *rātī*-adj. 'willing' 'ready.' Cp. *aram*.

*Note*—This paper was finished and submitted for publication in Nov. 1934. Professor Lommel's article on the same subject (*ZII.* vol. 10, (1935), No. 1, pp. 96-115) came therefore too late to my notice for consideration in this paper. The transliteration of the text has been simplified here to a certain extent, as some of the diacritical marks were not available at the time of printing the matter.—M.P.



## THE *AYA* MONTHS

By DR. A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The word *ayasa* in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 is an exact parallel to the word *ajasa* in the Kalawan Copper-plate inscription of the year 134. The first was discovered in 1914 and the second in 1931-32, both in or near Takshasilā.

The contents are approximately the same in spirit, viz. the performance of certain religious rites with a view to obtain the health and weal of certain individuals and of humanity at large. (cf. Konow, *Corpus*, p. 77; EI., Vol. XXI, p. 259).

The script shows that "the same era is used in both records" (Konow, EI., *op. cit.* p. 253).

There is no controversy regarding the above points.

The interpretations, however, vary.<sup>1</sup> The text runs—

Sa 1 100 20 10 4 11 ayasa ashaḍasa masasa  
divase 10 4 1\*\*\*\*(Silver Scroll)

Samvatsaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravaṇasa masasa  
divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 \*\*\*\*(Kalawan).

In JRAS., 1914, pp. 997, 995, Fleet wrote :  
"From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, Boyer, Thomas, Fleet, Rapson and Jayaswal in JRAS., 1914, JA., XI, V, 1916, JRAS., 1914, pp. 987 ff; JRAS., 1914, pp. 992ff; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, i., pp. 581ff; JBORS, 1929.

now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name.”<sup>1</sup>

In CII, Kharoshthī Inscr., p. 73, Konow held : “It seems to be necessary to explain *ayasa* as an adjective qualifying the ensuing *ashadāsa*.”

Fleet and Konow stated the obvious. Konow went back on his view in interpreting the Kalawan inscr., El, vol. XXI, p. 254. His second thoughts were not better than the first.

In CII, Konow says : “It (*ayasa*) might represent Skt. *āryasya* and characterize the month as Aryan in contradistinction to the Macedonian months mention-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rapson’s apology for this deviation is ingenuous but not convincing. He says—“It must be remembered that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not Azes. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takshaṣilā had passed from the Çakas and the Pahlavas to the Kushānas. Ayas could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, ‘Great King of Kings,’ in this inscription without prejudice to the house then reigning.” (CHI, p. 582).

Azes might not have been furnished with the wonted title ‘Great King of Kings’ without prejudice to the house then actually reigning, but the world should have received some distinguishing expression to denote that *Aya* was not a pronoun or any other thing but the name of a king. When the dynasty of Aya was already gone and the reigning king was supreme ‘King of kings, son of the Gods,’ there would have been no objection from and no prejudice to the reigning sovereign if a royal title were attached to the name of a king who flourished 136 years before.

ed in other records. But this explanation is hardly likely, because in an inscription in Indian language it would be perfectly intelligible if a Macedonian month were designated as such, but less so in the case of an Indian month, unless the use of the Macedonian names were the rule. And an examination of dated Kharoshthī inscriptions shows that it was quite the other way." (*op. cit.*, p. 73).

An analysis of the above statement yields the following points :—

- (a) *ayasa* might represent *āryasya*.  
*āryasya* signifying Aryan, as distinguished from Macedonian untenable.
- (b) *ayasa* in an Indian inscr. should have an Indian association with the word *āryasya*.
- (c) If such association is not forthcoming, then the equivalent cannot be *āryasya*, but may be something else, e.g., *ādyasya*, meaning 'of the first month' of *āshāḍha*.

In EI, Konow compares *ayasa* with *ajasa* (of the Kalawan inscr.) and revises (a) above :—"Since the consonant of the base word *aya*, *aja* can be written both *y* and *j*, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit *y* or *ry*, because *-y-* remains as *y* or is dropped, and *ry* appears as *ry*, *riy*, or occasionally, as *y* in the North-Western Prakrit."<sup>1</sup>

Konow's revision is hardly an improvement. In the *Corpus*, p. 73, he rightly says that "the latter (i.e., *ajja*) might become *aja*, *aya*." If *ārya* could become

<sup>1</sup> EI, XXI, p. 254; CII, pp. cv, cvii.

*ajja*, there would be no difficulty in *ajja* becoming both *āja* and *āya*.

Now, *ārya* does become *ajja*. Cf. Hemacandra, 8, 2, 24; *dya—yya—ryām jāb : rya—bhajjā*.

This is in Saurasenī. But the same change occurs in Paisāci, evidently spoken in Takshaśilā. Cf. Hemacandra, 8.4.314. :

*rya—sna—shṭām—riya—sina—saṭāḥ kvachit.*  
*bhāryā > bhāriyā ; kvachiditi kim ? Sūrya > sujjo.*

The Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā by Dhanapāla quoted by Hemacandra as an authority gives the form *ajjā* for *āryā*<sup>1</sup> (PN. edited by Bühler, p. 21, verse no. 3).

Even according to Konow, *ajja* becomes *āja* and *āya*. Thus the difference between the *ajasa* and *ayasa* of the Silver Scroll and Kalawan inscr. is only graphic and both represent *āryasya*.

The objection to distinguishing it from the Macedonian is real and cannot be overcome by Konow's belated recantation in favour of distinguishing it from the Saka on the analogy of *Sakasa* in the Sirkap Kharoshthī inscr. found in 1926-27. A Saka-kāla is not an unfamiliar designation in an Indian inscr. or book, but an Āryakāla is unknown, would be possible in a foreign inscr. or description as in Ārike of the Greek author of the *Periplus*, but is extremely improbable in an Indian inscr. by an Indian<sup>2</sup> recording an Indian (Buddhist or Jain)

<sup>1</sup> *Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā* by Dhanapāla. Edited by George Bühler. Göttingen, 1879, p. 21, verse 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Silver Scroll inscr. has *Babaliēna* but there is no doubt regarding Chandrabhī and Nandivardhana in the Kalawan inscr.

religious observance.

Once the natural construction of *ayasa* and *ajasa* representing *āryasya* and qualifying *āśhāḍasa* is recognised, it becomes surprising that (b) the well-known association of *āryasya* with *āśhāḍha* and *śrāvaṇa* for the proper performance of the pious rites of the Buddhists and Jains has escaped attention so far.

*Āśhāḍha* and *Śrāvaṇa* are specially *ārya* to the Buddhists and Jains who consecrated the sanctity of these months by naming their *ācāryas* and ceremonies after them. Cf. *Abhidhānarājendrap*, vol. I, p. 224 :

Ajjāsāḍha—Āryāśhāḍha, puṁ o Śrī-Vīrasiddhe caturdaśādhikavarshaśatadvaye' tikkānte utpannāvya-ktadṛṣṭīnām gurau, te cā" āryāśhāḍhābhidhā ācāryāḥ Śvetāmbyām nagaryyām samavasṛtya tatraiva hṛdaya-śūlarogato mṛtvā saudharṁ upapadya punaḥ śārīram-dhishṭhāya kañcitsvaśishyamācāryam kṛtvā divam gatā iti. A o ka o. Utta o. A o ma o.

It is interesting to note that like the passage above ascribing to Ārya Āśhāḍha the gift of health, the Silver Scroll inscr. consecrates the relics of the Lord in the month of *ārya āśhāḍha* 'for the bestowal of health upon himself,' atvaṇo arogadakṣiṇae, and the bestowal of health on the Great King. (Lines 3 and 5).

The importance of these two months goes back to early days. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to Āśhāḍhi Sauśromateya and to Āśhāḍha Sāvayasa, and the Buddhacarita refers to Āśhāḍha a king who reached final bliss. Similarly the Atharvaveda, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and Gṛhyasūtras confirm the special sanctity of Śrāvaṇa and Śrāvaṇa ceremonies. (Cf.

Winternitz in the Index Volume of the Sacred Books of the East Series, p. 534).

Point (c) above does not arise.

Thus both the Taxila Silver Scroll and the Kalawan inscr. of the year 136 and 134, may be taken as connected with some unknown era, probably the old Saka Era, possibly the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. (the lack of corroboration regarding its use in the North-West notwithstanding), in the sacred (*ārya*) months of Āshāḍha and Śrāvaṇa, on the 15th and 23rd days respectively.

Konow's reading of *Sakasa* in the Taxila Silver Vase inscription is extremely doubtful. In Plate XXX of the *Corpus* he rightly read Ka 1 100 20 20 20 10 1 maharaja [bhra] [ta Ma\*] [ni] [gula\*] sa putrasa Jihoṇikasa Chukhsasa kshatrapasa.

He remarks : "The inscription begins below the mouth with a distinct *ka*. \*\*\* *Ka* is evidently the first akshara of the record, and it is perhaps an abbreviation e.g. of *ka* (*le*)."  
(*Corpus*, p. 82). "There is not enough space in front of this *ka* for restoring [*saṃvat'sara*] *k* [*e*]." (ibid).

In EI. vol. XXI, p. 255, Konow completely reverses this position. He says : "\*If we substitute the fuller form *saṃvat'saraye* 191 *sakasa*, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to *saṃvat'saraye* 134 *ajasa*."

It is a curious lapse for a scholar of Konow's rectitude. He apparently forgets that the real difficulty is about the position of the word *ajasa*, *ayasa* after the figure and not before it. In the Taxila Silver Vase inscription the word with *ka* precedes

the figure 191, whereas in the Kalawan copper-plate inscription the word *ajasa* follows the figure 134. Thus they can never be described as 'exactly parallel' (p. 255, EI. XXI). Cf.

(Sa) ka 1 100 20 20 20 20 10 1 maharaja  
[bhra] [ta Ma\*] [ni] [gula\*]sa

Samvatśaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravaṇasa masasa  
divase treviśe

Konow accepted Thomas's suggestion—"we seem to detect before the *ka* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*." (EI, XXI, p. 255).<sup>1</sup> Professor Thomas takes it as *Saka* 191 with reference to an era designated as Saka institution. This suggestion is innocuous but it is totally different from the interpretation Konow puts on it: "In the year so-and-so, Azes style" as an exact parallel of "in the year so-and-so, Saka style". Konow offers a specific significance to *Sakasa* which is altogether unfounded. Since Kielhorn wrote his elaborate note 'On the Dates of the Saka Era in Inscriptions' in May 1894, *Indian Antiquary*, till to-day, not a single instance can be found of this use of *Sakasa*.

On the other hand, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain books bear out the special sanctity of *Aśhādha* and *Śrāvaṇa*. The Vaikhāṇasa and Bauddhāyana Sūtras<sup>2</sup> refer to *Aśhādha* and *Śrāvaṇa*. According to the Vinayapiṭaka<sup>3</sup> the Bauddha monks began their *vassa*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Bauddhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, 1-12-16.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler, EI, vol. II, p. 263, note on Aśoka's Pillar Edict V; Kern, *Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Table of Knauer and Barth, *Ind. Ant.*, 1894, September, p. 249.

on the day after the full moon either of Āshāḍha or of Śrāvaṇa. The Chaumāsa of the Jain Śrāvakas is entered under Āshāḍha-Śrāvaṇa, and, like the Vassa of the Bauddhas, it is the season for preaching and devotional practices. (Jacobi, *Paryushanākālpa Nir-yukti*, gāthā 2.) Both the Taxila Silver Scroll and the Kalawan Copper-plate inscrr. bear out these special features of the two sacred (ārya) Āshāḍha and Śrāvaṇa months.



## Miscellaneous Articles

### ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

By SIR R. BURN

In an article entitled "New Coins of Nāga Vāk-āṭaka period", at p. 70, J. B. O. R. S., XXII Mr. K. P. Jayaswal refers to some criticisms by me in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1933 (pub. 1935). At p. 73 of his "History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D." he read on a coin from Kosam, published by V. A. Smith in Catalogue of the Indian Museum XX, 5, the name Rudra and the date 100, and assigned the coin to Rudrasena the Vākāṭaka king and equated the date to 348 A. D. In my review I pointed out that the marks interpreted as Rudra were part of a *nandipada* and the symbol read as 100 was really a *svastika*. Mr. Jayaswal makes no comment on those two criticisms and I presume he accepts them.

He disputes, however, my suggestion that the coin referred to was probably of the third century B. C. and describes my view of the date as *ex cathedra*. It was, however, the view of V. A. Smith (Vide Catalogue of the Indian Museum, p. 146: "These coins may be assigned to the second or third century B. C."), and also of Professor Rapson ("Indian Coins", p. 12: "—probably as early as the third century B. C.", and "Cambridge History of India", p. 525: "The

coinage of the kings of Kauçāmbi seems to begin in the third century B. C.—"). Mr. Allan in the British Museum Catalogue of Ancient Coins, which will appear shortly, takes the same view of the date.

To prove the error which I share with students more authoritative than myself Mr. Jayaswal now publishes another coin from Kosam. That coin is of great interest and the only other specimen of a similar type with an inscription appears to be that shown in Cunningham's plate V-8, and read as (Baha) satimitasa. The new illustration is unfortunately not very clear, having apparently been prepared directly from the coin and therefore showing lights and shadows which would not appear if a cast had been used. I cannot trace from it the word *Śrī*, which is not usual on north Indian coins till later. The letter *Bha* looks to me more like the forms used at Bhārhut and Pabhasa about 150 B. C. (Bühler's tables, No. II, XVII and XVIII) than any of the later forms (in table No. III). The rounded base of *va* also points to an early date, and the form of *na* is not distinctive. I can see on the reproduction no trace of the box heads of letters in Vākāṭaka plate inscriptions, and the shapes of both *bha* and *va* on the coin differ from the Vākāṭaka forms. The coin has a general resemblance to the early series from Kosam and it appears to have been cast and not struck, a description which also applies to the earlier coin. One point of difference is that on the new coin the bull faces right, while on the earlier one it faces left. Cunningham's inscribed coin was said to bear a horse to right, not a bull, but is in poor condition.

In Paragraph 7 of his present article Mr. Jayaswal still assigns the earlier coin to a Vākāṭaka king, though he does not repeat his reading of Rudra and of a date. His grounds are that the earlier coin bears the mark of a wheel which he claims was a royal symbol of the Vākāṭakas. In the absence of the evidence of a link it is just as probable that the rulers of Kosam and the Vākāṭakas both used a symbol the meaning of which is now uncertain. It may represent the sun. Mr. Jayaswal assigns his new coin to Bhava Nāga of the Bhāraṣiva dynasty whom he dates approximately in 290-315 A. D. (History, p. 28) and the other coin to either Pravarasena I or Rudrasena I who succeeded Bhava Nāga. This, however, raises a fresh difficulty. When we have a series of ancient coins of approximately the same character some of which are inscribed while others are not, it is usual to assume that the inscribed coins are the later. Thus the probability is that the uninscribed coins from Kosam, of which specimens are not uncommon, are earlier than this new specimen with an inscription. On still another coin Mr. Jayaswal reads the name Bhīma and adds "nāga" as the interpretation of a wavy line below the elephant on the coin. But such a line is just as likely to represent water as a snake. On the reading of the name I can say nothing as the reproduction is not sufficiently clear to me.

To sum up, Mr. Jayaswal's argument that the existence of a wheel on the coin which began this discussion is sufficient to justify its attribution to a dynasty in the fourth century A. D. which also placed a wheel on some of its inscriptions, does not convince

me, in face of the fabric and appearance of the coin. Wheels are shown for example on a great Kushan seal, and on a coin of the White Huns. (Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians, pl. III-2 and Pl. X-3). His argument that the new inscribed coin is to be dated earlier than the other is also not corroborated, and as I have tried to show above those letters on the new coin which are clear indicate the middle of the second century B. C., rather than the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. In particular, these letters differ very considerably from the form used by the Vākātakas. All students of these coins have hitherto believed that the cast coins of Kauśāmbhi are older than those which have been struck. Mr. Jayaswal in this Journal for 1934 (pp. 289, 293, 294 and 299) assigned the struck coins of Bahasatimita (C A I, V-11) to Brihadaśva Maurya, whom he dated *circa* 195-188 B. C.

A minor point arises from Paragraphs 10 and 11 of Mr. Jayaswal's paper and the note by Mr. Durga Prasad which follows it. I had no intention of depriving Mr. Jayaswal of the honour of priority in publishing the reading Navasa or -navasa on the coin read differently by others. But there is no doubt that other people had anticipated him in reading though not in the publication. The interpretation is a different matter. In 1934 Mr. Jayaswal himself was disposed to read additional letters on the silver coin (J. B. O. R. S., XX, p. 8), though he subsequently (pp. 306-307) returned to the reading Nava. The fact is that these later Kosam coins offer a number of problems in reading which have not been solved.

## Reviews and Notices of Books

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. Fascicule 8, Virāṭa-parvan. For the first time critically edited by V. S. Sukhthankar. Poona. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ , pp. I-LX, 1—363.

The Virāṭaparavan has been edited with the help of MSS. belonging to the Northern and Southern Recensions, about fifteen Commentaries and any helpful suggestion from older (printed) editions. Dr. Raghu Vira the editor of the present Parvan, has faithfully followed the sound principles laid down by the General Editor, Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar and adopted in the earlier Parvans. These were discussed in the Prolegomena of the Adiparvan and have been applied to the present edition. The editor has frankly admitted his difficulties. "Out of a total of 1834 stanzas of the constituted text the editor is sure for only about 300 stanzas". (p. XXVI). "And then, for one-fourth of the entire extent of the Virāṭa, the *sequence* of stanzas, connected or even disconnected with the order of events, is far from certain." (p. XXVI). The sequence of the North has been preferred but only as an "āpaddharma" (p. XXVI).

This confession, inevitable under the circumstances, inspires greater confidence in the competence of the editor as well as the value of the work as a whole than the estimate which Prof. P. P. S. Sastri has formed of his own work. "The Southern Recen-

sion, critically edited", Madras, 1932. It would seem that he conceives its principal merit to consist in the scheme that "according to our printed edition, the Virāṭaparvan contains all the 3,500 stanzas claimed for it" (Introduction, p. viii).

The difference in outlook between these two editions of the Virāṭaparvan is instructive. Dr. Ragu Vira does not seem always aware of the limits which orthodox writers have prescribed to themselves, in dissenting from the received text of the sacred records. Of the various readings which time and accident have introduced into the copies of the originals; but, in which, however, there is on the whole incomparably less variety, than in those of any other ancient work extant except the Vedas; it certainly is thought allowable for commentators to select such as they may best approve. At the same time, Prof. P. P. S. Sastri evidently ignores that all conjectural emendation of the sacred text is strictly prohibited; not from any absurd or superstitious reverence for the mortal vehicle in which immortal information has been transmitted to us; but on this plain and rational ground, that, where the license of conjecturing is so little required, and may prove so inexpressibly dangerous, a total abstinence from it is alike prescribed to us by prudence and duty. The spirit of this general canon leaves room for discrepancy even amongst those who utilise common sources.

The most important consideration, however, is to take note of all these sources. The edition of Drs. Sukthankar and Raghu Vira is the only adequate

attempt till now in this direction. Every student of Indology will, therefore, look forward eagerly to the completion of this arduous undertaking by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

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9	Konow, Dr. Sten ..	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
10	Lanman, C.R. .. ..	1936	9, Farrar Street, Cambridge, U.S.A.
11	Oldham, C.E.A.W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, s.w. 7.
12	Sankrityayana, Rev. Rahula	1934	Patna
13	Thomas, F.W., M.A., HON. PH.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
14	Walsh, E.H.C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1919	c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Cox's & King's Branch. 6, Pall Mall, London, s.w.



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12	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
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10	Baksi, Jayanti Lal ..	1936	Secretary, Watson Museum, Rajkot.
11	Banerji, S. . . .	1933	Headmaster, Saharanpur.
12	Barhut, Sardar Thakur Kishore Singh	1932	State Historian, Patiala.
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14	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R. ..	1924	Post Graduate Dept., Calcutta University, Calcutta.

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<b>J</b>			
33	James, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
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36	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ..	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
37	Jha, Ramakrishna, B.L. ..	1930	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
38	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal B.A., B.L.	1928	Dhauni Tola, Advocate, Gaya.
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<b>L</b>			
41	Lall, Raja, P.C. .. ..	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
42	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
<b>M</b>			
43	Mackenzie, W. .. ..	1916	Superintendent Go- vernment Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
44	McPherson, Sir H., K.C. I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	c/o Messrs. Grind- lay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.
45	Mahashaya, Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray	1915	Lakshannath, Bala- sore.
46	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan	1920	Muzaffarpur.
47	Majumdar, Bimanbehari ..	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
48	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ..	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
49	Manuk, P. C., Bar-at- Law	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
50	Mishra, Dr. Janardan, M.A., PH.D.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
51	Mishra, Ganga Shankar M.A.	1933	Librarian, Benares Hindu University, Benares.
52	Mishra, Umesha, D.LITT.		Allahabad Univer- sity, Allahabad.
53	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. ..	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
54	Mukerji, Prof. A. ..	1929	10, Bol. Guozdni- kovsky, Apt. 202, Moscow.

## Ordinary Members— (Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	N		
55	Noor, The Hon'ble Sir Khwaja Muhammad, Kt., C.B.E., Khan Bahadur	1915	Patna.
	P		
56	Pal. M. N., B.A., B.L. ..	1936	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
57	Perier, Most Rev., F.J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
58	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A. ..	1928	Professor, Patna College, Patna.
59	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ..	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
60	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Advocate, Patna.
61	Prasad, Surya, Mahajan ..	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	R		
62	Rajaguru, Pandit Hemraj Sarma, C.I.E.	1934	Dhokatola, Kathmandu, Nepal.
63	Ramdas, G., B.A. .. ..	1924	Sri Ramchandra Vilas, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
64	Ranganatham, S.R. ..	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
65	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Dewan, Bonaigarh State, Bonaigarh P. O., Orissa.
66	Regmi. Pt. Dilli Ramanji B.A.	1936	Patna College.
67	Richards, F. J. .. ..	1924	1A Collingham Road, S. W. 5, London.

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No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
68	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ..	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
69	Roy, Rai Bahadur, S.C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
	S		
70	Sahay, S. N. .. ..	1935	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
71	Sarkar, Ganapati, Vidya- ratna	1926	69, Beliaghata Road, Calcutta.
72	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjee- ling.
73	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
74	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.)	1916	Patna.
75	Shah, Srinath .. ..	1936	Durgakund, Benares.
76	Sham Bahadur .. ..	1928	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
77	Sharma, Ram Bahadur, M.A.	1934	Advocate, Patna.
78	Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A. ..	1932	D. A. V. College, Lahore.
79	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., D.PHIL.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
80	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Principal, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
81	Shastri, I. D. Daurgadatti	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Associa- tion, Patna.
82	Singh, Jaikishore, Nara- yan	1934	Pakri State, P. O. Baj- patti, Muzaffarpur.
83	Singh, Lakshminarayan ..	1933	Advocate, High Court Patna.
84	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co- operative Societies, Monghyr.

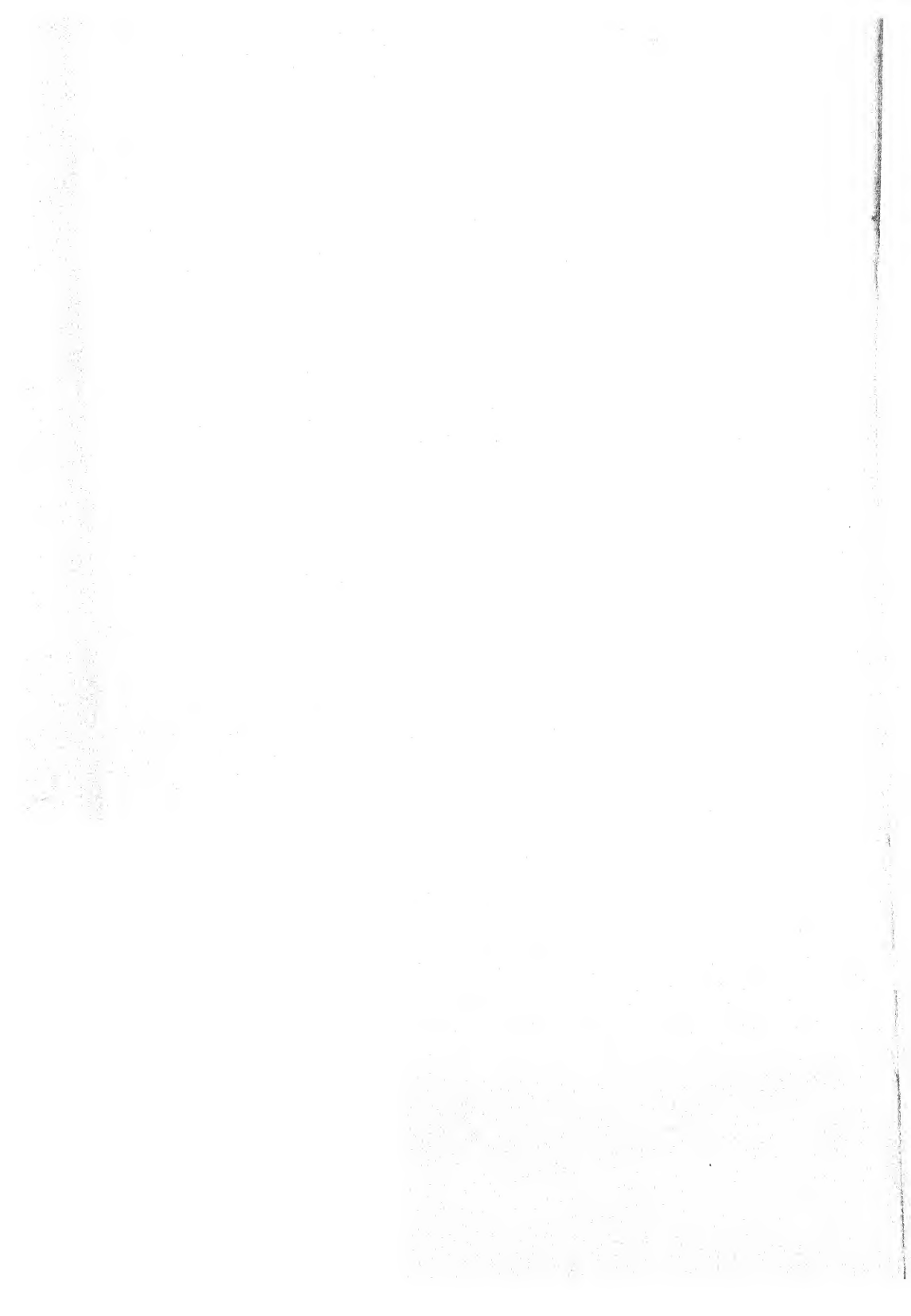
## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
85	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
86	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
87	Singh, Raja Rajendralala, Bariha	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.
88	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	K. V. Press, Patna.
89	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.
90	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B.	1930	Hindustan Times, Delhi.
91	Sinha, S., Bar-at-Law ..	1915	Patna.
92	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr., S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
93	Swarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
<b>T</b>			
94	Tandan, R. R., M.A. ..	1934	Muzaffarpur.
95	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ..	1915	Bishop's House, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
96	Taraporewala, Y. J. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
97	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, K.T.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
98	Tirtha Swami, Vedananda	1933	P. O. Dtinga, Dist. Gujarat, Punjab.
99	Tripathi, Devadatta ..	1916	Kadam Kuan, Patna.
100	Tripathi, Ramshankar, M.A., PH.D.	1932	Benares Hindu University, Benares.



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No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	U		
101	Urquhart, Rev. Dr. W. S., M.A., D.D., D.LITT., 1934 Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.	1934	Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.
	V		
102	Varma, The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. P.	1930	Patna.
103	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Daraganj, Allahabad.
104	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D. ..	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40, Leiden, Holland.



JOURNAL  
OF THE  
BIHAR AND ORISSA  
RESEARCH SOCIETY

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VOL. XXIII ]

1937

[ PART III

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Leading Articles

THE MĀLAVAS

4th cent. B. C.—4th cent. A. C.

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

1. *The Nanda Empire, 5th Century B. C.*

It has been generally assumed that Candragupta was responsible for "the establishment of a single paramount power in Hindustān, embracing a part even of the country south of the Vindhya mountains and standing in relation to the still independent areas, supplies a unity which was previously lacking and which, in fact, was rarely realised in later ages."<sup>1</sup> This is not borne out by the Purāṇas. According to them, the Nandas beginning with Mahāpadma were the real founders of such North-India-wide empire: the Mauryas merely stepped into their shoes.

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *CHI*, p. 467.

Cf. *Mt.*, *Vā.*, and *Bd.*

*Eka-rāṭ* sa Mahapadma  
*eka-cchatro* bhaviṣyati.

*Bb.*, and *Vṣ.*

Sa *eka-cchatrām* pṛthivīm  
*an-ullaṅghita-Śāsanaḥ*

śāsiṣyati Mahāpadma  
 dvitiya iva Bhārgavaḥ.

and \*\*\*tato Mauryān gamiṣyati.

Kautilyaś Candraguptam tu tato rājye  
 'bhiṣekṣyati. (*Matsy*).<sup>1</sup>

If the two terms *eka-rāṭ* and *eka-cchatro* are not dismissed as meaningless, and if the Mauryas are not gratuitously turned into empire-builders in spite of the clear evidence of the Purāṇas to the contrary, the conclusion is inevitable that the first historical empire in India is that of the Nandas.

The exact relationship between the Nandas and the Mauryas has always remained an intriguing problem. The Zoroastrian origin of Spooner has recently been resuscitated in the pages of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute's Annals.<sup>2</sup> The writer repeats most of the arguments already discussed threadbare by competent critics and found to be wanting. The only important contribution of this new adherent of the old theory is the more or less complete lack of any reference to Candragupta in the Indian chronology—Brāhmanical, Buddhist and Jain. The Brāhmanical datum from the Purāṇas has been given

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 25, 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals Bhand. Orient. Inst.*, 1937, Pt. II, pp. 158-165.

above. Candragupta was not a Buddhist but a Jaina according to tradition and the comparative silence in the Buddhist chronology is therefore natural and what might have been expected. The Jaina chronology gives copious information about him and most significantly connect him up very intimately with the Nandas. In *The Traditional Chronology of the Jainas*, Shah<sup>1</sup> has pieced together the different incidents and details which corroborate the tradition current in the *Mudrārāṅgasa* of Viśākhadatta that there was some obscure blood-relationship between Mahāpadma and Candragupta. The Indian, and also the Greek, accounts of Candragupta are quoted and discussed by Lassen. Candragupta is represented as a low-born connexion of the family of Nanda. He had served Nanda as *senā-pati* or Commander-in-Chief. In the Pāli account,<sup>2</sup> he is the king's concubine's son.<sup>3</sup> In any case he incurred the king's displeasure and was exiled to the northwest, and there met at Takṣaśilā his future minister Cāṇakya also suffering from some wrong at the hand of the king, and his future ally Parvata. This explains why Takṣaśilā facilitated Alexander's entrance into India. Candragupta appears in the company of Alexander, imitates many of the ways of his new-found friends and bides his time.

Mahāpadma's descendant Dhana-Nanda was

<sup>1</sup> Shantilal Shah, *The Traditional Chronology of the Jainas*, Stuttgart, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Commentary to the Pāli *Mahāvanso* (ed. Turnour, Introduction, pp. xxxviii-xlii).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Sīhaviṛāvalīcarita*, ed. Jacobi, pp. 55 ff.

ruling in Magadha when Candragupta met Alexander in the Punjab (Plutarch, *Alexander*, LXII). It was the fear of challenging the might of Nanda that limited Alexander's easterly advance to the Beās. Alexander was told that beyond the Ganges 'lay two great peoples, the Prasii and Gangaridae, whose king Agrammes, or Zandrames, kept in the field an army of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2000 chariots, and 3000 (or 4000) elephants.' According to Curtius, ix, 2 and Diodorus, xciii, Phegelas and Porus informed Alexander that this mighty ruler was the son of a barber and of worthless character. This Greek description is almost a paraphrase of the Purāṇas :

*Mt.*, *Vā.*, and *Bḍ.*,—

*Mahānandī-sutaś cāpi Sūdrāyāṁ Kalikāṁśajāḥ.*

*Bh.*, (with *Vṣ.*)

*Mahānandī-suto rājan Sūdrāgarbbhodbhavo balī.*

From Megasthenes (I, 16) and Ptolemy (VII, 1, 82; 2, 14), it would appear that the Gangaridae occupied the delta of the Ganges, and the Prasii or 'Easterns' extended as far as the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna at Allahabad. As Rapson points out the Pañcālas, Śūrasenas, Kosalas and other peoples of the Middle Country had fallen under the domination of the power of Magadha with its capital Pāṭaliputra, at the junction of the Ganges and the Son. Early Buddhist writers<sup>1</sup> are already familiar with this suzerainty. The Brahman literature recognises

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Lond. 1930, pp. 12 ff.; Chap. VII, pp. 182 ff.

Mahāpadma's dynasty as "representative of Indian sovereignty." (Rapson, *CHI*, p. 469). From the fact that Mahāpadma Nanda's low-born son or connexion is placed in the frontiers with an ally in the Himālayan districts in the Punjab,<sup>1</sup> and later Candragupta's grandson Aśoka is posted to Ujjain in Mālwa, it would appear that this Indian sovereignty extended westward to the south of the great desert including the realm of Mālava. Greek historians and Alexander's companions are silent about the rulers of Mālava, Kāthiāwar and Gujarāt, but they as well as *Mudrārākṣasa* indicate Magadhan suzerainty over the Frontiers (Takṣaśilā, and the Hindu Kush under the Aśvakas).

The nature of this sovereignty is brought out in most forceful language in the Purāṇas:

*Mt., Vā., and Bḍ.*

utpatsyate Mahāpadmaḥ *sarva-kṣatrāntako* nṛpaḥ

\*\*\*\*\*

*sarva-kṣatramatbodhṛtya*

*Bh., (with Vṣ.).*

Mahāpadma-patiḥ kaścin Nandaḥ *kṣatra-vināśa-*  
*kṛt*

\*\*\*\*\*

sa *ekā-cchatrām* pṛthivīm *amullaṅghita-śāsanaḥ*

śāsiṣyati Mahāpdmō *dvitīya* iva *Bhārgavaḥ*.

The insistence on Mahāpadma's achievement in uprooting all other rulers is emphatic. His orders

<sup>1</sup> Candragupta's meeting Alexander in the Punjab probably has a direct bearing on the latter's easy passage through Takṣaśilā.

were obeyed by all (*anullāṅghita-śāsanaḥ*), his authority was unchallenged. The language is unmistakable. A careful analysis of every line in every one of the dynastic lists of the Kali age fails to reveal a repetition of similar description. To emphasise the nature of this epoch-making change, the Purāṇas give prominence to the kings and rulers who were contemporaries of Mahāpadma's predecessor, and who subsequently lost their independence and formed part of Nanda's empire stretching from the Frontiers and Mālava to Mithilā and Kalinga.

\*\*\*\*\*Mahānandi bhaviṣyati

Ityete bhavitāro vai Saiśunāgā nṛpā daśa  
 śatāni trīṇi varṣāṇi ṣaṣṭi-varṣādhikāni tu  
 Śiśunāgā bhaviṣyanti rājānaḥ *ṣṣatra-bandhavaḥ*.  
*Etaiḥ sārḍham* bhaviṣyanti tāvatkālaṁ nṛpāḥ pare  
*tulya-kālaṁ* bhaviṣyanti sarve hy ete mahiṣṭiḥ  
 Aikṣvākavaś caturviṁśat Pañcālāḥ sapta-viṁśatiḥ  
 Kāśeyās tu caturviṁśad astā-viṁśatir Haihayāḥ  
 Kalingās caiva dvā-triṁśad Aśmakāḥ pañca-viṁśatiḥ  
 Kuravaś cāpi ṣaṭ-triṁśad aṣṭā-viṁśati Maithilāḥ  
 Sūrasenas trayo-viṁśad Vitihoṭras ca viṁśatiḥ  
 ete sarve bhaviṣyanti *eke-kālaṁ mahiṣṭiḥ*.  
 Mahānandi-sutaś cāpi \*\*\*\*\*  
 utpatsyate Mahāpadmaḥ *sarva-ṣṣatrāntako nṛpāḥ*

\*

\*

\*

\*

*eka-rāṭ* sa Mahāpadma *eka-ccatro* bhaviṣyati  
*sarva-ṣṣatram atboddhṛtya*



śāsiṣyati Mahāpadmo dvitīya iva Bhārgavaḥ.<sup>1</sup>

The transition from *eka-kālam mahiṣitaḥ* to *sarva-ṣaṣṭramoddhṛtya*, from *ṣaṣṭra-bandhavaḥ* to *sarva-ṣaṣṭrāntako nṛpaḥ* indicates the transformation of contemporary independent kings to a group of vassals under the overlordship of Magadha. It marks the inauguration of an empire extending practically over the whole of Northern India. In the line of Mahāpadma will be eight rulers, and these nine Nandas (or imperial neo-Nandas as distinguished from local Śiśunāgas, their forbears) will be uprooted by the Brahmin Kauṭilya who will anoint Candragupta to the kingdom :

Kauṭilyaś Candraguptam tu tato rājye 'bhiṣeṣyati.

The part played by Candragupta in this change nowhere suggests that he founded an empire. The prevailing assumption to this effect is the outcome of an uncritical juxtaposition of information from various sources—Greek and Indian (Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain)—without assessing their individual and collective value in the light of archaeological evidence, specially coins which up till now had been considered as non-existent for the pre-Mauryan period. This non-recognition of Candragupta's debt to his precursors the Nandas has confused the whole history of India in the 5th century B. C.

<sup>1</sup> *Mt.*, 272, 6-13; *Vā.* 99, 314-322; *Bd.*, 74, 127-135; *Vś.*, iv, 24, 3; *Bh.*, xii, 1, 5-8; *Mt.*, 272, 13-26; *Vā.*, 99, 322-336; *Bd.*, iii, 74, 135-49; *Vś.*, iv, 24, 4-8; *Bh.*, xii, 1, 8-16.

A side-issue of this confusion is the misapprehension regarding Persian dominions in N. India down to the time of Alexander's invasion<sup>1</sup>. From the writings of Xenophon, Nearchus and Megasthenes, Eduard Meyer concludes: 'Cyrus (between 558-530 B. C.) appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus (Hindu Kush) and in the Kabul valley, especially the Gandarians; Darius himself advanced as far as the Indus.' According to the Bahistan Rock Inscription (between 520 and 518 B. C.) with the exception of the fifth column which was added later; the second of the two old Persian Persepolis block tablets (between 518 and 517 B. C.); the upper of the two Nakshi-Rustam Tomb of Darius inscription (some time after 515 B. C.)—the Indus conquest by Darius is generally assigned to about the year 518 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

When did this 'twentieth division' of Darius's dominions,<sup>3</sup> (Herodotus, III, 94, cf. III, 89), the Indian realm, reassert its independence, and under whose inspiration, if any?

Jackson in *CHI*, Chap. XIV, p. 341 sees no interval between the end of Persian domination over these parts and the advent of Alexander. "The fact, however, that this domination prevailed even to the end of the Achaemenian sway in 330 B. C. is furthermore proved by the call which Darius III, the last of the dynasty, was able to issue to Indian

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *CHI*, pp. 330-35.

<sup>2</sup> Sarre und Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, pp. 106-107.

<sup>3</sup> From the embouchment of the Indus to its uppermost tributaries on the north and west.

troops when making his final stand at Arbela to resist the Greek invasion of Persia by Alexander."

There are two serious objections to the above. Firstly, when Alexander invaded India, he had to fight with Indian rulers, who owed no allegiance to Persia. The Aśvakas between the Hindukush<sup>1</sup> and the Indus, Āmbhi, King of Takṣaśilā,<sup>2</sup> Abhisāra between the Jhelum and the Chenab extending to the Indus, and Poros<sup>3</sup> between the Chenab and the Ravi—none of these rulers appears to have anything to do with Persia at the time of or in the period immediately preceding Alexander's campaign. On the return journey, the Mālavas (in Greek Malloi), between the lower Hydraotes and the Acesines, and the Kṣudrakas (in Greek Oxydrakai) higher up the Hydraotes, between that river and the Hyphasis—also show no trace of any connection with Persia. They all appear to be Kṣatriyas fighting against or siding with foreigners. They were independent or semi-independent rulers of adjoining territories freindly or hostile to each other. They had ceased to owe any allegiance to Persia sometime between 450 and 330 B. C. Darius's call for help does not denote an act of sovereignty but an appeal for help. As a matter of fact there were Indians in the forces serving against Cyrus in the 6th cen. B. C. as they were in the army of Darius III in the 4th cen. B. C. Ctesias (fragm. 37, ed. Gilmore) gives the story

<sup>1</sup> Megasthenes, XX; Stein, *Rājataranginī*, trans. 1, 180 n.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, VIII, 14, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Anspach, *De Alexandri Magni Expeditione Indica*, Lond. 1903, note 316.

how Cyrus died in consequence of a wound inflicted in battle by an Indian in an engagement when 'the Indians were fighting on the side of the Derbikes and supplied them with elephants.' Both Nearchus and Megasthenes deny that Cyrus ever reached India, although Nearchus regards him as having made an unsuccessful campaign in Baluchistan. Strabo and Arrian (*Indica*, I, 1-3) indicate that the Indians between the Indus and the Cophen or Kabul submitted to the Persians and paid tribute to Cyrus, son of Cambyses. But there is no evidence that India proper from the Indus to the Beās acknowledged any authority of Persia in the 5th cen. B. C. The 'twentieth division' of Darius's dominions appear to Alexander C. 330 B. C. as Indian principalities of standing. A clear 100 years would be necessary for their position, power and prestige. These 100 years are supplied by the probable overlordship of Mahāpadma and his eight sons.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, archaeological evidence in the form of pre-Mauryan coins militate against the theory of Persian domination till about 330 B. C. and incline towards Magadhan supremacy between the Indus and the Beās about 450 to 330 B. C. In his 'A Catalogue of The Indian Coins' in The British Museum (1936), Allan adheres to the first view. "The coins of which the provenance is definitely known all came from that part of India which lay within the bounds of the Persian empire, from the end of the sixth to the middle of the fourth century B.C. As to

<sup>1</sup> 'bhuktvā mahim varṣa-satam', *Vs.*, iv, 24, 6.

the date of these pieces they are undoubtedly early, as the above-mentioned Taxila finds suggest, and the date of their issue may very well fall within the period of Persian influence in India or Afghanistan. We could suggest that they belong to the fourth or even fifth century B. C., and that it may have been pieces such as these rather than the usual punch-marked coins that Omphis presented to Alexander the Great."<sup>1</sup> Allan's opinion is based on two premises :

(a) that this series of silver coins belongs to an early period in the history of North-Western India, and that they follow a Persian standard. "The interesting feature about these pieces is that they are struck on a Persian standard and represent double sigloi or staters, half—and quarter-sigloi." (Allan, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.) The historical, geographical and chronological data are lacking in the case of many specimens but "specimens" were found in an early stratum of Taxila with punch-marked coins, and the same site yielded punch-marked coins with a gold coin of Diodotes. Others were found in the Bhir mound at Taxila in a pot with punch-marked silver coins, a worn siglos, and coins of Alexander the Great and Philip Aridaeus. Like the siglos, they were in a worn condition compared with the rest of the find. There are three specimens in the Indian Museum, *Cat.*, p. 136, nos. 4-6, weighing 169, 165·8, 174·1 grains, and six in the *Supplementary Cat.* (1923), p. 8, nos. 127-32, of similar weights. (Allan, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.)

<sup>1</sup> Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Ancient India*, 1936, pp. xv-xvi.

Two questions suggest themselves. How far *all* of Allan's specimens follow the Persian standard, and to what extent the specimens are found and struck on Indian soil under Persian domination. As regards the first, it is well known that the standard gold coin of Ancient Persia was the Daric, bearing on the obverse a figure of the Great King hastening through his dominions, armed with bow and spear, and upon the reverse an irregular oblong incuse,—weighing about 130 grains (8·42 grammes), probably minted by Darius Hystaspes who added the Indus valley to the Persian empire. The corresponding silver coinage consisted of *sigloi* or shekels,<sup>1</sup> having a maximum weight of 86·45 grains (5·6 grammes) bearing on the obverse and the reverse the same types as the gold daric one of which was equal to 20 *sigloi*. Few gold darics have been found in India, but “it is significant that in no single instance do these bear countermarks or any other indication that could possibly be interpreted as suggestive of a prolonged Indian sojourn.” The darics therefore might have been brought into India from anywhere and throw no light on the question of Persian domination. The surviving *sigloi* “are distinguished by the presence of peculiar counter-marks which were thought to have their closest analogy on the square-shaped pieces of silver that constitute the oldest native coinage of India.”

These latter, the punch-marked coins supply the crucial test. Were they available in the 6th and

<sup>1</sup> Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides* (Paris, 1893), pp. i-xx.

5th centuries B. C. ? Were these utilised on the *sigloi* of Hystaspes or *vice versa* as regards type and weight ?

Allan dates the silver punch-marked coins discovered by Sir John Marshall in the Bhir mound at Taxila 'in the third or fourth century B. C.' 'These and similar coins are far from being a primitive type of coin.' "One remarkable feature about them is that they show no signs of evolution." (Allan, *op. cit.*, p. xix.) All these remarks tend to suggest that these coins were copied from some other coinage. The single-type silver coins found in North-Western India about the 5th century B. C. could not therefore refer to any native coinage, but point to an allegiance to the Persian standard. Allan does not explain how a very large proportion of *sigloi* that are not directly of Indian *provenance* bear these punch-marks noted by Rapson as early as 1895.<sup>1</sup> He seeks support from Hemmy<sup>2</sup>. As regards the earliest date of the punch-marked silver coins, Mr. Hemmy says: "The consensus of opinion now does not put them so early, but assigns them probably to the Mauryan Empire, which lasted from 323 till 185 B.C., or at the earliest to the time of Nanda (c. 372 B.C.), king of Magadha, who anteceded that empire." This in spite of the fact that the standard weight of these coins is 52 grains, which multiplied by 4 is 208, and that the standard is therefore one-fourth of the

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *JRAS.*, 1895, pp. 865 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hemmy, *JRAS.*, 1937, January, p. 3. Hemmy states that both Daric and *sigloi* standards exist in the case of the single-type silver coins (p. 12).

revised principal unit of the Indus (Mahenjo-Daro) system of weights, viz. 13·625 gm.—210·2 gr. "This conclusion is also supported by the fact that many of the symbols on the Mahenjo-Daro seals also occur on the punch-marked coins." Instead, however, of stating the obvious conclusion already adopted by Cunningham that these coins obtained in India about the 6th and 5th centuries—a fact which would also solve the puzzle of their symbols appearing on the non-Indian Persian *sigloi* for the use of Indians in the service of Persians from Cyrus to Darius Hystaspes—Hemmy concludes : "The uniformity of distribution of weight in punch-marked coins, both silver and copper, shows that those conforming to the Indus standard must have come from a single mint. Their widespread provenance indicates the Mauryan Empire, and the uniformity of weight indicates capable and strict administration. This points to Asoka."<sup>1</sup>

Both the above points, the date of the punch-marked coins as assigned by Hemmy and Allan in the 4th cen. B.C., and Hemmy's conclusion regarding their issue by the Mauryas are unacceptable. About the so-called 'consensus of opinion', Mr. Walsh, perhaps the best authority alive on punch-marked coins replies in the current issue of the *JRAS.* as follows :—

"The writer is not aware of such a consensus, but that these coins were considerably anterior to the time of Nanda is conclusively shown by the find

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.*, 1937, p. 26.



of the 1059 coins, of the old large thin type, found at Taxila in 1924, already referred to. Amongst the hoard were two gold coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaens, "fresh from the mint." Philip Aridaens died in 317 B.C. The date of the deposit of the hoard was therefore about that date, which also agrees with the date, independently fixed, of the strata in which the vessel containing the hoard was found. Contained in the hoard are sixty-one very old coins which had been called in when they were so old that the marks on them had been completely worn out, leaving only traces, they had been restruck on the older reverse with a fresh series of marks over the worn-out reverse marks and re-issued and the original obverse had been over stamped by the subsequent reverse marks. The second issue also bears signs of long wear. The length of time from the original issue of these coins until the date of their deposit in the hoard appears to be some hundreds of years. Putting the time at 200 years, though it may be longer, they carry the date of these coins back to 517 B.C."<sup>1</sup>

The passage has been quoted at length as it is the latest and fairest summing up of the present position. Walsh has clearly distinguished between the nature of the hoard of 1,171 silver punch-marked coins found in the Bhir mound at Taxila in 1924 containing thirty-three long-bar "single-type" coins of which one weighs 169.5 grains, three weigh

<sup>1</sup> Walsh, "Punch-marked Silver Coins. Their standard of Weight, Age, and Mint." *JRAS.*, 1937, April, pp. 303-304.

171·3 grains, two weigh 173 grains, and the rest vary from 174·9 to 177·5 grains, two coins weigh over 178 grains and one coin 179·4 grains,—and coins from Taxila and Magadha<sup>1</sup> (Patna City, Gore-Ghat, Bhagalpur etc.) with a standard in the neighbourhood of 52 grains (53·4 to 52 grains). He accepts Allan's contention that the first group belongs to the first half of the fourth century, 'when Darius still had Indians in his army, about 330 B.C. ;' but he very justly and emphatically repudiates Hemmy's suggestion regarding the second group on purely numismatic grounds. According to him, "as already shown, the punch-marked silver coins go back to at least 517 B.C."

Walsh further suggests that *Gaṇas*, *Janapadas* and *Negāmās* were authorised to mint and issue coins for their respective jurisdictions and areas. Hemmy is right in asserting that their wide provenance and uniformity of weight indicate some imperial authority or overlordship. What was that empire before the Mauryas in the 5th cen. B.C. ? Here the literary evidence of the *Purāṇas*<sup>2</sup> and the numismatic conclusions offer mutual corroboration and point to the first historical empire in Northern India under the suzerainty of Magadha. Mahāpadma founded the empire a hundred years before 325 B.C. From Pāṭaliputra, Mahāpadma and his eight sons ruled over the whole of Magadha, Kosala and Pañcāla representing Hindustān proper; and reigned over

<sup>1</sup> Walsh, JBORS., 1919, pp. 1-74, 463-494.

<sup>2</sup> *ante*, *eka-rāṭ*, *ekacchatra*, *anulaṅghitāśāsana* overlordship of Mahāpadma who brought under him all other *śatras*.

the territories between the Indus and the Beās to the north-west and west, and the realm of Mālhwā or Avanti; and over Mithilā and Kaliṅga to the north and east. One of his latter day connexions is founded in the Punjab at the time of Alexander's inroad, and the Khāravela inscription at Udayagiri (2nd cen. B.C.) refers to a Nanda who took away a Jina image from Kaliṅga. Alexander invaded these outlying parts of the empire : advanced up to the Beās and then retreated via Mālhwā. Candragupta with the aid of Kauṭilya uprooted the Nanda dynasty but inherited the Magadhan Empire. He restored the *status quo* in the north-west and the west as in the time of the Nandas, and his grandson Āśoka maintained the integrity of the empire to the east by the bloody suppression of a revolt in Orissa in the eighth year of his reign.

These subordinate rulers of Mahāpadma are mentioned by name in the Purāṇas (*ante*, *Mt.*, 272, 13-17) ; they were independent in the time of his father Mahānandin, but became Native States under the paramountcy of the Magadha Empire of Mahāpadma. As Native States, they either fight with<sup>1</sup> or against<sup>2</sup> Alexander according to their good or bad feelings towards the suzerain power represented by the descendants of Mahāpadma, the last of whom Dhanananda was on the throne about 326 B.C. Of these, Aikṣvākas, Pañcālas, Kāśeyas, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Āśmakas, Kuravas, Maithilas, Sūrasenas

<sup>1</sup> Schubert, *Die Porus-Schlacht*, in *Rhein, Mus.*, Neue Folge, LVI (1901, p. 543).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, XV, C. 691, C. 698.

and Vītihotras,—Āśmakas (Āśvakas)<sup>1</sup> called Assakenois by the Greeks, at Aornos in the Hindukush, and the Vītihotras in Avanti Mālava, called the Malloi by the Greeks—both Kṣatriyas offered Alexander the toughest resistance he encountered in his invasion. The only serious defection was of Āmbhi, Rajah of Takṣaśilā, and his treachery nullified the efforts of others by facilitating Alexander's entrance into India. It is significant that the commentary to the Pāli *Mahāwanso* mentioning the meeting of Candragupta with Kauṭilya represents the latter as a native of Takṣaśilā, already in company with a Parvata.

To the credit of Kauṭilya, it must be said that though he brought about the downfall of the Nanda dynasty, he helped to maintain the integrity of the Magadhan Empire by anointing Candragupta on the throne. The Magadhan Empire of Mahāpadma lived on in that of Candragupta.

## II. MĀLAVAS, c. 1000—450 B. C.

Once the misapprehension regarding the Nanda Empire is removed, the history of the Mālavas may be studied in three stages :

(a) As a Native State from after the Bhārata War c. 1,000 B.C. to Mahānandī, c. 444 B.C.—403 B.C.

(b) As part of the Nanda Empire under Mahāpadma son of Mahanandī, from c. 403 B.C. to Alexander's invasion c. 327 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> *Vā.*, and *Bd.* read *Āśakab*, closely resembling *Aspasioi* and *Assakenoi* of the Greek accounts, connected with *āsva*.

(c) As part of the Maurya Empire under Candragupta and Aśoka from c. 321 B.C. to c. 234 B.C., the interval of c. 327-321 B.C. representing the change over from the remnants of the Nandas to the Mauryas.

From after Aśoka c. 234 B.C. to 325 A.C. reverted to its position on as an independent Native State, as there was no imperial<sup>1</sup> authority in Northern India prior to Samudragupta's conquests c. 330 B.C.

#### MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR, c. 1000 B. C.

The 35th chapter of the Digvijayaparva 3 of Sabhāparva II of the Mahābhārata gives an interesting account of Nakula's conquest of Western India. It gives a list of the States there brought under the suzerainty of Yudhiṣṭhira. As the historicity of the list has recently been corroborated in the case of some of these States, e. g., Bahudhānyaka,<sup>2</sup> with the help of coins, the entire list may be repeated so that many coins described in the various catalogues may be re-examined with a view to their proper assignment.

Nakulasya tu vakṣyāmi karmāṇi vijayaṁ tathā ।

Vāsudevajitāmāśāṁ yathā'sāvajayatprabhuḥ ॥

Niryāya Khāṇḍavaprasthāt Pratiṣṭhābhite diśam ।

<sup>1</sup> Banerji-Sastri, *Sakas and Kushānas in the I and II centuries*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1937, pp. 199-218.

<sup>2</sup> Bahudhānyaka coins first discovered by Captain Cautley at Behat in Saharanpur (Prinsep, ed. by Thomas, 1858, i, p. 73, p. 200, pl. xix. 5, 6, 9 ; p. 82, pl. iv., 11), then by Sahni at Rohtak (*Current Science*, 1936, pp. 796-801). Cf. *JBORS.*, 1936, Vol. XXII, Pt. II, pp. 59-61.

Uddiśya matimān prāyāmmahatyā senayā saha ॥  
 Simhanādēna mahatā yodhānām garjitena ca ।  
 Rathanemininādaiśca kampayanvasudhāmimām ॥  
 Tato bahu dhanam ramyaṁ gavāḍhyaṁ dhanadhān-  
 yavat ।

Kārtikeyasya dayitam *Robitakamupādravat* ॥  
 Tatra yuddham mahaccāsicchūrair mattamay-  
 ūrakaiḥ ।

*Marubhūmim* ca kārtsnyena tathaiva *Babudbhānyakam* ॥  
*Sairīśakam Mabetttham* ca vaśe cakre mahādyutiḥ ।  
*Ākrośam* caiva rājarsim tena yuddhamabhūnmahat ॥  
 Tān *Daśārṇān* sa jītvā ca pratasthe Pāṇḍunandanah ।  
*Sibīmś Trigartānambasṭhān Mālavān Pañca Karpaṭān* ॥  
 Tathā *Madhyamakeyāmīśca* Vāṭadhānāndvijānatha ।  
 Punaśca parivṛtyātha *Puṣkāranyavāsinaḥ* ॥  
*Gaṇān Utsavaśaniketān* vyajayat puruṣarśabhaḥ ।  
*Sindrukūlāśritā* ye ca *grāmaṇṇyā* mahābalāḥ ॥  
*Sūdrābhīraganāś* caiva ye cāśritya Sarasvatim ।  
 Vartayanti ca ye *Matsyair* ye ca *Parvatavāsinaḥ* ॥  
 Kṛtsnam *Pañcanandanam* caiva tathaivāmaraparvatam ।  
*Uttarajyotiṣam* caiva tathā Divyakaṭam puram ॥  
*Dvārapālām* ca tarasā vaśe cakre mahādyutiḥ ।  
*Rāmaṭhān Hārābhūṇāmīśca* *Pratīcyāścaiva* ye Nṛpāḥ ॥  
 Tānsarvān sa vaśe cakre sāsanādeva Pāṇḍavaḥ ।  
 Tatrasthaḥ preṣayāmāsa Vāsudevāya Bhārata ॥  
 Sa cāśya gatabhī rājan pratijagrāha śāsanam ।  
 Tataḥ *Sākalam* abhetya Madrāṇām *puṭabhedanam* ॥  
 Mātulam prītipūrveṇa Śalyam cakre vaśe Balī ।  
 Sa tena satkṛto rājñā satkārārho Viśāmpate ॥  
 Ratnāni bhūriṇyādāya sampratasthe yudhām patiḥ ।  
 Tataḥ *Sāgarakukṣisthān Mlecchān* paramadāruṇān ॥  
*Pahlavān Barbarāmīścaiva Kirātān Yavanān Sakān* ।

Tato ratnānyupādāya vaśe kṛtvā ca pārthivān ॥  
 Nyavartata Kuruśreṣṭho Nakulaś citramārgavit ।  
 Karavāṇāṁ sahasrāṇi kośaṁ tasya mahātmanaḥ ॥  
 Ūhurdaśa mahārāja kṛcchrādiva mahādhanam ।

(Verses 1—18)

The various forms of these Native States are described above as *Gaṇa*, *Grāmaṇīya*, *Janapada* etc. The *Grāmaṇīya* may be contrasted with the *Rājanya Janapadas* mentioned by Pāṇini, iv. 2. 53.

Coins have been found of the following twelve Tribal Native States—

1. Ārjunaṇyanas, 2. Aśvakas, 3. Audumbaras,
4. Kulūṭas, 5. Kuṇindas, 6. Rājanya Janapada,
7. Śibis, 8. Uddehikas, 9. Vimakas, 10. Vṛṣṇis,
11. Yaudheyas, and 12. MĀLAVAS.<sup>1</sup>

1. MĀLAVAS c. 1000—403 B. C.

The origin and orientation of the Mālavas are obscure.

A. Vedic: 10th—8th cen. B. C.

The Mālava or Avanti country as such is not known to the Vedas. The region in which it is located in later days includes roughly three parts in the Vedic period.

- (a) Maru; mentioned as the 'utkara' of Kurukṣetra. Tait. Ār., v. 1, 1.
- (b) Satvant; mentioned as a people belonging to the south as opposed to the

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Cat. Coins Ind. Museum*, pp. 161-164.

‘Udīcyā’ and ‘Prācyā’ of the Vedas. Ait. Br. viii. 14, 3.

They were defeated by Bharata, Śat. Br., xiii. 5, 4, 21. The Kauśītakī Upaniṣad places them as contiguous to the Matsyas.

- (c) Niṣāda; used as a general term for independent non-Aryan tribes unlike the Śūdras. The Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra, vii. 2, 8 refers to a village of these Niṣādas. The Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, i. 1, 12 and Āpastamba Śrautasūtra mention a *Niṣāda-sthapati*. Weber in *Indische Studien* took it to mean a Niṣāda as a ‘sthapati’. Macdonell interprets it as ‘a Governor of the Niṣādas.’

This tradition of an ancient civilised people living in villages under their own ‘governors’, non-Aryan but sharply distinguished from the Śūdras—is brought out clearly by the school of Nighaṇṭu ‘the Aupamanyava,’ cited in Yāska, Nirukta III. 8 and quoted by Sāyaṇa in Rv. I. 7, 9 describing ‘Pañcajanāḥ’ as the four castes and the ‘Niṣādas’.

#### B. Buddhist Records: 7th—6th cen. B. C.

In the sixth and seventh centuries B. C. Avanti with its capital Ujjeni was reigned over by King Pajjota. According to the commentary on verses 21—23 of the Dhammapada, King Pajjota’s sister



Vāsuladattā married King Udena of Kosambi. The *Mahāvagga of the Vinaya*, viii. 1, 23 ff. refers to the unscrupulous character of Pajjota. As in the Purāṇic passage referred to above, Avanti is closely related to the Assakas (Aśmaka or Aśvaka), as Aṅga to Magadha. It has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that by the time of this Caṇḍa Pajjota, the Aryans had come down the Indus valley, turned west from the Gulf of Kach and colonised and conquered this rich land, leading to a mixture of non-Aryan and Aryan tribes—a mixture that has left an indelible impression on the subsequent history of these tracts. The name Avanti is found as late as the second century A. D., whereas the term Mālava is found from the time of the Mahābhārata to the present day.

C. Mahābhārata : 5th cen. B. C.

The context in Sabhā II, Chap. 35 indicates the temporary submission of the Mālavas to Yudhiṣṭhira. But from the various other references<sup>2</sup> to them, specially in connection with the Kṣudrakas in the van of the army of Duryodhana (Mbh. VI, 87) it is clear that their independence was hardly touched by these diplomatic arrangements. They defended Bhīṣma in Mbh. Vi, 106, and subsequently captured him in Vi, 117—*saṁgrāmeṇa jabur Bhīṣmam*. They are among, the Saṁsaptakas who are slain by Arjuna. Mbh. VII 7, they are mentioned along with the Śoḍaśarāj., v. Rāma Jāmadagnya.

All the above sources bear testimony to an an-

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> Sørensen, *Mahābhārata Index*, Pt. XIII, p. 460.

cient non-Aryan people, civilised and virile, living under their own rulers gradually mixing up with the Aryans from the North and West, and producing the prototypes who as "a strong confederation of free tribes were awaiting the Europeans (under Alexander) with a high courage. These were a tribe, called Mālavas (in Greek Malloi), between the lower Hydraōtes and the Acesines, and the Kṣudrakas (in Greek Oxydrakai) higher up the Hydraōtes, between that river and the Hyphasis."<sup>1</sup> These are the Native States of Avanti, including the Vītihotras, who were contemporary rulers along with Mahānandī in the 5th century B. C. c. 444—403 B. C. They were included in the Nanda Empire of Mahapadma about the time of Alexander's invasion. Perhaps this and their hereditary love for local self-rule accounts for their stubborn resistance.

The race-mixture and culture-fusion in Avanti from the time of the Yādava kingdoms in Avanti (Mat. 44, 66, 70), the stretch of the Haihaya Avantis from the gulf of Cambay to the Ganges-Jumna doab and thence to Benares (Mbh. xiii, 30, 1946, 1950-4), have not yet been properly analysed. The list of contemporaries of Mahānandī mentions the States in the eastern part of North India, Ayodhyā, Kāśī, (the Maithilas of Videha), Bārhadrathas (of Magadha, which probably included Aṅga), and Kaliṅga; the middle States of the Vītihotras, Haihayas and Aśmakas; and those that bounded these along their west side, North Pañcāla, the Kurus (the combined

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *CHI*, p. 375.

Kuru-Pañcālas), Sūrasena and Avanti. In Magadha, the Bārhadrathas were supplanted by the Pradyotas and these afterwards by the Śiśunāgas. Next Mahāpadma Nanda destroyed all these kingdoms and brought all their territories under his sole sway. (Mat. 272, 18—22).<sup>1</sup>

#### D. Archaeological Evidence.

The above confusion regarding the origin, extension and ethnography of the Mālavas is reflected in their coins. There are no coins or any other piece of archaeological evidence that could be definitely ascribed to the Mālavas of the period prior to their incorporation in the Nanda Empire. Rapson refers some of these surviving coins to the *Malloi*. Allan ascribes them to the later Mālavas of eastern Rajputana. Provenance has presented these difficulties. According to Smith "In ancient Indian literature and inscriptions the term Mālava is applied to various communities and territories from the eastern Panjab to Ujjain. Tāranātha (Schiefner, p. 251) even speaks of 'Mālava in Prayāga', whatever they may mean. The Mālavas whose coins are here catalogued dwelt in eastern Rajputana for four or five centuries, and may or may not have been the same people as the better known Mālavas further south. In the vast range of Indian coinages their coins are among the most curious and enigmatical."<sup>2</sup> Allan in his latest book *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Ancient India* (1936)

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.*, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 161. Cf. *Brhatsamhitā*, xiv. 27; Fleet, *IA*, xxii, p. 184; Mbh. *Sabbāparvan*, xxxii. 7.

voices the uncertainty about the ethnic origin of these coins. "The inscriptions Bhapañyana, Majupa, Mapojaya, Mapaya, Magajaśa, Magojaya, Mapaka, Pacha, Gajava, Maraja, Jamaku, etc., are puzzling. They are taken to be names of chiefs. Mr. Vincent Smith suggests they are of foreign origin. They certainly do not look Indian, but it is difficult to think what invaders could have struck them. They are too late for the Śakas and too early for the Hūṇas; in addition, out of over twenty names not one bears any resemblance to any known Śaka or Hūṇa name." Jayaswal suggested *Ma* as a contraction of Mahārāja, but this does not account for the rest of the names. Allan<sup>1</sup> objects to their being taken as names in the absence of any trace of a genitive. He takes them as meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of *Mālavā-nām jayah* which occurs in the first series, a Sanskrit legend for the forms actually found on the coins in Prakrit *Malavaṇa jaya* or *Malavabha jaya* (with absence of long vowels, and lingual for dental *n*).<sup>2</sup>

The difficulty about the geography was sought to be solved by Rapson in imagining two peoples of the same name Mālava. The difficulty is further aggravated by Allan by suggesting that the Mālavas ousted the ancient name of Avanti. "It is possible that the Mālavas of the Panjab gradually retired southward from the second century B. C., before the Greek and Kushān invaders, and eventually

<sup>1</sup> Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. civ-cviii. Cf. Cunningham, *ASR*, xiv, pp. 149-151; Douglas, *JASB*, 1923, *Num. Suppl.* xxxvii, 237; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, i, 218.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *CCIM.*, pp. 170-178, Plates XX-XXI.

settled where we find them in the Christian era" (Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cvii). This conjecture is not necessary in the light of the data from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas given above—regarding the gradual expansion of the Mālavas—Avantis from the Gulf of Cambay to the Ganges-Jumna doab and thence to Benares, Mbh. xiii, 30, 1946, 1950-4. The Mālavas and Avantis should not be distinguished from each other arbitrarily<sup>1</sup>: the first is a tribal and the second a territorial name of the same group of people. The Buddhist records use the term Avanti for practically the same region occupied at the epoch of these records by the Mālavas according to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, *Br.*, 13, 156; *Hv.*, 33, 1845-6.

The puzzle about their non-Indian origin<sup>2</sup> (Smith, *CIMC.*, i. p. 163) is partially due to a lack of discrimination at an earlier stage between the Aryan and non-Aryan elements that fused and evolved the Mālava stock in the Maru (desert) and fertile fields of Rajputana, *Lātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, i. 1, 2. The Vedic literature suggests and the epic and Purāṇic references confirm these traits from the earliest days to the time of the Nanda empire and Alexander's invasion.

Under these circumstances some remnants of Mālava-Avanti coinage are expected to throw light on the pre-Mahāpadma and pre-Alexander age. So far these expectations have been frustrated by the arti-

<sup>1</sup> "Professor Rapson has suggested that the so-called 'Ujjain symbol' of the cross and balls would more accurately be named the 'Mālava symbol,' and there is no doubt that the proposed term would be the more accurate..." Smith, *CIMC.*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 27 (Pl. XX, 3) of Smith, *CIMC.* The legend reads *Rumamisa* or *Rumamāsa*.

ficial approach to this enquiry by numismatists who have ignored all literary data. Even in the latest of such numismatic studies, Allan's *Cat. Ind. Coins* (1936), the punch-marked tribal copper coins of Ujjayinī are treated independently of and entirely separated from the tribal coins of Mālava<sup>1</sup> (Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-263, and pp. civ—cviii). It continues the method adopted by Smith in *CIMC.* in 1906, pp. 170-178, and pp. 152-155. The provenance punch-marks and epigraphy of these coins should help to determine the evolution of Mālava-Avanti and should not be used to obscure this continuity and perpetuate a false perspective, where the standard of measurement is either Alexander's invasion (cf. Rapson's ascription of some of these coins to the Malloi of the Greeks) or the incursion of the Śakas or Hūṇas (cf. Allan's despair—"They are too late for the Śakas and too early for the Hūṇas", p. cvi). The real remedy lies in giving up the so-called 'consensus of opinion' about the late date of the punch-marked coins, c. 323-372 B. C. adumbrated by Hemmy (*JRAS.*, 1937, p. 26) and adopt the well-founded view propounded by Walsh that some of these coins go back to 517 B. C. (*JRAS.*, 1937, p. 26). In that case some of these Ujjayinī punch-marked coins may belong to the Native State of Avanti before and during the Magadhan Empire of Mahāpadma. It would then be instructive to compare the symbols on the punch-marked coins of Ujjayinī, Taxila and Pāṭali-

<sup>1</sup> The coins come not only from Ujjain itself, but from Eran, Besnagar, and other towns of Avanti.

putra to ascertain by a process of elimination the provincial and federal, or local and imperial marks obtaining at the capital of the empire, Pāṭaliputra (Walsh, *JBORS.*, 1919, pp. 1-74, 463-494) and its northern frontier Taxila (Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. xlvii : the Gorho Ghat Bhagalpur "find resembles that of the Bhir mound Taxila"; another Bhagalpur find mentioned by Cunningham, *ASR.*, xv. pp. 31-2—"They bear the usual figures of the sun, bull, chaitya, tree, soldier with shield and dog," and the western frontier Avanti, a sovereign Native State under Mahānandī but reduced to submission by Mahāpadma—"the extensive series of copper coins" (Smith. *CCIM.*, i, p. 145) bearing the sun, chaitya, tree, soldier, two pairs of fish in square tank (Allan, *op. cit.*, cxlii-cxlv). "There is no reason to dispute the allocation of coins to the city of Ujjayinī rather than to the country of Avanti, which, unless these coins are much earlier than we believe, had no longer an independent existence when they were issued." (Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cxlii.) But as Walsh has shown, these coins are much older than Hemmy and Allan think.

The later group of thousands of Mālava coins discovered by Carlleyle at Nāgar in the Jaypur State has been dated by Carlleyle and Cunningham from 250 B. C. to 250 A. C., and by Smith from 150 B. C. to 330 A. C. The Ujjeni symbol of cross with circles or balls found on Kauśāmbī coins of third century B. C. (Allan, p. 148) indicates how Avanti-Mālava was re-asserting its independent status (Mālava coins bearing the same sun, bull, tree and head of soldier—the fish and the circled cross no longer in

use).<sup>1</sup> In the IV and III centuries B. C. Mālava-Avanti formed part of the Empire of Magadha first under Mahāpadma, then under the Mauryas.

## 2. MĀLAVAS, c. 403—327-230 B. C.

Arrian (*Ind.*, ch. x) quotes Megasthenes as saying —“The greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians...”<sup>2</sup> This is Pāṭaliputra in 300 B. C. “The king (of the Palibothri) has in his pay a standing army of 60,000 foot soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 8,000 elephants; whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.” The Indian records unanimously ascribes the pre-eminence in the training of horses to the districts in the extreme north and west, which then belonged to Magadha, and the pre-eminence in the training of elephants to the east, which is precisely Magadha. The use of elephants in war played an important part in the gradual rise of Magadha to the supreme power. Alexander had a foretaste of this power in the Aśvaka country. His army refused to follow him to meet the main forces of Magadha across the Beās.

As Rhys Davids<sup>3</sup> points out—“It would, of course, be a very serious error to regard Chandra-

<sup>1</sup> “It is very curious to notice how the devices used on the punch-marked coins are combined on the dies of the Ujjain coins, the animals and symbols characteristic of the earlier series being repeated on the later.” Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>2</sup> Diod xvii. 93 ; Curtius, ix. 2 ; Plutarch, *Alex.*, 62.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 267.



gupta as the founder of this supremacy of Magadha. ...The ancient kingdom of Avanti, with its capital Ujjeni, had probably, before his time, been already incorporated into the Empire." The Purāṇas expressly credit Mahāpadma Nanda with the foundation of this Empire, *Mt.*, 272, 18-22.

That Mālava continued to remain under the suzerainty of Magadha, from the time of Mahāpadma Nanda to that of the Mauryas is further indicated by the fact that Kauṭilya does not mention them in his *Arthśāstra* among the autonomous states. It is doubtful whether any of the known Mālava-Avanti punch-marked coins can be dated during this period of Mālavan eclipse.

### 3. MĀLAVAS, c. 230 B. C.—330 A. C.

The Mālavas emerge as an independent Tribal State about 250 B. C. Thousands of their coins discovered by Carlleyle at Nāgar in the Jaypur State (Smith, *CIMC.*, pp. 161-164, Plates XX-XXI) bear the legend *Malavaṇaṃ jaya*. But the absence of gold and silver coins suggests a much attenuated resurgence. But its territorial limitation was more than made up by an accession of national prestige. Ujjayinī became the centre of commercial and cultural hegemony in Western India, if not for the whole of Northern India. The Śuṅgas, the Andhras and the Śakas turn it into a battling ground in the II-I cen. B. C. and I-IV cen. A. C. Periplus and Ptolemy know its importance in the I, and II-III centuries A. C. as well as Yuan Chwang (*Mo-lo-po*) in the VII

century A. C. They submitted to the Sakas in the I century B. C., to the Western Kṣatrapas<sup>1</sup> from II to IV century A. C. and again to Samudragupta in the IV century A. C. But the vitality of this typical Native State of India asserted itself again and again in the Mālava or Vikrama Samvat of 57 B. C., the *Malavaṇaṁ jaya* of the coins and\*\*\* *Mālavānāṁ Gaṇa-sthityā* of the inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

These Indian Native States have been and will continue to be the test of all attempts at framing or imposing a Federal or Imperial Constitution for the whole of India. "The Arthaśāstra (Chaps. 160-1) has even a policy of compassing their overthrow by internal dissension. Nevertheless, a number of them survived through and after the Maurya empire, and one of them, that of the Mālavas, handed down to later India its first persistent era, the so-called Vikrama era, which is still the common era of northern India."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Allan, *Cat. Ind. Coins* (1936), p. cvi.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *CII. Gupta Inscr.*, Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Rapson, *CHI.*, p. 491.

## THE SALTPETRE INDUSTRY OF INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIHAR

By JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

Saltpetre is a kind of artificial salt prepared from nitrates, found from time to time in a natural state in many parts of the world, chiefly South America, Persia, Spain, Hungary and southern parts of Europe, China and India. It has been used extensively for different objects—as an ingredient for gunpowder, in animal dyes, like lac and cochineal, for medicinal and antiseptic purposes like preservation of fish and meat and embellishing food preparations, for manure, especially of wheat and tobacco, and in glass-making, bleaching, washing, and cooling purposes. (Milburn, II, 238 ; Watt, *Dictionary*, 431-47.)

In the writings of the European travellers, merchants, agents etc., of the 17th century, we do not, however, get any reference to all these specific uses made of saltpetre, except as an ingredient for gunpowder, as a ballast for ships and for cooling purposes. 'The origin of the trade', in saltpetre as an ingredient for gunpowder, 'must', as Moreland remarks, 'be sought in the military history of Europe.' A direct reference to the use of saltpetre in European wars is contained in the letter of the English E. I. C. to the Surat factors, dated September 12, 1653, urging the provision of 200 tons of wellrefined saltpetre, which

was demanded by their State and was "of great expense in those times of warr between them and the State of Holland....."<sup>1</sup> But before it ranked as a primary object of trade in the middle of the 17th century, it was used as 'kintledge' or ballast in ships by the English and the Dutch<sup>2</sup>, though this was obviously a secondary and incidental use. It appears from the English factory correspondence that besides saltpetre, sugar was also used as ballast in place of stones, possibly as a cloak for saltpetre. The letter of the Surat factors to the Company in December 1639 noted : "As no sugar could be got at Ahmadābād they send 104 bales of saltpetre. One or other of these commodities must be provided for each ship for use as ballast, but they will buy as little saltpetre as possible and 'thereby peradventure increase its value in England.'"<sup>3</sup> If bulk had to be carried, it was clearly more profitable to have aboard cheap bulky goods, likely to have a market in Europe, than materials of no value.

The practice of the English of using saltpetre as ballast in place of stones was borrowed from Dutch precedents. (The substitution of saltpetre

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1651-5, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Moreland, pp. 118, 120 ; Master, I, pp. 116-7. On January 17, 1643, the Swally factors wrote to the Company, that the sea commanders were "not only infinitely desirous of such kintelage but the fraught thereof is as good as gained unto you whilst in place thereof, and for want of such ponderous goods for stifning, they are necessarily enforced to lay (in?) and carry hence so much ballast" (F.E.F. 1642-5, p. 94).

<sup>3</sup> F.E.F. 1637-41, p. 198. See also Moreland, *op. cit.*, 215. One bale of saltpetre was equivalent to about 295 lbs. Moreland, *op. cit.*, 340.

for *kankar* ballast must have been of great help to Holland, then at war with the powers controlling saltpetre sources in Spain and Hungary.) In 1625 Captain Weddell aboard the *Royal James* suggested to President Kerridge at Surat that the Dutch, instead of ballasting with stones, used to carry saltpetre which could be had very cheap. So the latter promised to have a supply of saltpetre ready for the next shipping and also in future. In 1628 the Surat factors sent enough first class saltpetre as ballast and held out hopes to the Company of sending "a like quantity on every future ship and more" if it could be procured.<sup>1</sup>

We get some idea of the amount used as ballast. President Rastell and the Council at Surat suggested to the Commanders at Swally on November 23, 1630: "For saltpetre, after two or three hundred bales have been stowed, notice should be given to Surat what further quantity is necessary for ballast." On December 31, 1630, the Surat authorities informed the Company that the *Discovery* and the *Reformation* carried to England 597 bales of saltpetre in lieu of ballast; and on June 10, 1631, they wrote to the Agent and Factors in Persia that the *William* and the *Blessings* carried to England 700 to 800 bales of saltpetre as ballast. On March 29, 1644, the Company ordered the Surat factors to include 20 or 25 tons of wellrefined saltpetre for 'kintlage' or ballast. It seems, however, that there was a limit to the amount to be used as ballast. On December 6, 1630, the Surat authorities

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1624-29, pp. 83, 208.

wrote to Swally Marine that as the ships had taken in all the saltpetre necessary for ballast no more would be sent down ; while, on December 31, they informed the Company that in each ship they would send a quantity of doubly refined saltpetre as ballast and would put as much as possible into casks, though the whole amount could not be packed in that way.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting and curious light on the use of saltpetre as ballast is thrown by the letter of the Swally Marine factors to the Company dated December 29, 1640. They wrote that though according to the Company's orders they had "abstained from buying saltpetre, the ships' masters would be glad to carry 'such ponderous goods to stiffen your ships.'"<sup>2</sup> This saltpetre might be used either to supply enemy countries or private indent.

Apart from the external use of saltpetre there was also an internal consumption of it in India. In the 16th and 17th centuries it was used here as a refrigerating unit, for cooling drinking water or any other liquid and as an ingredient for gunpowder and for the preparation of explosives and fireworks. We find in the *Ain-i-Akbari*: "Saltpetre which in gunpowder produces the explosive heat, is used by His Majesty as a means of cooling water and is thus a source of joy for great and small."<sup>3</sup> This seems to be corroborated by the statement of Peter Mundy (1632) that water and other drinks were cooled in the

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1630-33, pp. 101, 127, 159 ; 1642-45, p. 175 ; 1630-33, pp. 110, 125. Swally was the port of Surat, situated at the mouth of the Tapti.

<sup>2</sup> F.E.F. 1637-41, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> Blochman, I, p. 55.

summer with coarse saltpetre, by continually stirring the vessel of fresh water or other liquids in a kettle containing a mixture of water and saltpetre.<sup>1</sup> But it appears from Bernier that the poor people could not afford to enjoy the luxury of using saltpetre for cooling water. He writes that cooling was done (apparently by the common people) by placing a wet cloth on a jar, while the higher sorts of people make use of saltpetre, whether in town or with the army. "They pour the water or any other liquid they may wish to cool, into a tin (zinc?) flagon, round and longnecked..... The flagon is then stirred for... seven or eight minutes, in water into which three or four handfuls of saltpetre have been thrown. The liquid thus becomes very cold, and is by no means unwholesome..... though at first it sometimes affects the bowels." Thus, in one tent in the camp of Aurangzeb were kept the Ganges water and the saltpetre with which it was cooled.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the English factors at Agra also employed saltpetre for cooling their water in the 17th century. With coarse saltpetre, the charge in one year was Rs. 49-50 pice, and with refined saltpetre it was Rs. 107-63 pice, in another year. These charges were included in the house expenses of the factors, but they were regarded by President Methwold and Council at Surat (in 1635 A.D.) as 'preposterous,' 'excessive' and 'unwarrantable extravagancies.'<sup>3</sup> Due to the heavy cost in the use of saltpetre for cooling

<sup>1</sup> Mundy, II, pp. 76-77.

<sup>2</sup> Bernier, pp. 356-57, 364.

<sup>3</sup> F.E.F. 1634-6, p. 113.

drinking water, it was, as has been suggested above, beyond the indulgence of the poor people.

According to geologists, the necessary conditions for the formation of saltpetre in a soil are "(i) supplies of nitrogenous organic matter, (ii) climatic conditions favourable to the growth and action of nitrobacteria, (iii) the presence of potash, and (iv) meteorological conditions suitable for the efflorescence of the potassium nitrate at the surface." To a large extent the existence of natural facilities would indicate the principal centres of saltpetre supply and manufacture. These facilities are found in a marked degree in different districts of the Indo-Gangetic tracts especially the Bihar section, Patna, Gaya, Tirhut, Saran and Champaran.<sup>1</sup> But as contributing to national defence, saltpetre has always claimed attention of different governments, and so political exigencies also determined the working of other centres less favoured with natural resources. Thus it was essential that the different states of India should have their local sources of supply, which were sought to be tapped by the European companies for their own States.

Centres of saltpetre manufacture were widely distributed throughout India, but the attention of both Dutch and the English were at first directed to Peninsular India and not to the Gangetic plains.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Watt, C. P., p. 972. Other centres mentioned by Watt are U. P. (Cawnpore, Ghazipur, Allahabad, Benares), the Punjab, Kashmir, Central India (Bhind and Jwargarh), Bombay, Madras (Coimbatore, Salem, Kistna, Vellore, Trichinopoly, Madura) and lastly Burma (Tenassarim).

<sup>2</sup> Moreland, pp. 119-20, 320; F.E.F. 1622-23, p. 229.



In Peninsular India, saltpetre was found both in the East and the West coastal regions with their corresponding hinterlands. Thus Golkonda besides being famous for its gold and diamond mines, steel, carpet and silk industries, tobacco, palm and elephants was also noted for its supply of saltpetre, which was regarded as good at Surat. Mir Muhammad Said or Mir Jumla, the Minister of Golkonda told Walter Littleton and Venkata Brahman at Fort St. George (January 17, 1651) that "he could make and procure a great quantity" of saltpetre every year. The English factors at Fort St. George wrote to the Company (October 9, 1647) that they could supply 100 tons annually. In the Coromondal Coast, the principal ports of export of saltpetre were Masulipatam, Armagon and Pulicat. The existence of Armagon and Pulicat shows that the corresponding hinterland, the Carnatic, was an important source of supply of saltpetre. There are many references to Pulicat gunpowder, which was used by the Dutch for their current needs. But the quality was not good and the Dutch relied on Holland powder for store, as the other would not keep "for being ill-corned, it grew all into clodds."<sup>1</sup>

In the West, Bijāpur had a plentiful supply of unrefined saltpetre, chiefly at Rawbag (Rāybāg) and round its neighbourhood and in the Konkān

<sup>1</sup> Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I & II, pp. 188-189; F.E.F. 1651-4, pp. 12, 22n, xxxv; 1646-50, p. 167; 1622-3, pp. 229, 128, 336; 1637-41, pp. 30, 40, 72, 52. Venkata was a Brahman broker or merchant-agent of the English. Armagon is just north of Pulicat and Pulicat is north of Madras.

Coast, and the corresponding port was Rājāpur. In 1651-2 the English factors met with several difficulties in Bijāpur, viz., (i) saltpetre was a monopoly of the king of Bijāpur, who farmed it out to the highest bidder, (ii) the E. I. C. had originally intended to obtain saltpetre there in exchange for broadcloth "at 70 or 80 per cent on the latter." But it was soon found to be impracticable; for though broadcloth could be sold there at a great profit, the annual demand of cloth in the whole of Bijāpur did not exceed 50 pieces. Hence timely notice from England was necessary before a sufficient consignment of saltpetre could be procured. (iii) Further, in January 1652, the expected quantity of raw saltpetre at Rāybāg could not be secured, partly, owing to an 'accident of fire' but chiefly because the merchants had not anticipated the sudden demand of the English. Long notice was necessary also further south, in the Malabar Coast and the Deccan where plenty of saltpetre was available. In 1654 the Surat factors arranged to buy a quantity in the Deccan, especially as their relation with 'the people of Deccan' was then good. It would thus appear that Surat itself was not very important as a source of supply of saltpetre. This is corroborated by the following facts also. In one early reference to the saltpetre trade of the English, Thomas Kerridge, President of the English factory at Surat, wrote to the Company (April 10, 1621) that no saltpetre was available near about Surat.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1618-21, p. 251n; 1642-45, p. 225; 1646-50, pp. 34, 78, 298-299, 317; 1651-54, pp. 30, 36, 82-3, 299-300: Raybag is southwest of Bijapur; Rajapur is southwest of Kolhapur.

The Dutch sent in July 1629 one of their factors named Claes Helmont from Surat to Burhanpur to buy saltpetre.<sup>1</sup>

In Gujrāt the region round Ahmadābād, and the neighbouring state of Mālpur, and in the Indo-Gangetic plains, Sind, the regions round Agra, Bengal and Bihar, were all associated with the production of saltpetre throughout the 17th century in a varying degree of importance. The Gujrāt region, though geographically separate, had a very intimate commercial contact with Agra and in commercial correspondence of the period, Agra and Ahmadābād are generally referred to together. The English Company did not begin to tap the Agra and Ahmadābād regions for supply of saltpetre before July 1625, and in doing so they followed the previous example of the Dutch. At a consultation held at Surat on July 10, 1625, it was laid down that as the Dutch made annual investments in saltpetre, both in Agra and Ahmadābād, 3000 mds. should be bought at Ahmadābād for despatch to England by the next shipping.<sup>2</sup>

Mālpur is a small state in Mahīkantha, situated nearly 50 miles northeast of Ahmadābād. As the English factors felt much difficulty in procuring saltpetre in Ahmadābād in 1643, they tried to tap Mālpur for the first time in 1644, as a possible source of better and cheaper unrefined saltpetre. Ignorance of actual

<sup>1</sup> *Hague Transcripts* no. ccxcviii, quoted in Mundy, II, 58n. Helmont wrote from there in March 1630 about his difficulties in sending the consignment (*ibid.*). In March 1631 he was at Roude (Arāvad). F.E.F. 1630-33, p. 138. Burhanpur is on the Tapti.

<sup>2</sup> F.E.F. 1624-29, p. 90.

conditions and the cost of refining, however, made them realise in January, 1645, that Mālpur saltpetre was neither as good nor as cheap as expected. Yet they intended to persevere and to send there for future management an able and experienced person. Indents on Mālpur were continued to be made by the Swally Marine and the Ahmadābād factors. The latter even heard a rumour that the Agra factors had come to know of the importance and fame of Mālpur and sent a man to buy saltpetre there. So they complained to the authorities at Surat that if the rumour was true, this internal competition might prejudice the interests of the Company.<sup>1</sup>

In March, 1647, the Ahmadābād factors learnt that 'their people' had made an agreement for 1500 'great maunds' (= ? double or Shahjahani maunds of 74 lbs. each. Moreland, 336, 340n) of saltpetre at Mālpur and so instructed them to double the quantity. But though the original amount was expected to be 'well advanced,' recent official restrictions made any additional supply difficult. So the local agents of the English tried privately to induce the 'Bohrās,' the peasant cultivators of Gujrat who prepared saltpetre, to allow them to share with the Dutch who had been tapping Mālpur for some time past. After a few months, during which the practice of the English factors of buying raw saltpetre at Mālpur seemed to be suspended—possibly owing to those restrictions—

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1642-45, pp. 164n, 205, 232-33; 1646-50, pp. 78-9, 99, 108-9. The Swally Marine factors wrote to the company that they would not buy any quantity until the expected quantity from Tatta was received and examined.

the Swally factors resumed it in January 1648 and decided in January 1649 to continue it, as saltpetre from other sources proved either dear or bad. Thus in January 1648 they took the permission of the Governor of Ahamadābād to purchase 6,000 maunds of Mālpur, as saltpetre refined at Raybag and Swally proved very costly; in January 1649 they doubted whether the desired quantity of saltpetre would be procured from Ahmadābad, and the available supply at Agra was neither good nor cheap.<sup>1</sup>

In the 17th century Agra was one of the principal centres of supply of saltpetre and manufacture of gunpowder. Pelsaert, the Dutch factor at Agra from 1620-26, wrote that saltpetre was found in many places near Agra at distances of 10 to 40 *kos* and the amount available every year in Agra alone was from 5000 to 6000 maunds, besides the produce of other neighbouring places.<sup>2</sup> But according to Peter Mundy (1632-33), the only place near Agra where saltpetre was made and sold was Shawgur (Shergarh). He went there to collect the Company's saltpetre lying there and "weighed, filled, skinned and howsed about 400 Fardles of saltpetre" or about 2000 maunds,<sup>3</sup> (8th January, 1632). This however seems to be an underestimate, for in different years, the English

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1646-50, pp. 112, 127, 155, 186-7, 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Jabangir's India*, p. 46; Pelsaert writes that then the industry was of little importance and known to everybody (*ibid.*); F.E.F. 1624-9, p. 326; 1637-41, p. 119. In 1629 Shahjahan ordered 10,000 mds. of gunpowder to be made in Agra. F.E.F. 1624-9, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> Mundy describes Shawgarh (Shergarh) as 8 course from Koil; according to Carnac Temple it is 12 miles from Koil, 22 miles north of Muttra on the right bank of the Jamuna;

Company's factors in various parts of India tried to get their supplies from Agra and it would have been manifestly impossible if there was only one place of manufacture, as Mundy wrote. Thus in April 1629, the Surat factors, in 1646 Edward Knipe at Biana, in 1647 and 1651 the Swally Marine factors, and in 1650-51 the two Delhi factors, Andrews and Rawdon, expected, desired or drew large supplies from Agra;<sup>1</sup> and if in some cases the quantity was insufficient, the reason stated was either government restrictions (1647),<sup>2</sup> or the villainy of the producers and late rains (1651).<sup>3</sup> Conditions improved in 1652 to justify the hope of the Agra factors that the desired quantity of saltpetre would be secured. Reference to 'some progress' being made in the purchase of saltpetre at Agra is made in a letter of the Surat authorities dated May 12, 1654.<sup>4</sup> Agra continued to be an important centre of saltpetre supply in the sixties of the 17th century. Tavernier mentions that saltpetre came in abundance from Agra besides Patna.<sup>5</sup>

Carnac Temple has found no other mention of it as a depot of saltpetre. Mundy, II, xxv, xxvi, 76, 76n. "Fardle or Fardel, a bundle, was the English term for the churl, the Anglo-Oriental unit by which indigo was bartered. (*Hedges*, III, 171n). Foster gives the weight of the greater churl as a little over five maunds and of the smaller about four" F.E.F. 1618-21, 6on. See Moreland, 340-1.

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1624-9, p. 326; 1646-50, pp. 57, 62, 114, 336; 1651-54, pp. 26, 36.

<sup>2</sup> The amount could not exceed 1200 mds. (1647); F.E.F. 1646-50, pp. 121-22.

<sup>3</sup> F.E.F. 1651-54, p. 52. The Agra factors referred to shortage in supplies of saltpetre at Agra, but they hoped to get 1000 bales before the rains. F.E.F. 1624-29, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> F.E.F. 1651-4, pp. 112, 279.

<sup>5</sup> Tavernier, II, p. 10.

As for Sind,<sup>1</sup> during the 17th century three places were connected with the production of saltpetre there, Tutta (Tattah), Naserpore or Nasarpur and Kandiāro,<sup>2</sup> the first one being the market of saltpetre prepared in the other two. Of course saltpetre made at Tattah was referred to in 1635 as being very good.<sup>3</sup> But in September 1647 John Spiller, the chief of English factors at Tatta, definitely wrote to Surat that no saltpetre was made "in this city" and that what was formerly bought there "was made in outtowns, but most in those adjacent about Naserpore, whence it was brought hither."<sup>4</sup> He deputed one factor named Garry to deal with the saltpetre manufacturers in the interior; but the latter apprehended failure and wanted to send them to Tatta. As this would cause delay and put the merchants under the exactions of local governors, Spiller stuck to his earlier order that the saltpetre should be received at Tatta. In April 1647 the English factors at Kandiāro in Sind did not offer any advance to the saltpetre-maker, as he was unwilling to take any, "by reason another saltpetreman informed the governor that he made for us, of whom he should doe well to demand laggah; so hereupon (he) was imprisoned, and after paying a

<sup>1</sup> Spelt differently in factory correspondence as 'Sinda', 'Scinda.'

<sup>2</sup> Both Nasarpur and Kandiāro were important centres of cloth manufacture.

<sup>3</sup> F.E.F. 1634-36, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> F.E.F. 1646-50, p. 152. In view of this definite statement it cannot possibly be held that production declined at Tatta during these 12 years. By September 1647, the English had a "residence" at Tatta.



little money got cleare."<sup>1</sup>

Attempts were sometimes made to procure saltpetre from Sind. In 1639 the Surat factors had had an offer of cheap and good saltpetre from Sind.<sup>2</sup> In 1644 a quantity was ordered for England from Sind by the Swally Marine factors. By November, a little saltpetre was procured and despatched from Tatta on the *Crispiana*, which reached Swally Marine by January 1645. In 1647, 9 *bales* of saltpetre, all from Sind, were sent to England on the *Dolphin*. The Sind factors were instructed to purchase saltpetre in the *Remembrance* left by Merry with President Blackman dated January 17, 1652. But Sind went into the background as Bihar acquired prominence, and, as about this time Patna was being regarded as a principal source of supply of saltpetre, John Spiller wrote to the Sind factors (April 9, 1652) that the Surat authorities would expect from them nothing but well refined saltpetre—well refined, as plenty of cheap and good saltpetre was then procurable in Bihar.<sup>3</sup>

The Bihar section of the Indo-Gangetic region, chiefly Patna and Saran, was in the past an important centre for the production of saltpetre. Curiously enough, Bihar came to acquire prominence only in the second half of the 17th century. No mention of saltpetre was made by Hughes and Parker, among the

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1646-50, p. 119. It appears from this that the saltpetre manufacturers had to take the permission of the Governor to manufacture for the English or for any other customer.

<sup>2</sup> F.E.F. 1637-41, 94.

<sup>3</sup> F.E.F. 1642-45, pp. 136, 203, 234; 1646-50, p. 78; 1651-54, pp. 106, 119.



products of Patna, during their First Commercial Mission to Patna in 1620-21. Peter Mundy, who visited Patna in September-November 1632, referred to saltpetre produced in its neighbourhood among the commodities available there, but it was not of a very good quality, and better and cheaper saltpetre could be procured elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion becomes irresistible that whatever might have been the importance of Bihar under Afghan rule, the Mughal government drew its supplies from non-Bihar sources, especially from Agra and Ahmadābād and neighbouring regions, for its own military purposes and that it had not tapped Bihar for saltpetre—probably on account of distance and difficulties of transport. Hence Bihar saltpetre came to be used, if at all, for local purposes only (like manure) and could not acquire the high standard of being used as an ingredient for gunpowder. Thus the dormant potentialities of Bihar as a source of supply of first class saltpetre were worked up only as a result of foreign reconnaissance, access and demand. Then the importance of other centres diminished and Patna was generally acknowledged to be the best place for procuring saltpetre. Thus, as already mentioned, John Spiller informed the factors of Sind (April 1652) that the Surat factors expected from Sind only well refined saltpetre as saltpetre of good quality was available in Bihar at comparatively cheap prices. Bernier wrote: "Bengal is the principal emporium for saltpetre. A prodigious quantity is imported from Patna.

<sup>1</sup> Mundy, II, pp. 151, 156.

It is carried down the Ganges with great facility and the Dutch and the English send large cargoes to many parts of the Indies and to Europe." Manucci, too, remarked about Patna that it had "the materials for a great quantity of saltpetre, which is carried by the Europeans to Europe" and again that "European and other (Asiatic) traders carry away great quantities of saltpetre."<sup>1</sup> Hence it is not surprising that the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese had factories at Patna. The English factory at Patna is of somewhat later date. Of the Dutch, Tavernier wrote on reaching Patna, 21st December 1665: "The Dutch Company has an establishment there on account of the trade in saltpetre which is refined at a large village called Chapra...and the saltpetre refined there is sent by river at Hugli." A few years later Bowrey (1669-79) observed: "The Dutch have a factory here (at Patna) alsoe for procuring of saltpeeter, but live with little freedome or Enjoyment of any worldly pleasures here, dareinge not to presume to enter any of the Gates of the city without leave from some of the great Officers."<sup>2</sup> Alexander Hamilton (1688-1723) also noted that at Patna the English and the Dutch had factories for saltpetre.<sup>3</sup> The factories were utilised for procuring saltpetre till late in the 18th century.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1646-50, pp. 332-33; Hedges, III, p. 184; Wilson, I, p. 25; F.E.F. 1651-54, p. 106; Bernier, p. 440; Storia, II, pp. 418, 426.

<sup>2</sup> Bernier, 44on; Tavernier, I, 100; II, 10. Bowrey, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Foster's edn., II, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Datta, B. S., pp. 368-86; I.H.Q., xi (1935), pp. 433-37.

After the failure of the First English Commercial Mission to Patna (1620-21) under Messrs. Hughes and Parker, and of the Second Mission under Peter Mundy (1632), there is no evidence of immediate opening up of fresh contact with Patna. But with the restoration of political order under Cromwell after the disorders of the Civil War, an attempt was made to 'extend and improve' the E. I. C.'s trade in Orissa and Bengal, by profitable investments, in some articles, especially saltpetre, silk and sugar.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Company established a factory at Hugli, and a trading agency at Patna in 1651. Already by the end of August 1650, one Durson had reached Balasore on board the *Loyalty* and intended, after lading saltpetre to sail direct to England in January 1651.<sup>2</sup> The letter of Captain Brookhaven of the *Lyoness* (dated Balasore, 14th December, 1650) to Messrs. James Bridgman Chief, Edward Stephens Second, William Blake and Francis Taylor, Assistants in the factories of Balasore and Hugli commended the example of the Dutch for imitation.<sup>3</sup> It contained instructions that an endeavour should be made to procure a supply from Patna. It suggested that one person (Willem Volger, the Dutchman. F. E. F. 1646-50, 332n) likely to give the required information was to be given "an opportunity

<sup>1</sup> Mundy, II, pp. 360-73; F.E.F. 1618-21; I.A., 1914; I.H.R.C., XIII, p. 167; F.E.F. 1646-50, pp. 322-23; Hedges, III, p. 184; Wilson, I, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Hedges, III, p. 194; I.H.R.C., *op. cit.*; F.E.F. 1651-4, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*; Hedges, III, pp. 184-85. We may compare what Pelsaert wrote 'The English like monkeys, are eager to imitate whatever they see done by others' (p. 46). Dutch model served as the source of inspiration for J. Child's declaration of 1688.

of making some profit thereby," as this encouragement to him would react favourably on the Company's interests. The financial aspect of the venture was also considered in the letter. It noted that "the goods remaining in the factories should be speedily sold, to get funds for investment"<sup>1</sup> and that "at least half their stock should be invested in this commodity ...should the factors run into debt, it should be only for saltpetre, but it would be well to avoid this, at least without sanction from Fort St. George,"<sup>2</sup> the rate of interest being so high.

A factory was established at Patna about 1659. Job Charnock was chief of this factory from 1664-80. His vigorous superintendence largely accounted for the progress of the saltpetre trade of the English. Thus we find that in the last quarter of the 17th century the Court of Directors continuously demanded saltpetre from Patna, "where it could be had so good and cheap that the control for it was discontinued on the West Coast in 1688 and at Masulipatam in 1670." In 1674, the agent at Hugli received orders "to keep the saltpetre men constantly employed, so as to have a stock always ready for shipment."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1646-50, pp. 332-33. Hedges, *op. cit.*; Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. At a consultation at Masulipatam held on February 19, 1651, it was decided to instruct the factors in the Bay "to invest their capital, half in saltpetre and the remaining half (in equal proportions) in silk, sugar and cloth" (F.E.F. 1651-4, p. 45). Another suggestion of Captain Brookhaven's letter that the saltpetre procured from Patna was to be refined at Hugli has been discussed in the section on 'Refining.'

<sup>3</sup> Hedges, III, pp. 193-5. Ibid., II, p. 45. Bruce, II, pp. 207, 259, 232 in Wilson, I, p. 46.

As the trade of the English in saltpetre grew, the original difficulty or inconvenience of staying at Patna, arising from the adverse influence of the local administration and its officials, was met by staying at Singhee (Singhiya),<sup>1</sup> where was built "one of the first factories occupied by Europeans in Tirhit,"<sup>2</sup> with Mr. Blake as its Chief. It was close to the saltpetre ground and removed from the interference of the Bihar Nawab and his subordinates. Hence it was here that the Chief of the English establishment in Bihar usually lived<sup>3</sup> and the account books were also kept.<sup>4</sup> Streynsham Master in his journey up the Ganges on the 22nd September, 1676, met 17 saltpetre carrying boats coming from Singhiya and Patna.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marshall's *Accompt of Pattana* in Master, II, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Stat. Acct of Bengal*, xiii, 73, in Hedges, II, 241n. From a letter of the Council at the Bay of Bengal dated 12th December, 1669, it appears that it was levelled by the Rains (Bowrey, 224).

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, I, 53, n2.

<sup>4</sup> Master, II, pp. 272-6. This place Singhee (Singhiya) has been identified with modern Singhiya near Lalganj in Hajipur subdivision, on the left bank of the Gandak, about 15 miles north of Patna. Hedges, II, p. 241; Rennell, *Bengal Atlas*; Master, II, p. 89n; Wilson, I, p. 53n. Hamilton, II, p. 565; Thornton, p. 905. John Marshall says: "It lyes North of Pattana about ten or twelve miles, Extra-Gangem, and is scittuated in a pleasant but not whole (wholesome) place by reason of its being most saltpeteer ground, but is convenient by reason thereof, for saltpeteermen live not far from it." (*Accompt of Pattana*, in Master, II, p. 89; also quoted in Bowrey, p. 224n). It was not originally a Dutch Settlement for saltpetre as is mentioned in the *Stat. Acct. of Bengal* (xiii, 73) but passed on to them from the English when the outfactories were withdrawn about 1690. On 29th October, 1791, it was sold by the Dutch by auction. (Hedges, II, 241n). Singhiya is often referred to in the correspondence of Richard Edwardes *Bengal, Past and Present* Vol. XVIII-XIX, 1919 and Vol. XX-XXI, 1920.

<sup>5</sup> Master, I, p. 328; Wilson, I, p. 54; Hedges, II, p. 234;

Another difficulty which Job Charnock had to face arose from the underhand dealings of the Dutch, and he had to prevent the saltpetre manufacturers employed by the English from selling to the Dutch.<sup>1</sup>

A fourth place in Bihar connected with saltpetre was Nanagur (Nanagarh or Naungar), east of Patna. John Marshall writes : "The Hon'ble Company have a factory at Nanagur which lyes to the east of Pattana (extra-Gangem) about 4 or 5 miles. There remaynes generally a banian (*baniya*) or sometimes only Peons to receive the Peter (saltpetre) from the Petermen, which lyes thereabouts to avoid carrying it to Singee, which would be chargeable ; and when what there is received in, it's weighed and put aboard the Peter-boates there."<sup>2</sup>

Another place of saltpetre production was "about 15 or 16 miles to the westward of Singee," where was "brought all the saltpetre neare that place and put aboard the boats there...."<sup>3</sup>

If Patna was the principal centre of supply of

<sup>1</sup> Master, I, p. 55, II, pp. 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> Carnac Temple (Master, II, 89) could not identify it. Marshall in his *Notes and observations of East India* writes : "... from thence (Hajipur) South Easterly about 4 course (*kos*) is Nanagur where the Company have a house of their owne which stands pleasantly by a River side which comes out of the River Ganges, and when Ganges is high, but at other times is dry ; this Nanagur is a very pleasant place being scituated among Topes (groves or orchard—Hobson Jobson, p. 712) of trees and the way from thence to Hogipore (Hajipur) is very pleasant ; Nanagur is also esteemed a very healthful place being scituated upon a hard clay ground. From Nanagur to Jonabad (? Shah-hahanabad) is 9 course, viz., 4 to Hogipore, and thence to Jonabad 5 course more." Quoted in Master, Vol. II, p. 89, n3.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Accompt of Pattana' by Marshall in *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90 ; Bowrey, 224, n1. The name of the place is not given in any account, and its identification is not, therefore, possible.

saltpetre from neighbouring parts, Hugli, Balasore and Pipli were the chief ports for its export. The whole amount of saltpetre collected at Patna was sent to Hugli in "great flattbottomed vessels of an Exceedinge strength," called Patellas, each bringing down 4, 5, 6,000 Bengal maunds or about 200 tons.<sup>1</sup> A letter from Hugli to Patna, dated 25th January, 1679, stated: "Wee exceedingly want the Peter you have ready.....we would have the Warehouse Keeper see the weighing of all Peter."<sup>2</sup> Orders for providing 600 tons of saltpetre in 1676 and 1677 were given by the Company in their letter to Hugli dated December 24, 1675.<sup>3</sup> The importance of Hugli as an entrepot or trade mart has been noted by Alexander Hamilton (1688-1723), who writes: "... this town of Hugli drives a great Trade, because all foreign Goods are brought hither for Exportation. And the Mogul's Furza or Custom House is at this Place. It affords rich Cargoes for fifty or sixty ships yearly besides what is carried to neighbouring countries in small vessels ; and there are vessels that bring saltpetre from Patana."<sup>4</sup> From Pipli the Dutch used to export in the middle of the 17th century about 2000 tons of refined saltpetre.<sup>5</sup> In March 1683, Hedges attempted to build a saltpetre godown at the Bankshall, 7 miles

<sup>1</sup> Bowrey, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Factory Records, Hugli, no. 5, quoted in Bowrey, p. 225n.

<sup>3</sup> Master, I, 311, 315, 316.

<sup>4</sup> Foster's edition (1930), Vol. 2, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> F.E.F. 1651-4, p. 95. The Dutch used to purchase the greater part of their saltpetre thus exported from different places along the Ganges up to Patna and then bring it down in boats (ibid.).



from Balasore, and selected the most convenient plot at the Sandy Point near it.<sup>1</sup>

Some details about the method of manufacturing saltpetre round Agra, in the first half of the 17th century, may be gathered from the accounts of the Dutch factor Pelsaert and the English factor Peter Mundy. Saltpetre was usually found in villages, which had formerly been inhabited and then abandoned for some years. It was prepared from three varieties of earth, black, yellow and white; but the black earth, being free from salt or brackishness, used to yield the finest saltpetre.<sup>2</sup> The method noted by Peter Mundy, is somewhat brief and lacking in important details, compared to that described by Pelsaert. Speaking of Shawgur, Mundy writes: "From about 20 course off they bring a kinde of earth on carts, which is spread abroad in places made of purpose, powringe water thereto, which in a few days will cake like Ice on the Topp. This they take away now and then, and after refine it by boylinge it in water, all the durt and trash goeing to the bottome. This is the best saltpetre that is transported out of India to Christendome."<sup>3</sup> Pelsaert gives further details: "Two shallow reservoirs like salt pans are made on the ground one much larger than the other. The larger is filled with the saltearth and flodded with water

<sup>1</sup> Hedges, I, 65, 67, 70, 71, 75. The word 'Bankshall' means 'a warehouse' or 'the office of a Harbour Master or other Port authority.' Hobson Jobson, 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahangir's India*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Mundy, II, pp. 76-77. Milburn's description of saltpetre manufacture (1813) (II, 238) tallies substantially with that of Peter Mundy. This shows that practically the same method of manufacture prevailed up to early 19th century.



from a channel in the ground ; the earth is then thoroughly trodden out by numbers of labourers till it is pulverised and forms a thin paste ; then it is allowed to stand for two days, so that the water may absorb all the substance. The water is then run off by a large outlet into the other reservoir, where a deposit settles, which is crude saltpetre. This is evaporated in iron pans once or twice according to the degree of whiteness and purity desired being skimmed continuously until scarcely any impurities rise. It is then placed in large earthen jars, holding 25 to 30 lbs. ; a crust forms in the dew during the night, and if any impurities are still left, they sink to the bottom ; the pots are then broken, and the saltpetre dried in the sun.”<sup>1</sup>

The peasants formed one of the most important classes engaged in the production of saltpetre, possibly as a subsidiary occupation, and they, with their cattle, would be able to supply whey, one of the essential elements in the production of saltpetre. The Dutch factor Pelsaert wrote from his seven years' experience (1620-6) at Agra: “The peasants have now recognised that the produce is wanted by us as well as by the English.....” In May 1647, the English factors at Ahmadābād sought to take the consent of the *barahs* or *Bohras* to allow the English to share with the Dutch.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jahangir's India*, p. 46. The proper season for making saltpetre probably began after the end of the rains (i.e. about end of September). John Spiller at Tatta wrote to Surat, on September 8, 1647. ‘The chief time of making saltpetre is now approaching. Money is needed.’ (F.E.F. 1646-50, p. 152). Early in 19th century November was the time for making saltpetre in Bengal (Bihar). (Watt, *Dictionary*, 434).

<sup>2</sup> Tavernier, II, p. 10 ; *Jahangir's India*, p. 46 ; F.E.F. 1646-50, p. 127 and n.

(These Bohras were probably not Shias or Ismailis, but Sunnis—essentially peasants, sturdy, thrifty and excellent cultivators. They continued to prepare saltpetre even up to 1825. Hobson Jobson, 79-80; Watt, *Dictionary*, 440.)

Refining of saltpetre was indispensably necessary for its commercial use. The best saltpetre of commerce, says Milburn, is "well refined in long, neat, and transparent crystals, cooling to the tongue, when applied to it, and flaming much when thrown upon burning coals."<sup>1</sup> Good gunpowder could be made only from well refined saltpetre while unrefined saltpetre was likely to damage other goods by contact. Further, the letter of the E. I. C. to Surat, dated April 25, 1653 shows that the charges for freight and customs were the same for refined and unrefined saltpetre. Hence the E. I. C.'s authorities in England repeatedly exhorted their factors in India to send only well refined saltpetre of a certain standard, and to reject all below that level. Thus, on November 27, 1643, the East India Company wrote to the Surat factors that "if saltpetre be sent, it must be 'refined up to the assay of prooffe' as otherwise it was not worth carriage ....." In its letter of April 25, 1653, the Company complained to the Surat factors of the bad quality of saltpetre lately received, and ordered that in future it should only be sent refined. Similarly in its letter of September 12, 1653, the Company demanded from Surat 200 tons of refined saltpetre for the Dutch War, and wrote that saltpetre refined at Ahmadabad, though

<sup>1</sup> Milburn, II, p. 238.

white was very bad, full of salt, and worse by 10 p.c. than Agra saltpetre, and that no Rajapur saltpetre was necessary, unless exceptionally well refined.<sup>1</sup>

It was natural, therefore, for the Company's factors in India, to make serious endeavours to have crude saltpetre well refined. About the middle of the 17th century (March 29, 1644), there was no "peter-house" or saltpetre refineries at Surat, and saltpetre was usually refined at Ahmadabad or Agra. Raw saltpetre of Malpur was refined at Ahmadabad. On March 26, 1644, the Swally Marine factors wrote to the Company, that the unrefined saltpetre of Malpur brought to Ahmadabad would be refined there in the Company's "owne house," and they thus hoped to make it better and cheaper than in the last year. But the sum total of the cost price of raw saltpetre at Malpur, the excessive transit charges, and the cost of refining to the high level of purity desired by the Company rose so much that the Swally Marine factors enquired on November 28, 1644, whether the Company wanted to have further consignments refined to the same degree. In spite of high charges, refining was vigorously pursued also at other places, like Raybag, Swally Marine, Masulipatam and Madras.<sup>2</sup> The method of refining saltpetre at Madras in about 1650 was not, however, satisfactory. It was generally done in large earthen pans imported in ships from Assada (in Madagascar)<sup>3</sup> but these were often broken

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1642-5, p. 124; 1651-4, pp. 179, 196.

<sup>2</sup> F.E.F. 1642-5, pp. 164, 175, 205; 1646-50, pp. 78-9, 186-7, 282; 1651-4, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> The Madras region, representing Vijayanagar Kingdom was evidently up to this time maintaining the tradition of

during work and the whole procedure was 'tedious and troublesome.' It was therefore realised in January 1652, that in the absence of adequate equipment 'the saltpetre must at present go home raw,' increasing the charges for freight, customs etc., but this defect was hoped to be remedied in future.<sup>1</sup> (This differentiation between refined and unrefined saltpetre in Vijayanagar customs tariff rates compares favourably with the failure of the Mughal government to make this distinction.)

Difficulties in refining saltpetre were met with not only in the West and East Coasts, but also in Bengal and Bihar. The letter of Captain Brookhaven dated Balasore, 14th December, 1650, suggested that the saltpetre procured from Patna was to be refined at Hugli. The need of refining was also emphasized in the letter of the Masulipatam factors to the Company (February 28, 1651) which noted that a properly equipped refinery would be required in Bengal, if the trade was to be continued. But these suggestions could not be carried into effect for about that time there seems to have been no refineries at Hugli. And though saltpetre was obtained in large quantities at Balasore and Hugli and other places, it could not be refined for want of suitable equipment ('copper and pans'). Hence the Madras authorities wrote to Surat

commercial connexion with E. African coasts and islands, where there were in the days of Buddha Gupta (the Karnata teacher of the Buddhist monk-scholar Taranath of Tibet) (mid-16th century) numerous Buddhistic settlements reached from India. Tucci in I.H.Q. December 1931, pp. 683-702. The African natives are noted for their big sized pottery.

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1651-4, p. 95.

(14th January, 1652) asking for those implements which had been sent out to Assada to boil sugar there.<sup>1</sup>

The deficiency in the method of adequate refining equipment at Patna was, however, made good during the vigorous superintendence of Job Charnock (1664-80). On September 1, 1665, Mr. Blake in charge of the Bengal establishment at Hugli wrote to Madras that "the quantity of saltpetre sent home had been much improved of late. What (we) shall this year send up (will be) the best that has gone from these parts, of twice boyled, occationed by the convenience of a warehouse which Mr. Charnock has built on the river side neere our petremen that now he veeves all they bring in, if bad returnes it to be by them boyled over againe. Also, the whole yeare they may be bringing it in by water. So that now, if (we) had moneyes, 1000 tonns might easily yearly be procured."<sup>2</sup>

Like the English, the Dutch, too, were particular about obtaining refined saltpetre. In 1641 the Dutch factors on the Coromondel coast requested the authorities at Batavia to send copper sheets for repairing their worn out cauldrons and to place orders for new cauldrons from Holland. In the middle of the 17th century, the Dutch were comparatively better off than the English regarding the saltpetre trade and equipment of factories. Agent Greenhill and William Gurney at Fort St. George wrote to the Company (January 14, 1652) that "The Dutch are soe well

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1646-50, pp. 332-3; 1651-4, pp. 49, 95; Hedges, III, 184.

<sup>2</sup> F.E.F. 1665-7, pp. 138-40.

furnished with houses, and all other conveniences for that trade, that annually they shipp from Pipplee neare 2,000 tonns of this commodity, and all refined.....” But the decline in the position of the Dutch after the two Anglo-Dutch Wars and their handicaps in refining saltpetre may be realised from Tavernier’s remarks : “The Dutch imported boilers from Holland, and employed refineries to refine the saltpetre for themselves ; but have not succeeded, because the people of the country, seeing that they wished to deprive them of the profits of refining, would not supply them any longer with whey, without the aid of which the saltpetre can not be bleached, for it is worth nothing at all if it is not very white and very transparent.”<sup>1</sup>

References to prices of saltpetre in our period are not enough to enable us to form an estimate of their fluctuations. The price of saltpetre varied from place to place and in the same place in different circumstances. Generally speaking, saltpetre was considered to be an expensive commodity.<sup>2</sup>

In 1640, Viththala Gomti, the Rajapur broker of the E. I. C., sold “250 candies (125000 lbs. or 5000 mds.) of saltpetre at 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  pagodas (Rs. 30-10as.) per candy” at Raybag i.e. at Re. 1-8 as.-6p. a md. of 25 lbs.<sup>3</sup> In 1648 as the cost of refining saltpetre at Raybag proved excessive the remaining raw saltpetre was refined at Swally ; but the “cost of the lot worked

<sup>1</sup> Moreland, p. 122. F.E.F. 1651-4, 95. Tavernier, II, 10. The process of refining was yet confined to the natives ; though cauldrons could be imported, yet the art was not sufficiently understood by Europeans.

<sup>2</sup> F.E.F. 1637-41, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

out at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  rupees the maund, which was much dearer than the saltpetre brought at Agra and Ahmadabad." From a letter of the Swally factors to the Company dated October 24, 1650, it appears that the last consignment of Malabar saltpetre cost nearly double that provided at Ahmadabad.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that about November 1644, the Malpur saltpetre was better and cheaper than the Ahmadabad and the raw saltpetre at Malpur cost "no more than 4 and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  rupees for 5 double maunds" ( $=5 \times 74$  lbs.). But the excessive charges of transport to Ahmadabad more than doubled the prime cost. The cost of refining it to the desired "height and pureness," even in the economical way of the Company's house at Ahmadabad also amounted to a substantial sum. The cumulative effect of all this was so to enhance the cost of saltpetre, before it was embarked, as to exceed the estimate. In March 1647, the E. I. C.'s officers made an agreement for 1,500 great maunds<sup>2</sup> of saltpetre at 22 rupees per maund, which was one-eighth dearer than last year; this was due to the high cost of transport, owing to the lack of water and grass caused by the drought.

In December 1635, the saltpetre "made" at Tutta (Tattah) in Sind was very good but very dear, costing Rs. 6 a maund. In the beginning of 1652, it was feared that the arrival of the Dutch was likely to raise prices.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1646-50, pp. 186-7, 317.

<sup>2</sup> Moreland, 335-36; F.E.F. 1642-5, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> F.E.F. 1634-36, p. 130. Probably this includes the cost of transport from other manufacturing places to Tutta. F.E.F. 1651-4, p. 119.



In March 1665, saltpetre brought to Surat was sold at a high price, the minimum being Rs.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  a maund.<sup>1</sup>

Pelsaert observed that before his time saltpetre was in small demand and cheap in the Agra region, costing Rs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  for a maund of 64 lbs. But owing to the gradual growth of the Anglo-Dutch competition, the price rose, in the twenties of the 17th century, to about Rs. 2 and Rs.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , and Pelsaert noted that it was likely to rise steadily. Early in 1651, Richard Davidge at Delhi wrote to the President and Council at Surat that on reaching Agra he would try to reduce the price of saltpetre.<sup>2</sup>

It appears from the Ahmadabad-Surat correspondence that there were wide variations in prices of saltpetre at Ahmadabad in 1628 during such a short time as about three months. In January 1628 the price of first class saltpetre was Rs.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  a maund, while by end of March it fell down to Re.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . This may be explained by the prevailing circumstances. In January 1628, the English factors at Ahmadabad were anxious to purchase saltpetre, of which only a very limited amount was available, in order to "fore-stall" the Dutch, and so they were willing to pay as high a price as Rs.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  a maund ; in March, the English caravan was detained for the clearing of saltpetre, so that unless the clearance was effected no further demand of saltpetre would be made, and this was likely to reduce the price. In other words, the price was

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1665-7, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahangir's India, op. cit.*, p. 46; F.E.F. 1651-4, p. 26.



determined by the limited supply, by the Anglo-Dutch competition for demand, and also by the restrictions put on by government on clearance of saltpetre.<sup>1</sup>

The East India Company's servants wrote to their authorities in England about the middle of the 17th century: 'Bengal is a rich province..... The saltpetre is cheap, and of the best quality.' In December 1650, James Bridgman wrote that saltpetre was plentiful and cost at Patna only Re. 1 a maund and at Hugli Re. 1-12 including customs and freight charges; and that saltpetre bought at Balasore for the *Lioness* cost about Rs. 2-10 a maund. It was natural that, when buying at a port, the Company's factors had no choice of material and price, and had "to take any trash they could get at whatever price the seller demanded." During 1651-4, the price of saltpetre at Patna was generally about half of that at Balasore. It is not surprising to find in reports and letters regarding the Company's affairs in 1661-85 that the idea of buying saltpetre and other goods at Balasore was given up, as cheaper and better goods could be had in other factories. About 1665-70, the saltpetre of Patna was cheaper than on the West Coast, and at Masulipatam. But the price at Patna seems to have risen from Re. 1 a maund in 1650 to about Rs. 2-3as.-2½p. in 1679; for early in December 1679 Streynsham Master received from Patna a copy of an invoice of 31 boats laden with 29891 mds. 29 srs. of saltpetre

<sup>1</sup> F.E.F. 1624-9, pp. 215, 275.

amounting to Rs. 65791-0-6.<sup>1</sup>

Referring to Agra and Patna, Tavernier writes that the relative price of refined and brown saltpetre was 3 : 1 and that a maund of saltpetre (i.e. refined) cost 7 mahmudis<sup>2</sup> or about Rs. 3-2.

From the above facts, we can say that among the principal factors which influenced the price of saltpetre were :

- (i) Limited supply, as in Ahmadabad (1628).
- (ii) Anglo-Dutch competition, e.g. in Agra in the twenties of the 17th century and in Ahmadabad (January 1628). The arrival of the Dutch in Sind (1652) was apprehended to raise prices.
- (iii) Government restrictions on clearances of saltpetre, causing a glut, and reducing price as in Ahmadabad (March 1628).
- (iv) Charges of transport (e.g. from Malpur to Ahmadabad) more than doubled the prime cost (1644).
- (v) Natural calamities—lack of water and grass caused by drought, as in Malpur in 1644.
- (vi) Purchase at port and not at the original place of manufacture, as at Balasore in 1650.

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, I, 544, 550, 560, quoted in Wilson, I, p. 34; F.E.F. 1646-50, p. 337; 1651-4, p. 95; Wilson, I, p. 384; Master, II, pp. 322-3.

<sup>2</sup> Tavernier, II, p. 10; Moreland gives some details about price of saltpetre, pp. 121-2. The value of 1 *mahmudi* was about 1s., or four-ninths of a rupee. Moreland, *ibid.*, p. 331; Mundy, II, p. 211.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### (A) Original Sources :

1. F. E. F.=Foster, English Factories in India.
2. Master=Diaries of Streynsham Master, Carnac Temple's edn. (Indian Records Series), 2 vols.
3. Mundy=Travels of Peter Mundy (Hakluyt).
4. Jahangir's India=The Remonstrant of Pelsaert, tr. by Moreland and Geyl, Jahangir's India.
5. Hedges=Hedges' Diary (Hakluyt), Yule's edn., 3 vols.
6. Tavernier=Tavernier's Travels, Crooke's edn., 2 vols.
7. Stora=Manucci, Stora do Mogor, Irvine's edn.
8. Bowrey=Bowrey, The Countries round the Bay of Bengal (Hakluyt), Carnac Temple's edn.

### (B) Secondary Sources :

1. Milburn=Milburn, Oriental Commerce (1813).
2. Watt, Dictionary=Watt, Dictionary of Economic Products of India (1893), vol. VI., pt. 2.
3. Watt, C. P.=Watt, Commercial Products of India, (1908).
4. Hamilton=Hamilton, East India Gazetteer.
5. Thornton=Thornton, Gazetteer (1862).
6. Wilson=Wilson, Early Annals of the English in Bengal, 4 vols.

7. Bruce=Bruce, Annals of Commerce.
8. Sarkar, Aurangzeb=Sir J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb.
9. Moreland=Moreland, Akbar to Aurangzeb.
10. Datta, B. S.=K. K. Datta, Studies in the History of Bengal Subah 1740-70.
11. Raye=Early Annals of the English in Bihar by N. N. Raye.

(C) Reference Books and Journals :

1. Hobson-Jobson=Yule and Burnell, Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases.
2. I. A.=Indian Antiquary.
3. I. H. R. C.=Indian Historical Records Commission.
4. I. H. Q.=Indian Historical Quarterly.

## THE DYNASTIC-NAME OF THE KINGS OF THE PUṢYAMITRA FAMILY

By J. C. GHOSH

At the outset of his 'Note on the lineage of Pushyamitra,' published in the *Indian Culture* (Vol. III, pp. 739-41), Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri has complained of the eminent scholars, Indian as well as Western, for not having subjected Paurāṇic lists to a critical examination. He then goes on to discuss the problem presented by the family to which belonged the Kings Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and his descendants, and says that the results of his predecessors dealing with the subject can hardly be regarded as conclusive.

He has referred to the divergent traditions about this family recorded in the *Purāṇas*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and the *Harivaṃśa*. According to the *Purāṇas*, Puṣyamitra was a commander of the last Maurya King Br̥hadratha, and usurped his master's throne. The first three kings of this family were Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra, who were called Suṅgas. The *Divyāvadāna* makes Puṣyamitra, a scion of the Maurya dynasty. The *Mālavikāgnimitram* says that Puṣyamitra performed horse-sacrifice. His son was Agnimitra, and his son again was Vasumitra and that they were Baimbikas. The *Harivaṃśa* asserts that an upstart (*audbhijja*) commander (*Senāni*), a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gotra* will re-introduce horse-sacrifice in the *Kali-yuga*. Dr. Ray

Chaudhuri apparently accepts the story of the *Divyāvadāna* to the extent that the Maurya rule was followed by the Śuṅgas, and no further.

Sometime ago Dr. K. P. Jayaswal identified this commander Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gotra* of the *Harivaṃśa* with Śuṅga Puṣyamitra of the *Purāṇas*.<sup>1</sup> In the opinion of Dr. Ray Chaudhuri this very plausible identification can hardly stand, as the Śuṅgas were Bhāradvājas and cannot at the same time be Kāśyapas. He has brought forth a new piece of evidence from the *Baudhāyana-Sraṇtu-Sūtra*<sup>2</sup> to show that there is a *gotra* of the name of Baimbaki among the Kāśyapas. He identifies this Baimbaki *gotra* with Baimbika, the dynastic-name of Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and others of the family, as given in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and considers them to be of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, as stated in the *Harivaṃśa*. He concludes by saying that the Paurāṇic view that Puṣyamitra was a Śuṅga shall have to be rejected, 'unless future discoveries show us some way of reconciling the divergent data of the *Purāṇas* on the one hand and the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and the *Harivaṃśa* on the other.' As Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has kept the question still open, we make no apology to examine his evidences and arguments, with a view to see if any satisfactory solution can be found in reconciling the discrepancy, which stood in his way in accepting the view of Dr. Jayaswal, which holds the field.

Mr. H. A. Shah was the first to refer to the following verse of the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Act IV, verse 14)

<sup>1</sup> J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV (1928), pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Ind. series, Vol. III, p. 449.

in the *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference* (p. 379), to show that Agnimitra, son of Pušyamitra was a scion of the *Baimbika Kula* :—

*Dākṣiṇyaṁ nāma bimb-oṣṭhi Baimbikānāṁ kulavratam  
tan-me dirgh-ākṣi ye prāṇās-te tvad-āsā-nibandhanāḥ.*

We find that *Baimbikānāṁ* is not the only reading found in different MSS. of the drama. Some reads it as *nāyakānāṁ*<sup>1</sup>, so we are not sure if *Baimbikānāṁ* is the correct reading.

Now let us see what *Baimbikānāṁ* here means. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri following Tawney has translated it as ‘descendants of Bimbaka.’ We are afraid this is not correct. It should be “descendants of Bimbika or Bimba.” But this is not the only interpretation in the field. Āpte, in his dictionary, explains the word as ‘a man who is assiduous in his attention to ladies, a gallant, a lover.’ In support of this he has cited the first line of the above verse. Again Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has translated ‘*dākṣiṇyaṁ*’ as ‘politeness,’ but some commentators explain as ‘*dakṣiṇa-nāyaka-tvaṁ sarvāsu-eva patniṣu samadarśitvaṁ*’<sup>2</sup> i.e. ‘the attitude or course of conduct of an impartial lover, looking on all his ladies equally.’ ‘*Kulavaratam*’, no doubt, literally means ‘family custom,’ but it is capable of interpreting as ‘course of conduct of a class.’ Here the course of conduct of the class of *nāyakas* called ‘*dakṣiṇa-nāyaka*’ is meant. In fact that the *Vidūṣaka* in the third Act has reminded Agnimitra more than once that he was a *dakṣiṇa-nāyaka* and therefore should equally treat

<sup>1</sup> *Mālavikāgnimitram*, p. 114, f. n. 2, Śāstra-prakāśa office edn, Howrah.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 114.

all his queens<sup>1</sup>.

To us the interpretation relied on by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri seems to be ill-suited to the context. The King Agnimitra begged an embrace from his lady-love, Mālavikā, but she replied that she had been so much afraid of the queen (Irāvati) that she dared not comply with it, although it was most pleasant to herself. To this the king assured her not to be afraid of anybody. The girl tauntingly replied that she had enough experience of the specimen of fearlessness, the king had exhibited before the irritated queen Irāvati, referring to the scene described in the third Act. In reply to this mild reproach, Agnimitra addressed the above verse to explain away his abject conduct. Āpte's interpretation of *Baimbikānām* suits the context excellently, specially if we take the meaning of the word '*dākṣiṇyam*' as 'appeasing or restoring any one offended to good humour' (Wilson's Dictionary). On the other hand, it is very unlikely that the king should vaunt of his high birth before Mālavikā, of whose birth or antecedents was very little known at the time. In the circumstance, such vauntings would have been rather an insult to her. This shows clearly that even if we accept the reading '*Baimbikānām*' as correct, the interpretation of Prof. Ray Chaudhuri is doubtful.

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri takes Baimbika of the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and the *gotra*-name Baimbaki are identical. This may not be so, although they are both derivable from the same word 'Bimba.' We would cite for ins-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51 and 84.



tance the cases of the *gotra*-names, Dārbbhāyaṇa, Dārbbhi and Dārbbhya, all of which apparently come from the name of Darbha. Do they indicate the same *gotra*? Not at all. They respectively belong to the Vasta group of the Bhṛgu-gaṇa, the Bharadvāja group of the Aṅgira-gaṇa and the Hārīta group of the same gaṇa<sup>1</sup>. So this identification is also doubtful.

Taking for granted that Baimbika and Baimbaki indicate one and the same *gotra*, let us see if Baimbaki is at all a *gotra*-name. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has cited the authority of the *Baudhayana-Srauta-Sūtra* (Bib. Ind. Series, Vol. III, p. 446), edited by Caland. He has apparently overlooked the explanation given at the foot-note (6) for the reading *Baimbakayaḥ*, which runs as follows :—

“Thus corrected acc. to Pt. on Pāṇ. IV ; 1. 97 ;  
*Vaivakayaḥ* Pn, *Cavakayaḥ* Rm, *Paimbakayaḥ* M=G-T,  
*Vaimarukayaḥ* Bn, *Paidbaka* Be U, *Paidakayaḥ* Pm.”

It is clear from the above that the reading of *Baimbakayaḥ*, given by Caland, is not warranted by any of the variants quoted by him. He says that he has corrected it according to Patañjali on Pāṇini IV. 1. 97. Let us see what it says :

“*Sudhātr-akāṇ-ca.* (IV. 1. 97). *Sudhātr-Vyāsayaḥ.*  
*Sudhātr-Vyāsayaḥ-iti vaktavyam. Sandhātakiḥ. Vaiyāsakiḥ*  
*Sukāḥ. Aty-ālpam-idam-ucyate. Sudhātr-Vyāsa-Varuḍa-*  
*Niśāda-Cāṇḍāla-Bimbānām-iti vaktavyam. Sandhātakiḥ.*  
*Vaiyāsakiḥ Sukāḥ. Vārudakiḥ. Naiśādakiḥ. Cāṇḍā-*  
*lakiḥ. Baimbakiḥ. Tat tarhi vaktavyam. Na vaktav-*  
*vyam. Prakṛty-antarāny-ev-aitāni.”* (Kielhorn).

<sup>1</sup> *Baudhayana-Srauta-Sūtra*, Vol. III, pp. 416, 431 and 435, Bib. Ind. series.

There is nothing in the above *sūtra* and the two *sūtras* preceding, and the *Vārtika* and the *Mahā-bhāṣya* on them to show that the affix *Iñ* spoken of here is a *gotrāpatya* one. The example '*Vaiyāsakīḥ Sukaḥ*' clearly shows that it is only an *apatya* (son or daughter) affix. Śuka was the son of Vyāsa and not a *gotrāpatya*, which according to Pāṇini (IV. 1. 162) indicates grandson and downwards. If Baimbaki is a *gotra* here, then all the five names preceding it must also be *gotras*, but we have not up to date met them as such. Further it is very difficult to take Vāruḍaki, Naiṣādaki and Cāṇḍālaki as *gotra*-names. If Baimbaki was really a *gotra*, and a *gotra* of Puṣyamitra, then Patañjali when writing it must have remembered the name of his royal patron, and we could expect the example, as '*Baimbakiḥ Puṣyamitraḥ*,' like the '*Vaiyāsakīḥ Sukaḥ*.'

We have seen in the above extract that the words which are to be governed by the *sūtra* (IV. 1. 97) are — '*Sudhātṛ-Vyāsa-Varuḍa-Niṣāda-Cāṇḍāla-Bimbānām*.' It is in *Dvanda-Samāsa* (copulative compound). The rules of this compound generally requires that (1) a more important, (2) one containing the least number of vowels and (3) one having a vowel-initial should stand first. The last rule does not apply in the present case. If the second had been followed in arranging the words, '*Bimba*' should have gone first. As it has not, most probably the first rule has been observed. In that case '*Bimba*' is the least important of members. These rules are no doubt said to be *anitya* i.e., not universally observed, but its chance of

infringement is least expected from a grammarian like Patañjali. This view of ours is supported by other evidences also. According to the *Yama-smṛti* (verse 54) 'Varuḍa' is one of the seven *antyaja* (low-caste) along with *Rajaka*, *Carmakāra*, *Naṭa*, *Kaivarta*, *Meda* and *Bhilla*. *Niṣāda* and *Caṇḍāla* are the two well-known low-castes. *Bimba*<sup>1</sup> seems to be the lowest of them all. In fact we find that in Marwar (Jodhpur) there exists a low-caste named 'Bāmbhī,' who removes carcasses of dead cattle, eat their flesh and lives on the proceeds of their skin. They are also known as 'Meghvāl' or 'Dhedh.' (*Marwar Census Report* for 1891, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 527). So 'Baimbaki' derived from this 'Bimba' is not a *gotra*-name at all, far from an *ārṣa-gotra*. It simply means "a son of a 'Bimba,' a low-caste." For all these reasons we are constrained to say that Caland was not justified in his correction. It will thus be seen that Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's new evidence has been of no help to us in finding out the *gotra* or the dynastic-name of the Puṣyamitras.

The only objection, raised by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri against accepting the identification of Dr. Jayaswal, is the discrepancy in *gotra*. According to the *Hari-vamśa*, it is the Kāśyapa *gotra*, while the *Purāṇas* call them Śuṅga (Bhāradvāja). Let us see if this discrepancy can be reconciled.

There is a class of *gotras* called *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa*

<sup>1</sup> We are not sure if 'Bimba' is the correct reading. Śrischandra Chakravarti in his edition of the *Pāṇini* reads it 'Viśva.' There is a low-caste named 'Bind.' 'Bainda' is the name of a low-caste mentioned in the *Śukla-yajurvedasambhitā* (XXX, 19).

or *dvigotra*, which is formed by the combination of two *gotras*. It can be known by looking at their *pravaras*, which must consist of the seers of two different *gotras*. Men of these *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa-gotras* are debarred from marrying in either of the two *gotras*. As an example of this, we may cite the case of Laukākṣi or Laugākṣi *gotra*, under the Kāśyapas. Their *pravaras* are Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Vāsiṣṭha. The first two are the *pravaras* of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, while the third is of the Vasiṣṭhas. It is said that they are Kāśyapa in the night, when the conception took place, and Vāsiṣṭha in the daytime, when the initiation took place<sup>1</sup>. This shows that the first man of *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa-Laukākṣi gotra* was born in the Kāśyapa *gotra*, but was initiated by an *ācārya* of a different *gotra*, in the present case by a Brāhmaṇa of the Vāsiṣṭha *gotra*. Besides the *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa-Laukākṣi*, there is also the pure Laukākṣi, whose *pravaras* are Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Āsita. The men of *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa-gotra* generally pass by the name of his father's *gotra*, but they could also go by the name of the other *gotra* of the combination, or by a name formed by the juxtaposition of the names of both the *gotras*, of which they are formed, as Sauṅga-Saiśiri. A donee named Gose having the same *pravaras* as the *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa-Laukākṣi* has been described as belonging to the Vāsiṣṭha *gotra*<sup>2</sup>.

The only instance of the *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa gotra* given by Baudhāyana is the Laukākṣi *gotra*, but he has not used this name. Apparently because there were

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., Vol. IX., pp. 103-117.

not many *gotras* of this type prevalent in his time. The word 'Āmuṣyāyaṇa' is an old one, as it was known to Kātyāyana<sup>1</sup>. Bhaṭṭojidikṣita, in his *Caturvīṃśati-matasamgraha*, in the chapter on *Gotra—pravara-nirṇaya*, has given instances of the *Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa* formed in four different ways, viz.: (1) *Putrikāputra* or *Kāṇina-Putra*, as Vāmarathi, a *putrikā-putra* of the Atri family; and Jātukaraṇa, a *Kāṇina-Putra*; (2) *Niyoga*, as Śuṅga-Śaiśiri, (3) Initiation, as Laukākṣi, and (4) adoption, as Devarāta, who belonged to the Aṅgiras or the Bhṛgu family, but was adopted by Viśvāmitra.

Āpastamba in the *Pravarakāṇḍa* (*Gotrapravarani-vandha Kadambam*, p. 309) speaks of the Śuṅga-Śaiśiri as formed by Śuṅga of the Bhāradvāja and Śaiśiri of the Kata group of the Vaisvāmitra *gotras*. According to Baudhāyana too Śaiśireya is a *gotra* of the Kata-group of the Viśvāmitra family.<sup>2</sup> Both late Mm. H. P. Sastri<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Jayaswal<sup>4</sup> held that Puṣyamitra belonged to this Śaṅga-Śaiśiri *gotra*. But this does not explain why he has been called a Kāśyapa in the *Harivamśa*. Dr. Jayaswal, to explain away this discrepancy, suggests that either Puṣyamitra was a gotra-less Brāhmaṇa or had forgotten it, so he was styled as a Kāśyapa. There is, no doubt, a rule that one having no *gotra*, or forgotten it, or been the offspring of a *sagotra*-marriage, due to ignorance, must be held to be a Kāśyapa, as all beings are the descendants of the

<sup>1</sup> *Vārtika* on Pāṇini (VI 3. 21): see also *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> Baudh. Śraut-Sūtra, III, p. 447, Bib. Ind. series.

<sup>3</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 287-88.

<sup>4</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV (1928), p. 25.

sage Kāśyapa,<sup>1</sup> but this does not seem to be a very satisfactory explanation. Let us see if we can find out a better solution.

The *Matsyapurāṇa* (ch. 196, Vv. 51-53) says that the Sauṅga-Saiśireya is a *dvyāmuṣyāyana gotra* under the Bhāradvājas, having the *pravaras* of Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Maudgalya and Saiśireya. Now the first four belong to the Āṅgīra-gaṇa, the last must have belonged to a different *gotra*, otherwise it could not be a *dvyāmuṣyāyana*. According to the Baudhāyana this Maudgalya *gotra* has got the *pravaras* of Āṅgīrasa, Bhārmyaśva and Maudgalya<sup>2</sup>. So it may be doubted if this Mudgala was at all a descendant of Bṛhaspati and Bharadvāja. But we find that he descended from Bharadvāja, who was adopted by king Bharata, son of Duṣyanta (*Matsyapurāṇa*, Vaṅgavāsī Edn., ch. 49, Vs. 30-33, and ch. 50, Vs. 3-5). So it is not unusual that Bṛhaspati and Bharadvāja will find place among the *pravaras* of the Maudgalya *gotra*. Now to what *gotra* did Śīsira belong? In the *Matsya-purāṇa* (ch. 198) we do not find this among the Viśvāmitras, on the other hand it says that Śaiśira is *dvyāmuṣyāyana-gotra* under the Kāśyapas having the *pravaras* of Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Vāsiṣṭha (ch. 199, Vs. 11-14). This shows that this *gotra* is formed of the Kāśyapa and the Vāsiṣṭha *gotras*. But we do not find in it (ch. 201) any such name as Śīsira among the Vāsiṣṭhas. So this Śīsira must have belonged to

<sup>1</sup> Baudh. *Śraut-Sūtra*, III. p. 466; “*Sūdrāṇām gotr-ābhav-epi Kāśyapam gotram jñeyam. ‘Tasmād-āhuḥ sarvā prajāḥ Kāśyapāḥ’ iti Śruteḥ. ‘Gotra-nāṣe tu Kāśyapāḥ’ iti Vyāghrapād-okteḥ-ca-eti Hemādriḥ. Nirṇayasindhu*, p. 280, Venkat. Press.

<sup>2</sup> Baudh. *Śraut-Sūtra*, III, p. 439.

the Kāśyapa *gotra*<sup>1</sup>. It thus appears that according to the *Matsya-purāṇa*, Śauṅga-Śaisireya *gotra* is a *dyā-muśyāyana* of the Bhāradvāja and Kāśyapa *gotras*, so the Śuṅgas could go by the name of either of these two *gotras*.

If the above view is not found satisfactory, we would make an alternative suggestion. Baudhāyana<sup>2</sup> mentions a *gotra* named Śāṅkhamitreya in the Nidhruoa group of the Kāśyapas. Here Śāṅkha may be a corruption of Śuṅga or Śauṅga. If we look at the variant readings of these *gotra*-names, in any critical edition of a work on *gotra-pravaras*, we find that the majority of these names have undergone corruptions. Caland has given three variant readings of the Śāṅkhamitreya, viz., Śamkha°, Śāṅkhyamitreya and Śamkhyā Mitreya. Of Śuṅga, he has noted three variants, viz., Śṛṅga, subhāṅga, and subhaṅga. The Vaṅgavasī edition (Calcutta) of the *Vāyupurāṇa* reads it, Śuṅga, Bhaṅga and Dhṛṅga. Some *Purāṇas* read it as Tuṅga. Many more variants are sure to be met with if MSS. are consulted. So we shall not be at all surprised if Śuṅga or Śauṅga has corrupted into Śāṅkha°. This alternative suggestion of ours seems all the more probable, when we take into consideration the suffix °mitreya of this Śāṅkhamitreya, along with the fact that majority of the names of the Puṣyamitra-family

<sup>1</sup> This view of ours is also supported by Kamalākara in his *Pravaradarpaṇa*, who says :—‘*Ataś-c-aīśām Śauṅga-Śaiśirair-apy-avivāhaḥ, teṣām-āpi Bharadvājatvāt. Eṣām Kāśyapeṣu pāthāt-tair-apy-avivāha ity-uktaṁ Prayogapārijāte.*’ (*Gotrapravara nīvandha-kadambam*, p. 181). In the list of Gotra-Rṣis under their respective Pravaras, Śaiśira has been included among the Kāśyapas, on the authority of the *Matsya-purāṇa* (*Ibid.* pp. 171 and 272).

<sup>2</sup> Baudh. *Śraut-Sūtra*, III, p. 451.

end in *mitra*. So in all probability the *gotra* of the Puṣyamitra was Śauṅgamitreya. The initial Ś in both is also in favour of this view. This Śauṅgamitreya or Śuṅgamitra might have been shortened into Śauṅga or Śuṅga in the *Purāṇas*.

In view of the above, Dr. Jayaswal's identification of Śuṅga Puṣyamitra of the *Purāṇas*, Puṣyamitra of the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, and *Senānīb Kāśyapod-vijāḥ* of the *Harivaṃśa* (Bhaviṣya, ch. 2. V. 40) is still plausible.



## Miscellaneous Articles

### ON THE CULT OF THE GODLING KASĪ BĀBĀ AMONG THE BINDS OF BIHAR

By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA

The Binds, Bins, Bhinds or the Bindus constitute a populous caste of Bihar and Upper India. The renowned anthropologist Sir H. H. Risley is of opinion that they are of non-Aryan origin. They earn their livelihood by following the pursuits of agriculture, fishing and hunting. Sometimes, they practise such minor avocations as making earthwork and manufacture of saltpetre.

The religion of the Binds consists in the worship of the usual minor godlings named Bandi, Sokhā and Gauraiyā, who are worshipped every Wednesday with the offerings of goats, cooked rice and various kinds of sweetmeats. There is another godling named Bhuiyā, who presides over the earth and who is worshipped in the months of Baisākh and Āsārḥ.

According to Sir H. H. Risley, the patron-deity or *kuladevatā*, as he calls him, is Kāsī Bābā. About the evolution of this godling the following legend is narrated :—

“A mysterious epidemic was carrying off the herds of cattle on the banks of the Ganges, and the ordinary expiatory sacrifices were ineffectual. One evening a clownish Ahir, on going to the river, saw a figure

rinsing its mouth from time to time and making an unearthly sound with a conch-shell. The lout, concluding that this must be the demon causing the epidemic, crept up and clubbed the unsuspecting bather. Kāsī Nāth was the name of the murdered Brahman : and, as the cessation of the murrain coincided with his death, the low Hindusthani castes have, ever since, regarded Kāsī Bābā as the maleficent spirit that sends disease among their cattle. Nowadays, he is propitiated by the following curious ceremony :—As soon as an infectious disease breaks out, the village cattle are herded together and cotton seeds are sprinkled over them. The fattest and sleekest animal being singled out is severely beaten with rods. The herd, scared by the noise, scampers off to the nearest shelter, followed by the scape-bull; and, by this means, it is thought that the murrain is stayed. In ordinary times, the Binds worship Kāshī Bābā in a simple fashion, each man, in his own home, presenting flowers, perfumes, and sweetmeats. The latter, after having done duty before god, are eaten by his votary.”<sup>1</sup>

That renowned anthropologist concludes the foregoing account with the following remarks :—

“Kāsī Bābā, no doubt, was an actual person who came by his end, if not exactly as told in the legend, at least in some tragic fashion which led to his being elevated to the rank of a god.”

If we carefully study the foregoing account of this curious cult, we come across the following interesting

<sup>1</sup> *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, By H. H. Risley I. C. S. In Two Volumes. Calcutta at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891. Vol. I. page 132.

features thereof :—

(1) The deification of the ghost of a person who has met with his death in a tragic way.

(2) The selection of a scape-beast to carry off the sins or evils or troubles that may be troubling men or other beasts.

(3) The use of cotton-seeds for purposes of exorcism.

(4) The flagellation of the scape-beast or patient for exorcising away the disease-spirit.

(5) The analogous customs of propitiating a deity or godling who presides over the welfare of cattle.

As regards the point (1) *supra*, I may say that Sir H. H. Risley is right in saying that "*Kāshī Bābā came by his end, at least, in some tragic fashion which led to his being elevated to the rank of a god.*" This is quite in accordance with the opinion of all cultural anthropologists, as will appear from the following testimony of Miss C. S. Burne :—

"A malignant ghost may either be propitiated or exorcised or more rarely, destroyed. *In the former case, he acquires the position of a local godling.* All over India, says Mr. Crooke, may be seen shrines erected to appease some dangerous *Bhut*. An Imperial trooper in the Punjab was once burnt to death by an accidental fire in the shed in which he was sleeping. Though he was a Musalman and not a Hindu by religion, a shrine was erected to him lest he might become troublesome as a *Bhut*."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide The Handbook of Folk-Lore.* By C. S. Burne. Revised and Enlarged Edition. London : Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd. 1914. Page 83.

Similarly, the people of Northern India look upon the ghosts of persons who have been killed by panthers as being very malignant. For the purpose of propitiating these malevolent spirits they canonize them as godlings and erect shrines in their honour. A photographic illustration of one of these curious-looking shrines is given at page 538 of Haddon's *Customs of the World*, Vol. I. To this illustration is appended the following descriptive letterpress :—

“Here a land-owner in the hills is visiting a shrine erected to the ghost of his father, who was killed by a panther in the neighbouring ravine. Such ghosts are apt to be very malignant, and their relatives often resort to their shrines to propitiate them.”

Then again, in the western part of the district of Gaya in South Bihar, the ghosts of low-caste men, who have been killed by tigers, are apotheosized under the name of *Baghaut*. Similarly, in the district of Bhagalpur in South Bihar, the apotheosized ghost of a *goālā* (or man belonging to the cowherd caste), who had been killed by a tiger, is worshipped under the name of *Bisu Raut*.<sup>1</sup>

Then again, the Pauris or Hill-Bhuiyās are Kolarian people who live in the jungle-clad hills and high wooded valleys in the north-west of the Keonjhar, north-east of the Bonai, and north of the Pal Lahera States of Orissa. These aboriginal folks believe that the ghosts or spirits of persons, who have been killed by bears and tigers, are very malignant and kill men

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* my paper entitled : *Notes on Ghost-Lore from South Bihar* in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XV. Pages 526-527.

and women by assuming the forms of these beasts. The ghosts of those, who are killed by tigers, are called *Baghea*; and the spirits of those slain by bears are known under the name of *Bauti*. The Pauris propitiate these deified ghosts by sacrificing fowls to them but do not erect any *āsthāns* or shrines for their habitation.<sup>1</sup>

Then again, in the district of Monghyr in South Bihar, a godling named Murkātṡā is worshipped by another low caste named the Mushahars. He is the deified ghost of a man who was killed under peculiarly tragic circumstances. Sir George Grierson has narrated the under-mentioned legend about the evolution of this godling :—

“In South Monghyr, on this occasion, a deity of the Mushahar caste, named Murkātṡā is worshipped. The legend about him is that a cultivator once sent this man, who was his labourer, home from the fields to get some seedlings. On the labourer’s return, the cultivator observed a spot of vermilion (*senur*) on his forehead, and concluded that he had been debauching his (cultivator’s) daughter, who was at home at the time, and had given the seedlings. The man was quite innocent; but the cultivator in a rage killed him and hid him in the earth. He is hence worshipped as a martyr especially by the caste-fellows.”<sup>2</sup>

The foregoing Mushahar cult of *Murkātṡā* bears a striking similarity to another worship which is

<sup>1</sup> *Vide The Hill-Bhuiyas of Orissa : By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., Ranchi : 1935, Page 228.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vide Bihar Peasant Life. By Sir George Grierson. Second and Revised Edition. Patna : Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa. 1926. Pages 399-400.*

prevalent in the district of Gaya in South Bihar. The Gaya-cult originated under the following circumstances :—

A Babhan cultivator named Raghuni, while labouring under a similar suspicion, killed his daughter and his hereditary serf whom he had sent to fetch a basket of seeds from her, and on whose body he found streaks of vermilion. This gave rise to this suspicion; and he killed both, and then himself committed suicide. The ghosts of all these three persons are now collectively known under the name of *Raghuni-Dauk* and are widely worshipped throughout the district of Gaya in South Bihar. They are represented by some *pindis* or small mounds of earth erected within a hut in the village of Tungi in the Nawada Sub-division of that district.<sup>1</sup>

Then I shall take up for discussion the point (2) *supra* which is about the selection of a scape-goat to carry off the sins, evils or troubles of men or other beasts. We all know about the Jewish custom of letting loose a scape-goat. Two goats were brought and presented to the Lord. Then lots were cast for ascertaining which of these two goats should be sacrificed as a sin-offering and which should be the scape-goat. After this had been done, the goat for sin-offering was slain. Then the high-priest came out of the *sanctum sanctorum* laid his hand upon the head of the live goat and confessed upon it the sins of the people. Thereafter this sin-laden scape-goat was

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* my paper entitled : "Notes on Ghost-Lore from South Bihar" in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol XV., pages 525-526.

sent out into the wilderness through a fit person. "And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited. (Lev. xvi. 22)."

The custom of letting loose scape-goats is also prevalent in Western Tibet. In the course of this ritual, the Tibetans release a scape-goat to obtain absolution from the moral impurities in the individual or the community for which noxious diseases, failure of crops, etc., are held responsible."<sup>1</sup>

Then there is prevalent among the Hindus of Bengal the custom of branding a bull and letting him loose to carry away the sins of the deceased person. This ceremony is known as वृषोत्सर्ग (*Brishotsarga*) and performed on the occasion of the *srāddhas* of distinguished and wealthy persons. These bulls are thereafter called धर्म्मर पांड (Dharmmer Shāṇḍh) or "Holy Bulls", which roam about at their sweet will and pleasure and forage for themselves upon the fat of the land.

But the Bind custom of selecting a scape-bull to bear upon him the diseases that are ailing his fellow-beasts, appears to be unique and, so far as my knowledge goes, has no analogue.

Then as regards the point (3) mentioned above, the Bind custom of using cotton-seeds for purposes of exorcism appears to be unique. So far as my knowledge goes, I have not come across any other example of this practice. It is well-known that from the time of the composition of the *Atharva Veda* down to modern times, mustard-seeds have been used by the

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Man in India* (Ranchi), Vol. XVI., page 199.

Hindus for exorcising away all kinds of evil spirits and disease-spirits.

Now, I shall take up for discussion the point (4) which has been mentioned above and which is about the flagellation or chastisement (with rods) of the scape-beast or patient for exorcising away disease-spirits.

All men in a low plane of culture believe that diseases are caused, not by the violation of natural and sanitary laws, but by the attacks of disease-spirits who enter the bodies of their victims and cause the ailments that trouble the latter. Therefore, one of the methods adopted by our exorciser is to severely flagellate the patient or chastise him or her with rods or twisted cloth. Sometimes the patient dies on the administration of this drastic method of treatment, as will appear from the following instance which has been recorded by Mr. R. E. Enthoven of the Bombay Civil Service :—

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, while a Junior Magistrate at Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency, about 30 years ago (i.e., 1894 A. D.) investigated a case of murder in which a girl named Giddwa was killed under the following circumstances. The girl complained of a pain in her back, which was supposed to have been caused by an evil spirit named Uzzi which had entered her. Thereupon, a Muhammadan exorciser named Jamal Din and two Hindu exorcists named Mudewala and Adebi were called in. These men, at first, made the girl lie flat upon the ground and commenced to tread and jump on her body. Then they flogged the girl with a stick, asking the evil spirit to leave her.



Being unable to bear the pain of the beating, the girl fled crying out that the spirit was leaving her. Then more flogging followed. The result of this was that the girl became unconscious and died.<sup>1</sup>

Another method of expelling a disease-spirit is to burn it out, by burning camphor and cotton-yarn on the patient's body, as will appear from the following account of a case, which occurred in Calcutta a few years ago and which was reported as follows in the Calcutta daily *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 18th November 1934 :—

#### “Exorcist in Trouble”

“A young Bengali girl was removed to hospital, suffering from effects of burn-injuries said to have been sustained in course of the process of exorcism performed by an “Ojha” who has since been arrested by the local police for alleged rash and negligent act. It appears that the girl gave birth to a child a few days ago. After the delivery of the child, the young mother fell sick and subsequently developed signs of loss of balance of mind. Her relations, frightened at the sudden turn, requisitioned the aid of a local “Ojha”, who came to the house, accompanied by his assistant carrying, amongst other things, several skulls and skeletons of different animals and a number of other queer objects, undertaking, so it is alleged, to expel the evil spirit that the young mother was possessed of. The “Ojha” having spread out the different bones and skulls and the other objects on the floor, started on his art of

<sup>1</sup> *Vide The Folklore of Bombay.* By R. E. Enthoven. Oxford: Printed at the Clarendon Press. 1924. Pages 9-10.

exorcism by reciting certain adjurations. He then brought out a piece of camphor and, it is alleged, put it on the palm of the girl and set fire to it. He next placed some cotton yarn, said to be sacred thread, lighted it and pressed the burning stuff on the lips of the girl. This caused rather serious burn-injuries on the person of the girl, and the "Ojha", so it is alleged, in great disappointment, declared that she was not possessed of an evil spirit, explaining that if that had been the case, the process would not have inflicted any injuries on the person. She was then removed to hospital, and the police were informed. The police arrested the "Ojha" and his assistant, and are making further enquiries. The girl is detained in hospital for treatment."

I shall now conclude this paper by making some observation on the last or 5th point. In my article entitled : "*On the Cult of Gorakshanatha in Eastern Bengal*" which has been published in *the Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. XIV, pages 1—29, I have shown that, in different parts of India, the Vegetation-spirit, the snake, the tortoise, the bee, the Godling of the hill-people of the Western Himalayas, the Earth-Goddess, the Fire-God, the deified ascetic Gorakshanatha in the district of Pabna in Eastern Bengal and in the district of Murshidabad in Central Bengal, the deities Srikrishna and Satyanārāyana and other godlings are worshipped as protectors of cattle.

Then again, in my article entitled : "*On the Cult of Gorakshanatha in the District of Rangpur in Northern Bengal*" which has been published in *the Journal of the*

*Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIV, pages 1—5, I have shown that the deified ascetic Gorakshanatha is also worshipped as a protector of cattle in the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal.

Similarly, the Ahirs or Cowherds of South Bihar worship an animistic godling named Basawan as a protector of cattle in the month of Kārttik (October-November) after the Diwali Festival is over. On the night previous to the day fixed for worship, they boil rice in all the milk left in the house and make it into *khir* or cream. On the day of the worship, they offer it to the godling Basawan. Then, they paint the horns of their cattle red with vermillion and daub the bodies of the same beasts with spots of red. Then, having tied a pig to a stake in the midst of the pasture-ground, they drive their cattle over the poor pig so that the former trample or gore the latter to death. The significance of this ceremony, which is known as the *Gaidāra*, is that :—

(a) By trampling or goring the pig, the cattle transfer their diseases or misfortunes to the pig ;

(b) By trampling or goring the pig to death, they sacrifice it to the godling Basawan and propitiate him thereby ;

(c) That the red horns, and the red spots on the bodies of the cattle symbolize that these beasts have besmeared themselves with the blood of the sacrificed pig by way of propitiating his deityship, the godling Basawan, who is their protector.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Gazetteer of the Patna District*. By L. S. S. O'Malley. (Revised Edition of 1924). Patna : Superintendent, Bihar and

The Bhuiyās and the Ahirs of the Palamau district in Chota Nagpur worship a deified ghost named Bīr Kuār under the belief that he protects their cattle from all kind of diseases and the ravages of tigers.<sup>1</sup>

Orissa Government Printing, pages 51-52. Also see O'Malley's *Gazetteer of the Gaya District* (Edition of 1906), pages 91-92.

<sup>1</sup> See *Gazetteer of Palamanu*. By L. S. S. O'Malley I. C. S. 1907. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. Pages 46-47.

### Reviews and Notices of Books

THE TEST OF MAN being the PURUSHA-PARĪKSHĀ of VIDYĀPATI ṬHAKKURA. Translated into English by Sir George A. Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E., The Royal Asiatic Society, 1935.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. i-xx, 1-194.

The literature of modern as distinguished from mediaeval India began with two poets in the north-east of India—Vidyāpati and Tulsi Das. The common characteristic which makes these men modern, and separates them from their mediaeval predecessors, is that two main types of imaginative writing assumed with them the quality of monumental art. If we wish to comprehend the theology and the mental temper of the Middle Ages, as a reaction against Tantrik beliefs and practices, and expressed in a coherent work of the imagination we must go to the “Rāmacharitamānasa.” Vidyāpati’s “Purusha-Parīkshā” elevates the legends of a hundred generations, dimly floating in the memories of men, to the rank of clear self-conscious art, and inaugurates a form of prose-narrative interspersed with verse which in the novel has superseded epic poetry.

Three things make the above writers monumental. One is their firm grasp upon the forms they used, working diffuse and vague materials of various sorts into imperishable plastic shape. The second is the keen emergence of their personalities as men, the revelation

of the artist's self in his art-work so conspicuously absent in mediaeval compositions. The third is the vivacity of their sensations, the awakened life, the resuscitated realism transforming a world of dreams and abstractions into the world of fact and nature. Tulsi Das takes for his province the drama of the human soul as symbolised in Rāma ; Vidyāpati takes the complex stuff of daily life, the *quicquid agunt homines* of common experience. Out of them Tulsi creates the epic, Vidyāpati the novel.

Vidyāpati was a celebrated author during the first half of the fifteenth century. Vidyāpati combines the love-mysticism of Petrarch with Boccaccio's joyous acceptance of nature and the world. His "Padāvalī" depicts the eternal man and woman in the transitory world of trembling introspective sentiment while the "Purusha-Parīkshā" deals with the positive world of fact and act in which we play our parts. With Vidyāpati his contemporaries felt themselves at home. Whether in the impassioned chant of palpitating love between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in the haunting Maithilī of the "Padāvalī," the exploits of Kīrti Siṃha in the *Apa-bhramśa* of the "Kīrti-Latā" or the elegant Sanskrit of the forty-four tales of the "Purusha Parīkshā," Vidyāpati knew life as they knew it, and in the tales people of his time or of a century or two preceding. Most of the characters in the tales are historical personages well-known as rulers of Mithilā and others famous for their exploits in other parts of Northern or Central India. The rare combination of Sanskrit scholarship and vernacular art makes Vidyāpati's style take all moods and lend itself alike to low and lofty themes.

It is a difficult task to render such an author into an English garb. Sir George Grierson is undoubtedly the one man alive today who could do it and he has done it with supreme success. The Exposition of Heroes, of Intelligence, of Adepts and of the Four Objects of Life comprising the forty-four stories of the "Purusha-Parīkshā" as rendered by Grierson has all the spacious vivacity of the original, and will remain with the original inalienable possessions for posterity. When John Payne translated into English the whole *Decameron* from the Italian (printed for the Villon Society in 1886) the risk of such a venture became manifest; his style was too archaic and stilted adequately to render the vigour and vivacity of the original. Sir George Grierson's version of the "Purusha-Parīkshā" has hit the mean between archaism and modernism, and secures as much freedom and spirit as is compatible with substantial accuracy.

Grierson brings out to the full the secret of Vidyāpati's success with his contemporaries and successors. Vidyāpati's realism was theirs; his easy-going acceptance of allegorical forms which had lost their hold upon his faith, but which were useful as a fig-leaf for the nakedness of human appetites, suited their temper and their sense of decorum. The consummate skill of Grierson is put to a severe test in tales like that of 'A Cozening Rake,' pp. 160-2. Like Vidyāpati, he emerges jumping precisely with their humour even at the cost of a joint left untranslated, p. 161. The Tale of a Swindler and the Tale of a Booby Born, pp. 50-55, pp. 64-66, are inimitable and only possible at the hand of Grierson to whom the language and letters

of the land of Vidyāpati (Mithilā) owes more than to any other living man. Vidyāpati's idyll in mixed verse and prose appears in Grierson's novel in prose as sparkling as the tights of Harlequin. They give us so much amusement that we forget for the nonce the age of the translator and his by now proverbial erudition. It is a fitting gift of its Doyen to Indology.

The Introduction, Bibliography and Index leave nothing to be desired. They extend the gift to adepts and dilettantes in letters, from Indianists to Humanists.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Kamalabai Deshpande, G.A., Ph.D. Venus Stores, Poona. 1936.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. i-xv, 1-226.

The work represents a thesis submitted to the German University in Prague in 1931. It gives a careful exposition of the various *Samśkāras* from Garbhādhāna to Upanayana. It throws interesting light, as pointed out by Professor Winternitz in a Foreword, on the mutual relation of the Gṛhyasūtras and the Vedic schools to which they belong. Mrs. Deshpande gives many interesting references to rites and customs obtaining in India to-day.

The chapter on 'The Beginning of the Custom of Child-marriage,' pp. 179-201, gives a fair account of the various movements that led to the introduction of early marriages and will be appreciated by our present-day social reformers.



The appendix, index and bibliography are useful and generally adequate.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

VIJAYANAGARA SEXCENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME. Published under the auspices of The Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association and Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, 1936.

It is a delightfully readable volume on practically every aspect of Vijayanagara from about the thirteenth century till after its fall. The activities centering in and around Vijayanagara were valuable and various, and scholars of various schools and varied attainments have contributed to produce a composite picture worthy of the occasion. Men like Rev. H. Heras and S. K. Aiyangar have made a life-study of the culture of Southern India and their treatment of their respective themes are adequate and attractive.

The only section that appears comparatively poor and unrepresented is South Indian Philology.

The get-up and printing are excellent.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

## Obituary Notice

KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL

The members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society will have heard with deep sorrow the news of the death of Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, one of the Foundation members of the Society and the Editor of its Journal for the greater part of its existence. He died at Patna on 4th August, nearly twenty-six years after his call to the cause of Indology by Sir Ashutosh Mukherji.

Born at Jhalda in Manbhum (Bihar) in 1881, Jayaswal would have been 56 on 27th November. The London Mission School at Mirzapur where his father was a big merchant, and Oxford were mainly responsible for his education. At Oxford he obtained the Davies Scholarship in Chinese and took his M.A., in History. He was called to the Bar from the Middle Temple and was enrolled as a Barrister in the Calcutta High Court in 1909. About 1910, at the instance of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, the Senate of Calcutta University recommended Jayaswal for appointment as a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History. Under the convention then obtaining in academic circles at Calcutta, active participation in current and controversial politics was considered undesirable and Jayaswal was asked to give up his appointment. Since then Jayaswal eschewed politics and instead enriched Indology with a sustained devotion equalled by few

of his contemporaries. His contributions embrace Indian epigraphy and numismatics, Hindu history and polity, Sanskrit texts and Hindi literature; they are valuable and varied, and all imprinted with his personality and predilection.

He first came to prominence with his articles on 'An Introduction to Hindu Polity' in 'The Modern Review' in 1913. These articles were later developed and appeared as 'Hindu Polity' in 1924. In 1917, he was appointed Tagore Professor of Law at Calcutta and delivered lectures on 'Development of Law in Manu and Yāgñavalkya,' published in 1934. It was this combination of a trained legal practitioner and theorist that makes his comparison of political Saṃghas with Buddhist ecclesiastical organisation so attractive. He edited the well-known Sanskrit text on politics 'Rājanītiratnākara,' c. A.D. 1300-25, in 1925, a second edition of which appeared in *JBORS*, 1936, vol. XXII, Pt. IV. This acquaintance with most of the original sources Jayaswal made full use of in his writings on ancient and mediaeval systems of government in India.

When in 1914, that scholar-administrator Sir Edward Gait founded the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at Patna, Jayaswal's literary activities multiplied. Since then till the day of his death he was a constant contributor to the pages of its Journal, with only occasional publications in the *Indian Antiquary*, *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, the *Kāshī Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā* and a few others. His writings on the Pāṭaliputra statues, Hathigumphā inscription, the Nāga-Vākātaka

history and pre-Mauryan and Mauryan coins in *JBORS* evoked wide interest. This interest whether of warm appreciation or of acute controversy was due essentially to an unusual vigour of mind and an alluring gift of expression. In 1934, he revisited London and placed his conclusions regarding Mauryan coins before the Royal Asiatic Society of London. The president summed up by saying that like the theories of Sir Alexander Cunningham, those of Jayaswal were criticised by his contemporaries, but might find acceptance afterwards. The available data are admittedly inadequate. In awaiting fresh discoveries, Jayaswal's work has been most useful in provoking discussion where formerly there was either indifference or neglect.

Besides editing the *Pratipadapañcikā* commentary on *Arthaśāstra* and some volumes of the Mithilā MSS. with the present writer, Jayaswal edited the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* in collaboration with Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana. His last important work was on Nepal Chronology published in *JBORS* (1936).

Jayaswal's services were recognised by Government and learned institutions in India. Government appointed him first a member and then the President of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum. It was mainly due to the efforts of his predecessor as President, Mr. Manuk, and of Jayaswal that the Patna Museum has within a short time become a storehouse of the ancient relics of Bihar and Orissa. He received the Honorary Doctorate of Philosophy from Patna University in 1936. He was twice elected President of the Numismatic Society of India and was awarded their special medal. He was also awarded the Gaekwad

Golden Jubilee medal in 1930. He presided over the sixth All-India Oriental Conference in 1932 and continued to be a member of its Council to the end of his life.

Both in India and Europe Jayaswal was well known to a wide circle of friends and admirers who will lament the passing of a fine scholar and a warm-hearted friend.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

## Notes of the Quarter

### NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Local Secretary's Office, Trivandrum,  
Travancore State,  
February 20, 1937

FROM

R. V. PODUVAL, B.A.,  
*Local Secretary,*  
*Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum*

TO

Bihar & Orissa Research Society,  
Patna

SIR,

The Ninth All-India Oriental Conference will meet at Trivandrum in December 1937. I have the honour to invite you to send delegates on behalf of your institution. All individual scholars are of course welcome, but we would like to see your institution represented by its own delegates, as this has been the former practice.

If your institution agrees to send delegates, I am to request that the names of the delegates selected may kindly be communicated to me as soon as possible.

A copy of the First Bulletin is forwarded along with this letter ; and this will give you some idea of the activities of the Conference and its aims and objects.

Will you be so good as to let me know whether the representatives of your institution, if any, are likely to read any papers at the Conference? If so, the papers in full together with a short summary of each should be sent to me before the 1st of September 1937.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. V. PODUVAL

*Local Secretary*

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on August 15, 1937.*

Present—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.

James, in the chair.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. On a motion from the chair it was resolved that the Council's deep sympathy with the family of the late Dr. Jayaswal be conveyed to Mrs. Jayaswal, and that the Council place on record its sense of the great loss which India in general and in particular the Bihar and Orissa Research Society have sustained through his death.
2. Resolved further to publish a commemoration volume in honour of Dr. Jayaswal.
3. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on February 14, 1937.
4.
  - a. Passed the monthly accounts from January to June, 1937.
  - b. Passed the annual accounts for the year 1936-37.
  - c. Passed the Revised Budget for 1937-38 and the Budget Estimate for 1938-39.



## 5. Confirmed payments of the following bills :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
a. Lama Dharmavardhana for cataloguing Tibetan Books ..	100	0	0
b. Messrs. Dharmamana Purnaman, Calcutta :—			
1. Purchase of Kanjur ..	1000	0	0
2. „ „ Tanjur, advance on account .. ..	1000	0	0
c. Art Cottage for enlargement of photographs brought by the Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana ..	141	12	0
„ „ „ „	72	10	0
d. Sitaram for packing charges of Kanjur and Tanjur sent on sale to Rangoon University ..	127	8	0
e. Allahabad Law Journal Press :—			
1. Printing charges of Journal, December issue, 1936, and packing charges of Rajaniti-ratnakara .. ..	589	15	6
2. Printing charges of Journal, March issue, 1937, and miscellaneous bills .. ..	631	12	6
f. Patna Museum for photographic work in connection with the Rev. Rahula's manuscripts	19	1	0
g. Mr. Arthur Probsthain for books purchased .. ..	84	9	6
h. Anandasram, Poona for books purchased .. ..	144	0	0

	Rs.	a.	p.
i. Messrs. Motilal Banarsidas, Lahore, for books purchased	123	10	0
"              "              "	45	4	0
j. Indian Photo Engraving Co. for plates of Journal, March issue, 1937 .. .. .	340	6	0
k. Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, Allahabad, for books purchased .. .. .	114	0	0
l. Messrs. Luzac and Co., Lon- don, for books purchased ..	29	6	3
m. Messrs. Surajmal Sikaria for uniform and 99 pieces of cloth washed, dyed and sewn for new Kanjur volumes .. .. .	48	12	9
n. Messrs. J. B. Yadav and Sons for 99 pairs of boards for new Kanjur volumes .. .. .	80	15	0
6. Elected the following persons as ordinary mem- bers of the Society :			
a. Pt. Shyam Sundar Sharma, M.A., Registrar, Agra University.			
b. Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, Allahabad Univer- sity.			
c. Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Jodhpur.			
d. Mr. Hira Lal Jalan, Patna City.			
e. Mr. Reva Shankar Govardhan Ram Shukla, Baroda.			
f. Pandit Sant Basant Singh, Patiala.			
g. E. Hamilton Johnston Esq. Boden Profes-			

sor of Sanskrit, 23 Linton Road, Oxford.

7. Read the Honorary Secretary's letter No. 6-S, dated April 6, 1937 to Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan.

Resolved that the Vice-President be requested to consult the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford about the publication of the manuscripts discovered by the Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana.

8. Considered the Mithila Pandit's application dated March 15, 1937.

Resolved that the payment of the allowance asked for could not be sanctioned.

9. Read letter No. 607-E, dated March 31st, 1937, Education and Development Department, and the report received from Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy. Resolved that the Honorary Secretary thank Government for forwarding the report to the Society.

10. Read letter No. 771-E, dated April 24, 1937, from the Education and Development Department.

Resolved that, provided the Orissa Government is prepared to publish a selection of this catalogue, the Society agree to transfer the Oriya Pandit's catalogue of manuscripts to the Kanika Library of the Ravenshaw College.

11. Read the circular letter of the local Secretary of the 9th All-India Oriental Conference.

Resolved that this letter be printed in the Society's journal.

12. Granted permission to the Rev. Rahula San-

krityayana to print at his own cost 500 reprints of the following works which are to be issued in the Society's journal :—

- a. Pramāṇavārtika.
- b. Pramāṇavārtika vritti.
- c. Adhyardhaśataka.
- d. Vighrahavyāvartanī.

13. Placed on the Society's exchange list :—

- a. Rivista Degli Studi Orientali, Citta University, Roma.
- b. Archaeological Department, Baroda State.
- c. Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
- d. Institute Fur Volkerkunde an der Universitat, Wien.

Resolved that the Editors of the Journal of the Benares Hindu University be asked to renew their request at a later date.

Resolved further that the Council regret its inability to place *Inner Culture* on its exchange list.

14. Read the statement submitted to the Secretary to Government, Education and Development Department, showing the expenditure in excess over grants and appropriation for the year 1936-37.

15. Read a letter from Mr. G. E. Fawcus, C.I.E., O.B.E., dated August 3, 1937.

Resolved that Mr. Fawcus be asked to reconsider his intention to resign from the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

16. Considered the election of additional members to the Council.

Resolved that for the time being the matter be deferred.

17. Read the letter from the President of the All-India Oriental Conference.

Resolved that the representative sent by Patna University to the Conference be asked to represent the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Resolved further that the Council regret the Society's finances do not permit it to make any donation to the conference.

18. Granted Prof. Sri Ram Sharma permission to print at his own cost 200 reprints of his article "Organization of Public Services during the Moghal Period," published in the Society's journal vol. XXIII, part 2.

19. Read the letter No. 834 of August 6, from the General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference, expressing his sympathy with the bereaved family and with the Research Society in the loss of Dr. Jayaswal.

It was resolved that the General Secretary be thanked for the letter, and that its contents be forwarded to Mrs. Jayaswal.

J. L. HILL

*Honorary General Secretary*

17-8-1937

## ANNUAL ACCOUNTS 1936-37

## INCOME

Heads	Actuals 1936-37			Revised Budget 1936-37		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment .. ..	1000	0	0	1000	0	0
Mithila Pandit .. ..	1533	0	0	1539	0	0
Library : Govt. Grant ..	350	0	0	350	0	0
Unspent Bal. 1935-36				88	10	5
K. B. Ismail's Dona- tion .. ..				50	0	0
Printing charges of Journal ..	2000	0	0	2000	0	0
Sale of Journal .. ..	432	2	0	278	0	0
Subscription .. ..	1517	0	0	1300	0	0
Postage recovered .. ..	31	13	0	10	0	0
Sale of Mithila MSS. .. ..	25	0	0			
Sale of Purnea Report .. ..	10	0	0			
Huthwa Fund .. ..				1150	2	6
Darbhangra Fund .. ..				2443	0	6
Mayurbhanj Fund .. ..				895	11	7½
Miscellaneous* .. ..	5547	2	0			
Total .. ..	12446	1	0	11104	9	½
Opening Balance .. ..	2171	7	10	2276	14	11½
Grand Total .. ..	14617	8	10	13381	8	0

\*This contains : Lt. Colonel Bhargava's Library

Deposit .. .. 40 0 0

Refund from MSS. Library,  
Madras .. .. 5 4 3

Allahabad Bank F.D. .. 2501 13 9

Rangoon University sale pro-  
ceeds of Kanjur and Tanjur 3000 0 0

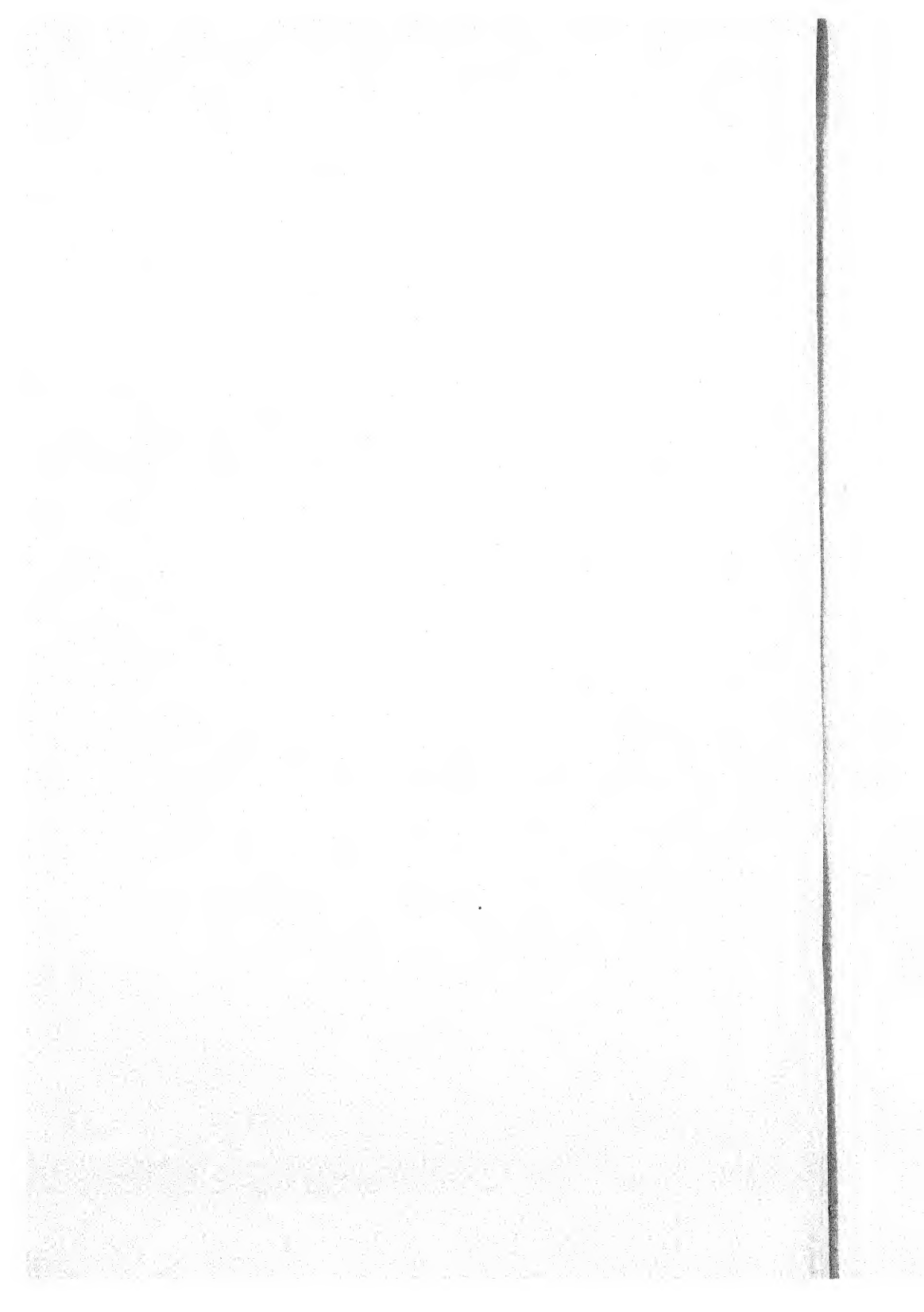
Total .. 5547 2 0

## ANNUAL ACCOUNTS 1936-37

## EXPENDITURE

Heads	Actuals 1936-37			Revised Budget 1936-37		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment .. ..	1270	4	0	1224	0	0
Provident Fund .. ..				56	0	0
Mithila Pandit .. ..	1321	0	2	1539	0	0
Provident Fund .. ..				75	0	0
Library : Govt. Grant ..	184	5	6	350	0	0
Unspent Balance ..	..			88	10	5
K. B. Ismail's Dona- tion .. ..	..			50	0	0
Printing charges of Journal ..	2181	12	0	2400	0	0
Telephone .. ..	208	11	0	208	11	0
Postage .. ..	341	7	6	375	0	0
Stationery .. ..	61	10	9	90	0	0
Electrical charges .. ..	133	0	0	95	0	0
Huthwa Fund .. ..	1475	3	6	1150	2	6
Darbhanga Fund .. ..	976	3	0	2443	0	6
Mayurbhanj Fund .. ..	100	0	0	895	11	7½
Miscellaneous* .. ..	3695	5	3	300	0	0
Total .. ..	11948	14	8	11340	4	½
Closing Balance .. ..	2668	10	2	2041	3	11½
Grand Total .. ..	14617	8	10	13381	8	0

*This contains :	Miscellaneous proper ..	..	155	13	3
Lt. Colonel	Bhargava's refund ..	..	37	14	0
	Public Account deposit ..	..	2501	10	0
	Purchase of Kanjur ..	..	1000	0	0
			<hr/>		
			3695	5	3



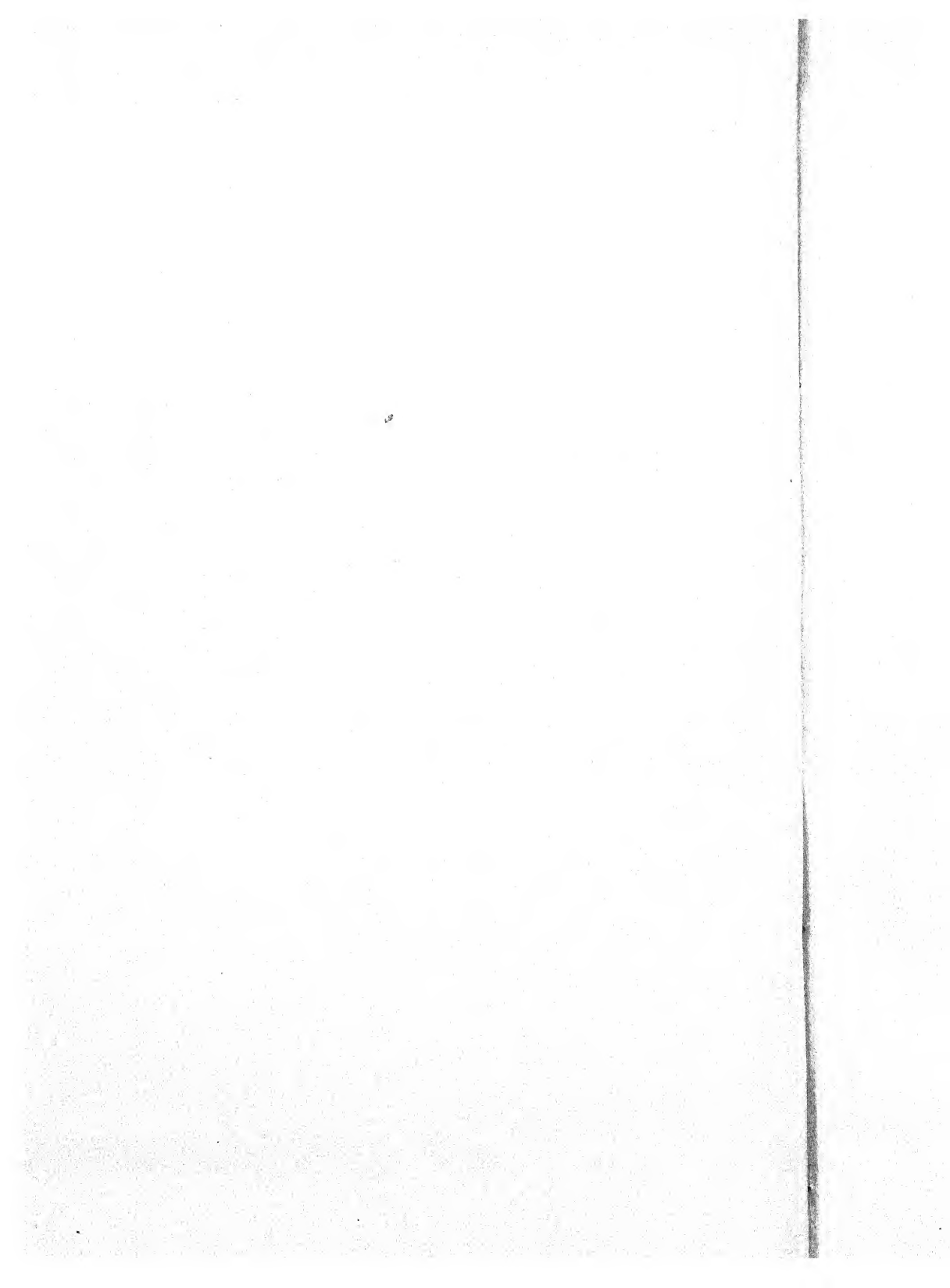


APPENDIX TO J. B. O. R. S. VOL. XXIII

VIGRAHAVYĀVARTTANĪ

*By*  
ĀCHĀRYA NĀGĀRJUNA  
WITH THE AUTHOR'S OWN COMMENTARY

*Edited by*  
K. P. JAYASWAL  
AND  
RAHULA SĀṆKRITYĀYANA

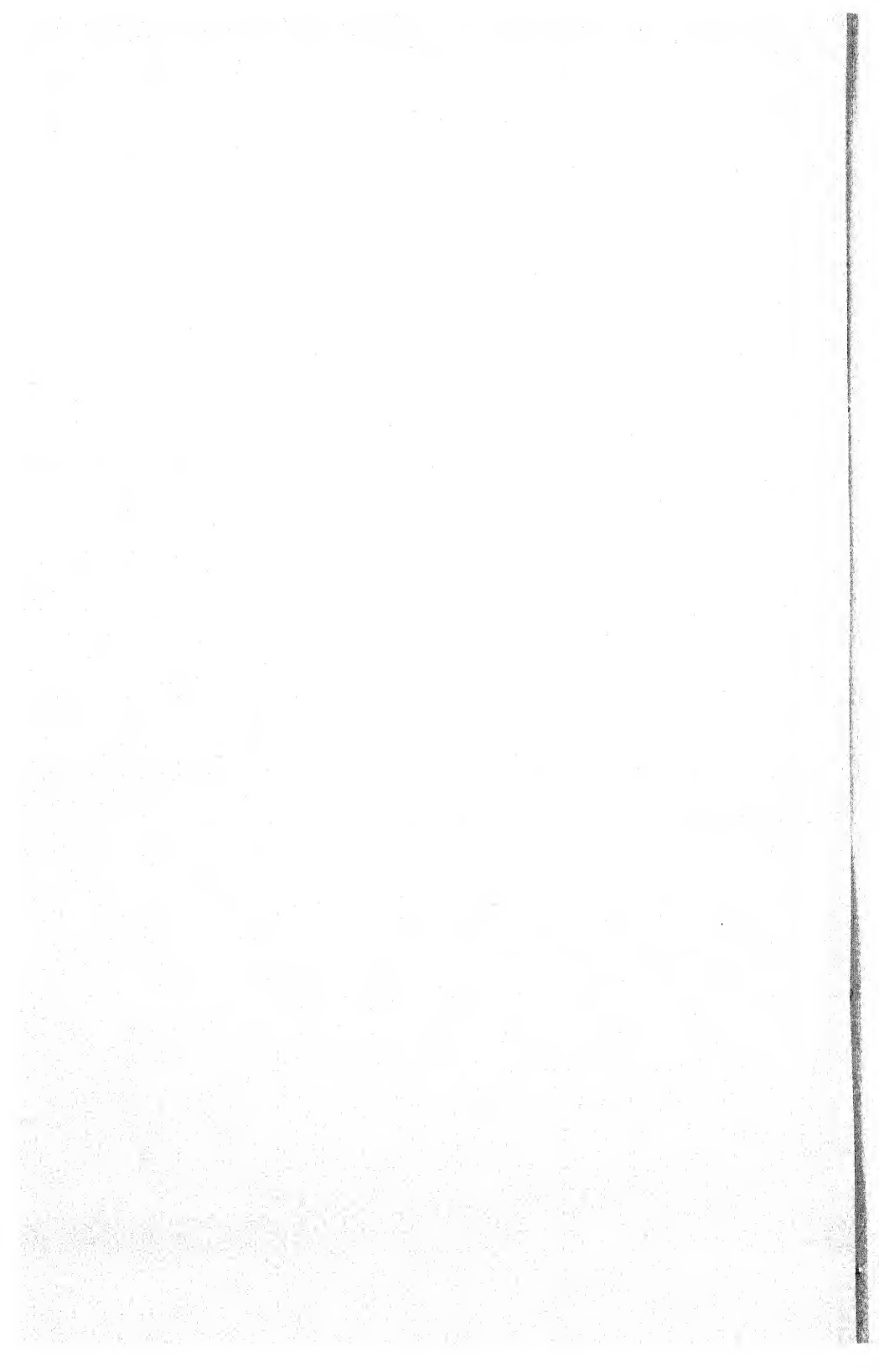


नागार्जुनकृता

# विग्रहव्यावर्तनी

स्वोपज्ञवृत्त्या समेता

काशीप्रसादजायसवाल-राहुलसांकृत्यायनाभ्यां  
सम्पादिता



## PREFACE

Nāgārjuna, the revolutionary philosopher and founder of Mādhyamika school of Buddhism was born in a Brahmin family in the country of Vidarbha (modern Berar) according to Tibetan authors<sup>1</sup>. He was contemporary of a Śātavāhana to whom he wrote a letter (Suhṛllekha), a translation of which is found both in Tibetan and Chinese. Śātavāhana is "the title adopted by the rulers of the Andhra dynasty which held sway in southern India from the middle of the 3rd Century B. C. until the beginning of the 3rd Century A. D." I think Dr. Winternitz is right in assuming Nāgārjuna to be a contemporary of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī who reigned in 166—196 A.D. He mostly lived in Dhānyakāṭaka (Dharanikot, Dt. Guntur, Madras) and Śrīparvata (Nāgārjunī Konda, Dt. Guntur) and according to Tārānātha, he built a monastery at the former place.<sup>2</sup> From his works like Mādhyamika-Kārikā, Yuktīṣaṣṭhikā, Sūnyatā-saptati and the present work, we know him as a great philosopher; but Nāgārjuna was known in India and in Buddhist countries outside India, as a magician and alchemist too; and perhaps it was due to his association that in later times Śrīparvata became a most sacred

<sup>1</sup> See *History of Indian Literature* by Winternitz, vol. II, pp. 346-48.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Buddhism in India* by Lama Tārānātha (b. 1574 A.C.) (Tibetan, Tashi-lhun-po block-print) p. 38a.

seat of the Tāntrika cults of both Hinduism and Buddhism. The siddhas (adepts or mystic magicians) of Śrīparvata were famous for their magical powers in ancient days as it is evident from *Mālatimādhava*<sup>1</sup>, *Kādambarī*<sup>2</sup> and other poetical works. According to the Vajrayānists (Tāntrika Buddhists), Dhānyakaṭaka was the place where the Buddha turned the third wheel of law of Vajrayāna sixteen years after his enlightenment<sup>3</sup>. In recent excavations there have been discovered many relics at Nāgārjunī Kondā, but they show more the relation of the place with Hīnayāna than with Mahāyāna. Though we have, of course, got Tāntrika and other works ascribed to Nāgārjuna in Tibetan Tanjur and Chinese Tripiṭaka, but they seem to be creations of others who put the name of the celebrated philosopher to enhance the authority of the works.

In going through the pages of *Mādhyamika-Kārikā* and this work, we know that Nāgārjuna's idea was not to have an innovation in Buddhistic thought. His *Sūnyatā* or voidness was nothing but a logical corollary of *Pratītya-samutpāda*, i.e., dependent origination or discontinuous-continuation. The Buddha saw "impermanence in everything (*sabbam Aniccaṃ*). According to him, all changes were without any permanent substratum. In the light of this he has to change the law of cause and effect into that of *Pratītya-samutpāda* (origination of the successor

<sup>1</sup> *Mālatimādhava* I, p. 7; VIII, p. 195; X, p. 235. (Nirayasagar Press, 5th edition).

<sup>2</sup> *Kādambarī*—(Nirayasagar, 7th ed., p. 399).

<sup>3</sup> *History of Buddhism* by Hbrug-pa-dma-dkar-po (b. 1526 A.C.) Lhasa block-print, p. 14b-15a.

after the extinction of the predecessor). In fact all the mental and physical phenomena are devoid of any permanent substance like matter or ego. This was Buddha's own conception and Nāgārjuna's *Sūnyatā* or *Voidness* is only a more appropriate word for that conception.

We can thus understand well, why Nāgārjuna's heart overflowed with gratitude to the Master. As is shown by the last *kārikā* of this work:—"Who proclaimed dependent origination, *Voidness*, middle path with many meanings, I bow before him, the matchless Enlightened One."

Nāgārjuna took the original ideas of *Pratītya-samutpāda*, *Anitya*, *Anātman* with their implications and made a general application of them into all fields. The natural repercussion of such a general application seems to be destructive to many moral and religious observances of the Buddhists themselves; some of whom made a common cause with the non-Buddhists to assail Nāgārjuna's theory. But Nāgārjuna did not mean any harm to the moral and religious observances as it is clear by his last stanza (71) of the present work with its commentary. In fact, it was to make room for such observances that he laid special stress on the old two divisions of reality—the empirical and ultimate realities. For the practical purposes the empirical (*Samvṛti*) reality was as true as the ultimate one. All the solid things, like our chair, table and foodstuffs, are not solid at all. In ultimate analysis they are found to be only electrons or neutrons, where they lose all their phenomenal existence and become a mere force. Observed from a physicist's point, the chair and its seater, food and its

eater are not what they are seen to be by our ordinary eyes, but chair and food are quite good and useful for a tired or hungry person. That was the standpoint of Nāgārjuna about the moral and other rules. But he knew that the difference of the empirical and ultimate realities cannot be compromised, and that the reality has itself preferred to retain such a dual aspect.<sup>1</sup>

Nāgārjuna is said to be the inventor of the pneumatic verses (Kārikās)—the verses where both the brevity of aphorisms (Sūtra) and advantage of metre to the memory are combined. His Mādhyamika-kārikā is composed in Anuṣṭup and the kārikās of the present work are in Āryā metre. The verses in these works are not so polished as we find in later works composed in kārikās, which shows its being the first attempt in that field. The prose of the commentary of *vigrahavyāvarttanī* also shows the same defects for the same reason.

By comparing *vigrahavyāvarttanī* (V. V.) with *Pramāṇa-sāmānyaparīkṣā* of NyāyaSūtra (N.S.) and Vātsyāyana-Bhāṣya (V.B.) (2 : 1 : 8—19), it is clear that the latter two works are criticising the former one.

N.S.	V.B.	V.V.
त्रैकाल्यासिद्धेः (४) (१२)		त्रैकाल्यप्रतिहेतुः त्रैकाल्ये प्रतिषेधवाची (७०)
	पूर्वं हि प्रतिषेधसिद्धौ	पूर्वं चेत् प्रतिषेधः (२०)
पश्चात् सिद्धौ (१०)	पश्चात् सिद्धौ (१२)	अथ पश्चात् प्रतिषेधः (२०)

<sup>1</sup> Dharmakīrti, too—

यदीदं स्वयमर्थानां रोचते तत्र के वयम् । (PV. ३।२।१०)



युगपत् सिद्धौ (११)	युगपत् सिद्धौ (१२)	अथ युगपत् प्रतिषेध- प्रतिषेध्ये (२०)
	अनवस्था (१७)	अनवस्था (३२)
प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धिप्रसंग (१७)		अन्यैः प्रमाणैः प्रसिद्धि- रनवस्थाप्रसङ्गः (३२)
	विशेषहेतुः (१९)	विशेषहेतुः (३)
प्रतिषेधः (१२-१५)	प्रतिषेधः (१२, १४)	प्रतिषेधः (२, ५, ११-१६, २०, २३, २५-२७, ६१-६५, ७०)
	प्रत्यक्षादिभिः . . . उपलब्धिः उपलभेज्यं . . . . . (१९)	प्रत्यक्षादिभिः (३०)
प्रमेयसिद्धिः (१८)		प्रमेयाणां सिद्धिः (३१)

Invalidity of Pramāṇa (source of knowledge) for the establishment of the theory of voidness is the chief theme of the *Vigrahavyāvarttanī*. In his first 20 verses he gives all the objections against his theory of voidness, which proposes to refute the reality of existence and the source of real knowledge, since outer phenomenon is unreal and no standard remains for two moments which can be utilized for comparison to establish the existence of a thing. In the remaining 52 verses, he refutes all the arguments of his opponents. The opponents' arguments are:—

1. Voidness or the denial of the reality of all existences is not true since (i) the word which you use as argument will be also unreal; (ii) if it is not so then it goes against your own premises; (iii) it has no pramāṇa in its favour.

2. All existences are real since (i) good or bad notion of things is accepted by both; (ii) the non-existent things have no name; (iii) refutation of reality

cannot be proved ; (iv) the thing to be refuted can also be not proved.

Nāgārjuna's replies are :—

1. Voidness or the denial of reality of all existences is true since (i) acceptance of the unreality of the word does not go against the theory of unreality ; (ii) so it does not go against our premises ; (iii) validity of *pramāṇa* through which reality of the existence can be proved can not be established: (a) as neither *pramāṇa* can be established by another *pramāṇa* (proof) ; (b) nor like fire *pramāṇa* can establish itself ; (c) nor it can be established by *prameya* (thing to be proved) ; (d) nor it can be established by accident.

2. The voidness of the existences of things is true since (i) it does not go against the conception of the division of good and bad which is based on the dependent origination of the thing ; (ii) to say a non-existent thing has no name is not correct ; (iii) invalidity of refutation of the reality of existence cannot be established.

This method of giving all the opponents' points in one place before refuting them is found in *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāyasūtras*. The *Nyāya sūtra* while proving the validity of the source of knowledge (*prāmāṇyasiddhi*) divides its arguments in two parts :

1. (a) In the first four sūtras (2 : 1 : 8—11) it gives opponents' arguments against the validity of source of knowledge ; (b) in 5 sūtras (12—16) gives the replies that without the validity of the source of knowledge refutation itself becomes invalid.

2. (a) In 2 sūtras (17—18) the opponents' point is that no source of knowledge (*pramāṇa*) is invalid

since, it cannot be proved by its own authority and it cannot claim to be independent of all authorities for its validity.

(b) The answer is given in one sūtra (19) that the *pramāṇa* like a lamp can prove the validity of its own existence and also existences of other things.

The *Nyāyasūtra* and *Vigrahavyāvarttanī* cover the same ground, of course, in opposite direction, so no doubt one is criticizing the other. If we carefully go through the whole text, we find that (i) not only Vātsyāyana but also—the author of *Nyāyasūtra* is criticizing Nāgārjuna's theory of invalidity (*pratiṣedha*) of all sources of knowledge which he developed through his theory of *Śūnyatā* (voidness); (ii) the sūtra gives the example of balance (*tulā*) showing a *pramāṇa* (source of knowledge) can be both *pramāṇa* and *prameya* (thing to be proved or known) which is not criticized by Nāgārjuna. This silence shows that the opponents' argument was not before him, (iii) the style of the language and the method of argument of *Vigrahavyāvarttanī* is primitive, while *Nyāya-Sūtra* and its *Bhāṣya* have a polished language and a measured and effective style of argument.

Nāgārjuna is not only a forerunner of *Nyāyasūtra* but if we go through the other three Brahmanical systems of philosophy—*Vaiśeṣika*, *Vedānta* and *Mīmāṃsā sūtras*, there too, we will find an echo of Nāgārjuna's opposition. Of course the modern *Sāṃkhya* and *yoga-sūtra* are later in antiquity to the other four systems. Thus the advent of Nāgārjuna opens a new epoch of activity in philosophical thought, which led to the formulation of the six systems of Brahmanical philosophy.

At the present stage of our information we cannot assert anything definitely but the meagre materials which we have at our disposal indicate that the personality of Nāgārjuna is not less important than the personality of Dignāga who is rightly called the father of Mediaeval Indian Logic ; and of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya the founder of Modern Brahmanical Logic (नव्यन्याय).

The importance of *Vigraha-vyāvarttanī* is great since among the works known upto the present, it is the oldest work which deals with a logical subject.

### *Translation into Tibetan*

*Vigrahavyāvarttanī* text was translated into Tibetan by (i) Pandit Jñānagarbha (874 A.C.) and the translator (ka-va) Dpal-brts-egs; and again (ii) revised by Pandita Jayānanda (1060 A.C.) of Kashmere and the Tibetan interpreter (khu) Mdo-sde-dpal. The commentary was translated by the same Pandit Jñānagarbha with the help of Ban-de-rakṣita.

### *MS.*

The present manuscript<sup>1</sup> of *Vigrahavyāvarttanī* was discovered in the monastery of Śha-lu in July, 1936. There are seven palm leaves of the size of  $22\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ , each leaf containing eight lines. The script is Tibetan u-cen. Though written in running hand it is quite legible. We find the name of the copyist in the colophon—लिखितमिदं श्रीधर्मकीर्तिना. In the same bundle

<sup>1</sup> JBORS—XXIII, part I, p. 36n. 249.

we got a palm leaf manuscript of *Vinayasūtra*<sup>1</sup> of Guṇaprabha which is also written in Tibetan u-cen by the same copyist. The colophon of which gives additional information that the manuscript was copied in India while the copyist was staying in the monastery of Vikramaśilā. As for the time, we have got only the name Phālguṇa without giving the name of the year. From another source<sup>2</sup> we know there was a Lo-tsa-va Dharma-grags (=धर्मकीर्तिः) of Gñub, who belonged to the time Ba-ri Lo-tsa-va (1102—1111 A.C.). On the cover of this manuscript, “Si-la-a-ka-ras-bris-pa” (=written by Śilākara). The manuscript itself was not written by Śilākara as it is clear from the colophon but on a few pages Tibetan translation is given below the Sanskrit lines in a later and different hand which may be the writing of Śilākara. We know<sup>3</sup> that Śilākara or Tshul-khrims-hleyuñ-gnas of Steñ (1106—90 A.C.) translated *Vinaya-sūtra-vyākhyā* of Prajñākara with the Indian Pandit Alaṅka Deva. It seems that the manuscript of *Vinaya-sūtra* along with *Vīgrahavyāvarttanī* was copied in India and afterwards it was taken to Tibet, where it came into the hands of Śilākara. The exact date cannot be given with any certainty. It may be any time between 1100—20 A.C. all the manuscripts kept in the monastery of Śha-lu originally belonged to the great monastery of Sa-Skya whence the famous

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34n. 243.

“शाक्यभिक्षुधर्मकीर्तिना सकलसत्त्वार्थे लिखितं श्रीमद्विक्रमशिलामा-  
श्रित्य. . . . . फाल्गुन (?ण) मासे”

<sup>2</sup> *Buddhism in Tibet* by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, appendix XVI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

scholar Bu-ston (1290—1364 A.C.) carried them to his monastery at Śha-lu.

The manuscript is full of mistakes as will be seen from the following :

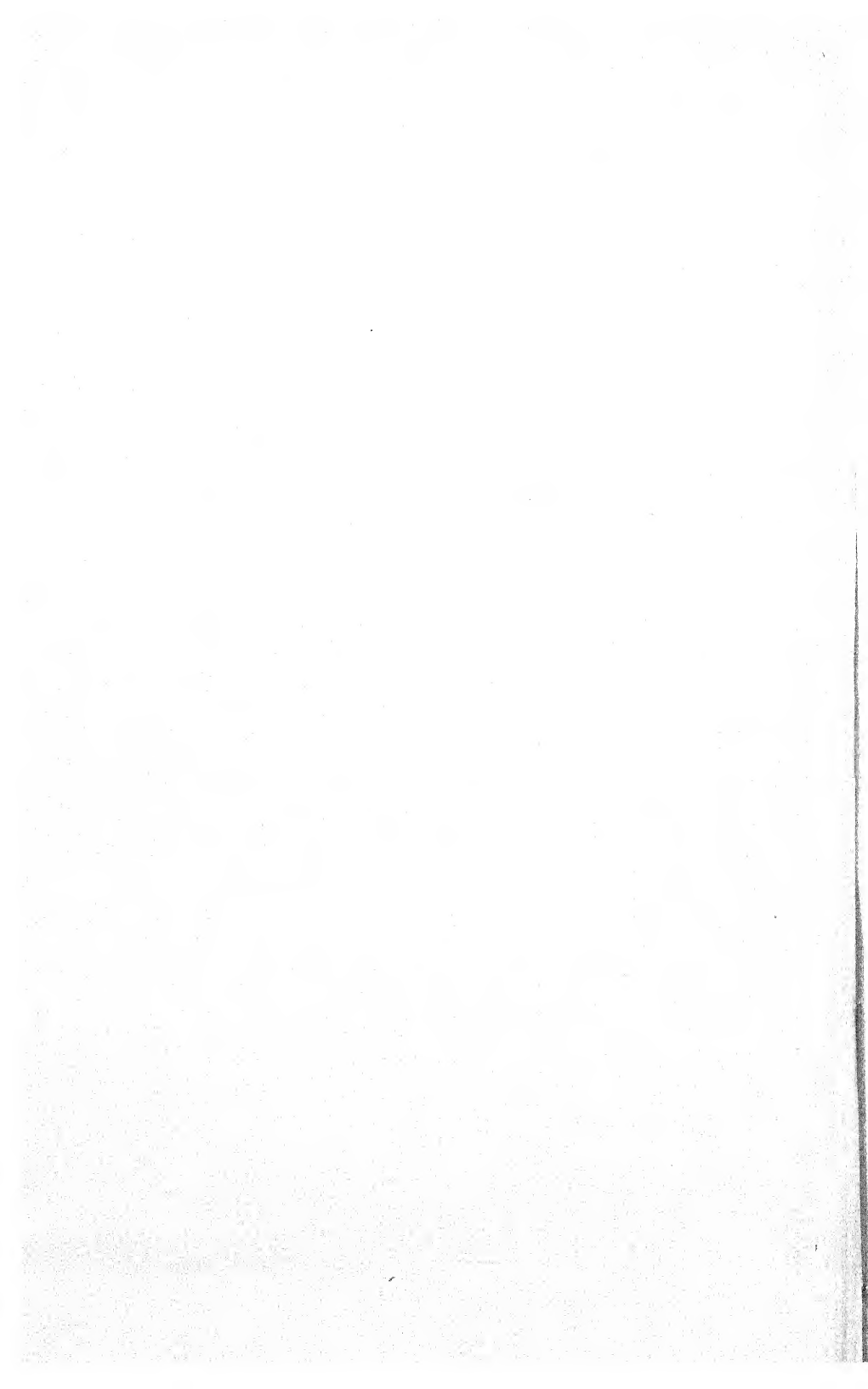
यद्यदेव	=	यद्येव	.	=	।	ग्ध	=	ग्ध्र
कृ	=	ष्क्रि	शू	=	व	दोष	=	द्वेष
नि	=	णि	.	=	ड	श्र	=	स्र
क्रि	=	कृ	श्र	=	स्र	नि	=	नै
नां	=	णां	।स्ति	=	। आस्ति	स्म	=	ष्म
सन्ति	=	: सन्ति	धा	=	द्धा	सि	=	षि
ध्य	=	ध	त्ति	=	त्त	त	=	क
ड	=	अ	न्न	=	न्त	सा	=	श्रा
.	=	:	भते	=	भे	म्भोक्तः	=	म्भ उक्तः
तो	=	तः	तेति	=	त इति	स	=	श
नः	=	। तमसि	द्यन्तेति	=	द्यन्त इति	सो अ	=	शो
क्ष	=	क्ष्य	कार	=	क	न्ति	=	ति
याऽर्था	=	या अर्था	न	=	न्	णि	=	णा
ति	=	तः	स	=	स्य	स्यात्र	=	स्यरतः
श	=	ष	व	=	वं	वोप	=	व उप
नं	=	तं	नि	=	न	तो	=	तौ
शे	=	वे	रि	=	ऋ	व	=	ए
षु	=	सु	नोप	=	नमुप			

It had originally been arranged that the *Vigraha-vyāvarttanī* would be edited jointly by the late Dr. Jayaswal and myself. After the void left by his demise, I have continued in the light of Nāgārjuna's *Pratītya-samutpāda*.

### MSS. CONSULTED

VSH. Palm-leaf Ms. in Tibetan Character (U-med) belonging to Şha-lu-ri-phug-monastery (Tibet), on which our text is based.

VT. Tucci's translation of विग्रहव्यावर्तनी (English) (Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda) with Tibetan text. Additional reading from it is put in the bracket [ ].





## विषय-सूची

कारिकाङ्कः

शून्यतायां प्रामाण्यासिद्धिः			
क. पूर्वपक्षः	..	..	१
१—भावानां शून्यता (=निःस्वभावता) न युक्ता	..	..	१
(१) वादिवचनस्य शून्यत्वात्	..	..	१
(२) अन्यथा प्रतिज्ञाहानिः	..	..	२
(३) प्रमाणासिद्धेः	..	..	६
२—भावानां सस्वभावता युक्ता	..	..	७
(१) कुशलादिधर्माणां कुशलादिस्वभावताऽभ्युपगमात्	..	..	७
(२) निर्वस्तुकस्य नामाभावात्	..	..	९
(३) प्रतिषेधासिद्धेः	..	..	१०
(क) धर्मेविना स्वभावाप्रतिषेधात्	..	..	१०
(ख) सद्भावाऽभ्युपगमात्	..	..	११
(ग्राहादिषट्कास्वीकारात्	..	..	१४)
(ग) निर्हेतुकत्वात्	..	..	१७
(४) प्रतिषेध्यासिद्धेः	..	..	२०
ख. उत्तरपक्षः	..	..	२१
१—भावानां शून्यता युक्ता (क)	..	..	२१
(१) वचनस्य शून्यतास्वीकारेऽपि	..	..	२१
(शून्यता लक्षणम्	..	..	२२)
(२) न प्रतिज्ञाहानिः	..	..	२४
(३) प्रमाणासिद्धिः	..	..	३०
(क) न परतः (प्रमाणेन) प्रमाणसिद्धिः	..	..	३२
(ख) नाऽग्निवत् स्वतः	..	..	३४

(ग) न प्रमेयतः	..	..	..	४१
(घ) नाऽप्यकस्मात्	..	..	..	५२
२—भावानां शून्यता युक्ता (ख)	..	..	..	५३
(१) प्रतीत्य समुत्पन्नत्वात् कुशलादेः प्रविभागः	..	..	..	५३
(२) निर्वस्तुकस्य नामाभावे न नियमः	..	..	..	५८
(३) प्रतिषेधासिद्धिर्न युक्ता	..	..	..	६१
(क) धर्मविनिर्मुक्तः स्वभावः प्रतिषिद्धः	..	..	..	६१
(ख) असतोऽपि (अनभ्युपगमस्य) प्रतिषेधात् समः	..	..	..	६२
(ग) प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् न निर्हेतुकतादोषः	..	..	..	६६
(४) प्रतिषेधप्रतिषेध्यानभ्युपगमाददोषः	..	..	..	७०

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नमो बुद्धाय ।

## विग्रहव्यावर्तनी'

शून्यतायां प्रामाण्यसिद्धिः

क—पूर्वपक्षः

१. भावानां शून्यता न युक्ता

(१) वादिवचनस्य शून्यत्वात्

सर्वेषां भावानां सर्वत्र न विद्यते स्वभावश्चेत् ।

त्वद्वचनमस्वभावं न निवर्तयितुम<sup>२</sup>स्वभावमलं ॥ (१)

यदि सर्वेषां भावानां हेतौ प्रत्ययेषु च हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्र्याञ्च पृथक् च यत्र सर्वत्र स्वभावो<sup>३</sup> न विद्यत इति कृत्वा शून्याः सर्वभावा इति । न हि बीजे हेतुभूतेऽङ्कुरो-  
स्ति (१) न पृथिव्यप्तेजोवाय्वादीनामेकैकस्मिन् प्रत्ययसंज्ञेति । न प्रत्ययेषु समग्रेषु (१)  
न हेतुप्रत्यये<sup>४</sup>षु समग्रेषु न हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्र्यां (१) न हेतुप्रत्ययविनिर्मुक्तः पृथगेव वा ।  
यस्मादत्र<sup>५</sup> स्वभावो नास्ति तस्मान्निःस्वभावोऽङ्कुरः । यस्मान्निःस्वभावः<sup>६</sup> तस्मात्  
शून्यः । यथा चायमङ्कुरो निःस्वभावो निःस्वभावत्वाच्च शून्यः तथा सर्वभावा  
निःस्वभावत्वाच्छून्या इति ।

अत्र वयं ब्रूमः । यद्येवं तवापि वचनं यद्ये<sup>(?यदे)</sup>तच्छून्याः सर्वभावा  
इति तदपि शून्यं । किं क[र]णं (१)<sup>१</sup> तदपि हेतौ नास्ति म<sup>२</sup>हाभूतेषु संप्रयुक्तेषु  
विप्रयुक्तेषु वा प्रत्ययेषु नास्ति । उरःकण्ठोष्ठजिह्वादन्तमूलतालुनासिका-  
मूर्द्धप्रभृतिषु यन्नैवोभयसामग्र्यामस्ति । हेतुप्रत्ययस(१)मग्रीविनिर्मुक्तं पृथगेव  
वा नास्ति । यस्मादत्र सर्वत्र नास्ति । तस्मान्निःस्वभावं । यस्मान्निःस्वभावं

१ VT. "विग्रहव्यावर्तनीवृत्तिः"

२ VT. ०त्वं स्वभा०

३ VT. भावो

४ VT. तत्र सर्वत्रायं

५ VT. Omits

तस्माच्छून्यं । तस्मादनेन सर्वभावस्वभावव्यावर्त्तनमशक्यं कर्तुं । किं कारणं । न ह्यसदग्निना दग्धं (?शक्यं दग्धं) । न ह्यसता शस्त्रेण शक्यं <sup>३</sup> छेतुं । नासतीभिरद्धिः शक्यं क्लेदयितुमेवमसता वचनेन [न] शक्यः सर्वभावस्वभाव-प्रतिषेधः कर्तुं न शक्यः सर्वभावस्वभावो निवर्तयितुं । (१)

### (२) अन्यथा प्रतिज्ञाहानिः

तत्र यदुक्तं सर्वभावस्वभावः प्रतिषिद्धः सर्वत्र भावस्वभावो विनिवर्तत<sup>१</sup> इति । तन्न ॥

अथ सस्वभावमेतद् वाक्यं श्रुत्वा हृत (१) प्रतिज्ञा ते (१)

वैषमिकत्वं तस्मिन्; विशेषहेतुश्च वक्तव्यः ॥ (२)

अथापि मन्यसे माभूदेष दोष इति सस्वभावमेतद् वाक्यं । सस्व<sup>४</sup>भावत्वाच्चा-शून्यं । तस्मादनेन सर्वभावस्वभावः प्रतिषिद्धः सर्वभावस्वभावो विनिवर्तत इति ॥

अत्र ब्रूमः । यदि ते प्रतिज्ञा शून्याः सर्वभावा इति हता सा ॥

किञ्चान्यत् (१) सर्वभावान्तर्गतञ्च त्वद्वचनं । कस्मात् (१) सर्वभावेषु त्वद्वचनमशून्यं येनाशून्यत्वात् सर्वभावस्वभावः स्वभावप्रसिद्धः<sup>२</sup> ॥

एवं षट्कोटिको वादः प्रसक्तः । स पुनः कथमिति ।

(१) हन्त चेत् पुनः शून्याः<sup>५</sup> सर्वभावाः(?) स्तेन त्वद्वचनं शून्यं सर्वभावान्तर्गतत्वात् त्वद्वचनस्य । तेन शून्येन प्रतिज्ञा<sup>६</sup>(?षे) धानुपपत्तिः । तत्र यः प्रतिषेधः—(—)शून्यः सर्वभाव इति अनुपपन्नः ।

(२) उपपन्नश्चेत् पुनः शून्याः सर्वभावा इति प्रतिषेधस्तेन त्वद्वचनशून्यत्वात् (१) अनेन प्रतिषेधो अनुपपन्नः ।

(३) अथ शून्याः सर्वभावास्त्वद्वचनञ्चाशून्यं (१) येन प्रतिषेधस्तेन त्वद्वचनं सर्वत्रासंगृहीतं । तत्र दृष्टान्तविरोधः ।

(४) सर्वत्र चेत् पुनः गृहीतं त्वद्वचनं सर्वभावाश्च शून्याः । तेन तदपि शून्यं (१) शून्यत्वादनेन नास्ति प्रतिषेधः ।

(५) अथ शून्यमस्ति चानेन प्रतिषेधः शून्याः सर्वभावा इति (१) तेन शून्याऽ(अ)पि सर्वभावाः कार्यक्रियासमर्था भवेयुः । न चैतदिष्टं ।

(६) अथ शून्याः सर्वभावाः न च कार्यक्रियासमर्था भवन्ति, मा भूद् दृष्टान्त-विरोध इति कृत्वा शून्येन त्वद्वचनेन सर्व<sup>७</sup>भावस्वभावप्रतिषेधो नोपपन्न इति ।

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits सर्वत्र०

<sup>२</sup> VT. सर्वभावस्वभावः प्रतिषिद्धः ।

किञ्चान्यत्। एवं तदस्तित्वात् वैषमिकत्वप्रसङ्गः, किञ्चित् शून्यं किञ्चिदशून्यमिति। तस्मिंश्च वैषमिकत्वे विशेषहेतुर्वक्तव्यः, येन हि विशेषहेतुना किञ्चित् शून्यं किञ्चिदशून्यं स्यात्। स च नोपदिष्टो हेतुः। (२)

तत्र यदुक्तं शून्याः सर्वभावा इति तन्न ॥

किञ्चान्यत् (१)

मा शब्दवदित्येतत् स्यात् ते बुद्धिर्न चैतदुपपन्नं।<sup>४</sup>

शब्देनात्र सता भविष्यतो वारणं तस्य। (३)

22

स्यात् ते बुद्धिः (१) यथा नाम कश्चित् ब्रूयात्, मा शब्दं कार्षीर्मा शब्दं कार्षीरिति। तेन च शब्देन व्यावर्तनं कु( ? कि )यते। एवमेव शून्याः सर्वभावा इति। शून्येन वचनेन <sup>४</sup> सर्वभावस्वभावस्य (व्या)वर्तनं क्रियत इति।

अत्र वयं ब्रूमः। एतदप्यनुपपन्नं (१) किं कारणं। सता ह्यत्र शब्देन भविष्यतः शब्दस्य प्रतिषेधः क्रियते। न पुनरिह भवतः सता वचने<sup>१</sup>न सर्वभावस्वभावप्रतिषेधः क्रियते। तव हि मतेन वचनमप्यसत्। सर्वभावस्वभावोपपत्तयः। तस्मादयं मा शब्दवदिति विषमोपन्यासोऽस्त्विति ॥ (३)

किञ्च<sup>१</sup> (१)

प्रतिप्रतिषेद्धोप्येवमिति मतं भवेत्<sup>२</sup> तदसदेव।

एवं तव प्रतिज्ञा लक्षणतो दूष्यते न मम॥ (४)

स्यात् ते बुद्धिः प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्योप्यनेनैव कल्पेनानुपपन्नः। तत्र यत् भवान् सर्वभावस्वभावप्रतिषेधशु( ? व )चनं प्रतिषेधयति। तदनुपपन्नमिति।

अत्र वयं ब्रूमः। एतद<sup>२</sup>शब्देन सदेव<sup>३</sup>। कस्मात्(१) तव हि प्रतिज्ञालक्षणप्राप्ते मतन्न मम (१) भवान् ब्रवीति, शून्याः सर्वभावा इति नाहं। तस्मात् त्वत्प्रतिज्ञान्(?)पयामि। पूर्वकः पक्षो न मम। (४)

तत् यदुक्तं (१) प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्यो<sup>४</sup>प्येवमिति। उपपन्नमिति। तन्न।

किञ्चान्यत्।

प्रत्यक्षेण हि तावत् यद्युपलभ्य विनिवर्तयसि भावान् (१)

तन्नास्ति प्रत्यक्षं भावा येनोपलभ्यन्ते। (५)

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits

<sup>२</sup> In the Commentary of verse २८—“प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्योप्येवमिति मतं भवेत् तदसदेव। एवं तव प्रतिज्ञा लक्षणतो दूष्यते न मम।” <sup>३</sup> VT. एतदपि न भद्रम्। <sup>४</sup> VT. प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्योप्येवमनुपपन्न इति।

यदि प्रत्यक्षतः सर्वभावानुपलभ्य भवान् निवर्तयति शून्याः<sup>३</sup> सर्वभावा इति। तदनुपपन्नं। कस्मात् (१) प्रत्यक्षमपि हि प्रमाणं सर्वभावान्तर्गतत्वात् शून्यं। योपि सर्वभावानुपलभते सोपि शून्यः (१) तस्मात् प्रत्यक्षेण प्रमाणेन नोपलम्भभावो अनुपलब्धस्य च प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः (। तत्र) शून्याः सर्वभावा इति (यदुक्तं)। तदनुपपन्नं (५)

### (३) प्रमाणासिद्धेः

स्यात् ते बुद्धिः, अनुमानेनागमेनोपमानेन वा सर्वभावानुपलभ्य सर्वभाव-  
व्यावर्तनं क्रियत् इति ॥

अत्र ब्रूमः।

अनुमानं प्रत्युक्तं प्रत्यक्षेणागमोपमाने च।

अनुमानागमसाध्या येषां दृष्टान्तसाध्याश्च। (६)

अनुमानोपमानागमाश्च प्रत्यक्षेण प्रमाणेन प्रत्युक्ताः। यथा हि प्रत्यक्षं प्रम(१)णं शून्यं सर्वभावानां शून्यत्वात्। एवमनुमानमोपमागमा अपि शून्याः। सर्वभावानां शून्यत्वात्। येष्वनुमानसाध्या अर्था आगमसाध्या उपमानसाध्याश्च। तेषु शून्याः सर्वभावानां शून्यत्वात्<sup>५</sup> (१) अनुमानोपमानागमैश्च योपि भावानुपलभते सोपि शून्यः स्यात् (। तस्मात्) भावानामुपलम्भभावोनुपलब्धानाञ्च स्वभावप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः। (६)

### २. भावानां सस्वभावता युक्ता

#### (१) कुशलादिधर्माणां कुशलादिस्वभावताऽभ्युपगमात्

तत्र यदुक्तं शून्याः सर्वभावा इति। तन्न ॥

किञ्चान्यत्।

कुशलानां धर्माणां<sup>१</sup> धर्माविस्थाविदश्च मन्यन्ते।

कुशलं जनस्वभा(वं) शेषेष्वप्येष विनियोगः<sup>२</sup>। (७)<sup>३</sup>

इह धर्माविस्थ(१) विदो<sup>४</sup> मन्यन्ते कुशलानां धर्माणां एकोनविंशं शतं। तद्यथा (१)

<sup>१</sup> VT. ०पुरुषधर्मा ०    <sup>२</sup> VT. चित्तवत्।    <sup>३</sup> VT. In the  
Commentary on the verse ५३— ० जनस्वभावं मन्यन्ते शेषे ०

<sup>४</sup> VT. पुरुषधर्मा ०

एकदेशो विज्ञानस्य वेदन<sup>६</sup>(r)याः, संज्ञायाश्चेतनायाः, स्पर्शस्य, मनसि-  
कारस्य छन्दस्याधिमोक्षस्य वीर्यस्य स्मृतेः समाधेः प्रज्ञायाः उपेक्षायाः प्रयोगस्य  
संप्रयोगस्य प्राप्तेरध्याशयस्य प्रतिविरतिः व्यवसाया(?) औत्सुक्यस्य उन्मू-  
रुत्साहस्य अव्यवर्त्यस्य वसितायाः(?) प्रतिपत्तेरविप्रतीसारस्य धृतेरध्यवसायस्य।  
अनौष्वेकस्य अननुमूर्द्धच(?) नुत्सारस्य। प्रापणायाः प्रणिधेः मदस्य विषयाणां<sup>७</sup>  
विप्रयोगस्य अनित्याणि(?) कताया उत्पादस्य स्थितेरनित्यतायाः समर्थागतस्य<sup>१</sup>  
जरायाः परित्रास्यतारतेः। वितर्कणां प्रीतेः प्रमादस्य अप्रसन्नब्धेः व्यवहारतायाः  
प्रेष-प्रतिकूलस्य प्रदक्षिणग्राहस्य वैशारद्यगौरवस्य चित्रकारस्य भक्तेरभक्तेः  
सुश्रूषायाः सादरस्यानादरस्य प्रसन्नब्धेः हासस्य वाचः विष्पन्दनायाः सिद्धस्याप्रसादस्य  
अप्रसन्नब्धेः व्यवहारतायाः<sup>८</sup> दाक्ष्यस्य सौरत्यस्य विप्रतिसारस्य शोकस्य। उपाया- 2b  
सायासभी(?) तस्य अप्रदक्षिणग्राहस्य संस्र(?) यस्य संवराणां परिशुद्धेरध्या-  
शयस्य रूपस्येति।<sup>२</sup> श्रद्धा ह्रीरार्जवमवञ्चनं। उपसम(:) अचापलं सप्रमाद-  
मार्दवं प्रतिसंख्यानं निर्वैरपरिदाहः अमद(:) अलोभ अदोष(? द्वेषः) अमोह(:)  
असद्वत् अप्रतिनिःसर्गः विभव अपत्रप्या अपरिश्रच्छदनं माननं कारुण्यं मैत्री  
अदीनतादिरतम.....नं<sup>१</sup> नाहः अली चेतसोपत्यादानं क्षान्तिः व्यवसदु  
आसौरत्यमिति भागान्वयं। पुण्यं। असंज्ञी समापत्तिः नैर्यानि(?) णि) कता  
(5) सर्वज्ञताऽसंस्कृता धर्माः इति एकोनविंशं शतं कुशलानां कुशलः स्वभावः॥<sup>३</sup>

तथाऽकुशलानामकुशलः स्वभावः। निवृत्ताव्याकृतः। प्रकृताव्याक्रि(?) कृ)  
तानां प्रकृताव्याकृतः। कामोक्तानां कामोक्तः। रूपोक्तानां रूपोक्तः। आरू-  
प्योक्तानामा<sup>२</sup> रूप्योक्तः। अनाश्र(?) स्र) वाणामनाश्रवः। दुःखोक्तानां दुःखोक्तः।  
समुदयोक्तानां समुदयोक्तः। निरोधोक्तानां निरोधोक्तः। मार्गोक्तानां

<sup>१</sup> VT. ०ध्याशयस्याप्रतिघस्य रतेर्व्यवसायस्यौत्सुक्यस्यामूढेरुत्साहस्याव्या-  
वाधस्य वसितायाः प्रतिघस्या (?) विप्रति ० ग्राहस्याग्राहस्य स्मृतेर्धृते ०  
रध्यवसायस्यामोहस्याव्यायामस्यानुत्साहस्य प्रार्थनायाः प्रणिधे ० विषयाणां  
विप्रयोगस्य अनैर्याणिकताया ० सप्रीतिः। <sup>२</sup> VT. परिदाहस्यारतेरपरिदाहस्य  
वित ० प्रसादस्य कामप्रतिकूलस्य ० अप्रसन्नब्धिविचयस्य धृतेर्नियमस्य विप्रतिसा-  
रस्य शोकस्य विग्रहस्य मदस्याप्रदक्षिणग्राहस्य संशयस्य संवराणां ० संशयस्य  
च (1) <sup>३</sup> VT. भयैकपक्ष्यश्च श्रद्धा ० अमोहः असर्वज्ञता अप्रति ०  
अपत्राप्यं अन्नक्षः अमेनाहरः मैत्री ० अशत्रुः ऋद्धिरनुपनाहः चेतसोऽपरिद्वः (?)  
क्षान्तिः विप्रहाणिः अनियमपरिभोगान्ययः पुण्यं ०

मार्गोक्तः। भावनाप्रहातव्यानां भावनाप्रहातव्यः। अप्रहातव्यानां अप्रहातव्यः।  
प्रहातव्यानां प्रहातव्यः।

यस्मादेवमनेकप्रकारो धर्मस्वभावो दृष्टः। तस्मादिह यदुक्तं। निःस्वभावाः  
सर्वभावाः(१) निःस्वभावत्वात् शून्या इति। तन्न।<sup>३</sup>(७)

किञ्चान्यत्।

नैर्याणिकस्वभावो धर्मो नैर्याणिकाश्च ये तेषां।

धर्माविस्थोक्तानामेव च नैर्याणिकादीनां।(८)

इह च धर्मोऽवस्थोक्तानां नैर्याणिकानां धर्माणां नि(?)नैर्याणिकः स्वभावः।  
अनैर्याणिकानामनैर्याणिकः। बोध्यङ्गिकानां बोध्यङ्गिकः। अबोध्यङ्गिकानामबोध्य-  
ङ्गिकः। बोधिपाक्षिकानां(?)णां बोधिपाक्षिकः। अबोधिपाक्षिकानामबोधिपाक्षिकः।  
एवं शेषाणां (१) तद् यस्मादेवमनेकप्रकारो धर्माणां<sup>४</sup> स्वभावो दृष्टः।(८)

यस्मात्<sup>१</sup> यदुक्तं निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावाः। निःस्वभावत्वात् शून्या इति (१)  
तन्न ॥

### (२) निर्वस्तुकस्य नामाभावात्

किञ्चान्यत्।

यदि च न भवेत् स्वभावो धर्माणां निःस्वभाव इत्येवं (१)

नामापि भवेत् नैवं नामापि निर्वस्तुकन्नास्ति।(९)<sup>२</sup>

यदि धर्माणां स्वभावो भावानां स्वभावानां सद्भावाच्चाशून्याः(ः)  
<sup>३</sup>सर्वभावाः। (९)

तत्र यदुक्तं निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावा निःस्वभावत्वात् शून्या इति(१)तन्न ॥

<sup>१</sup> VT. तस्मात्।

<sup>२</sup> भावानां न स्वभाव ० भवेदेवं नाम हि ० —५८ कारिकावृत्तौ।

<sup>३</sup> VT. यदि सर्वधर्माणां निःस्वभावत्वेऽपि निःस्वभावता। तत्र  
निःस्वभाव इत्येवं नामापि न भवेत्। कस्मादिति। निर्वस्तुकं नामापि  
क्वचिन्नास्ति। तेन नामासद्भावात् भावानां स्वभावोऽस्ति। स्वभावत्वाच्चा-  
शून्याः।



(३) प्रतिषेधासिद्धेः

(क) धर्मैर्विना स्वभावाप्रतिषेधात्

किञ्चान्यत् ।

अथ विद्यते स्वभा<sup>५</sup>वः स च धर्माणां न विद्यते तस्मात् (१)

धर्मैर्विना स्वभावः स यस्यास्ति<sup>१</sup> तत् युक्तमुपदेष्टुं । (१०)

अथ मन्यसे (—) मा भूदवस्तुकं नामेति कृत्वाऽस्ति स्वभावः । स पुनर्धर्माणां न सम्भवति । एवं धर्मशून्यता निःस्वभावत्वं धर्माणां सिद्धं भविष्यति ।<sup>२</sup> न च निर्वस्तुकन्नामेति ।

अत्र वयं ब्रूमः । एवं कस्येदानीं स स्वभावो धर्मविनिर्मुक्तस्यार्थस्य तत्र युक्त-मुपदेष्टुमर्थः<sup>३</sup> । स च नोपदिष्टः (ः) तस्मात् या कल्पना (—अ) स्ति स्वभा<sup>६</sup>वो न पुनर्धर्माणामिति सा हीना ॥ (१०)

(ख) सद्भावानभ्युपगमात्

किञ्चान्यत् ।

सत एव प्रतिषेधो नास्ति घटो गेह इत्ययं यस्मात् (१)

दृष्टः प्रतिषेधोऽयं सतः स्वभावस्य ते तस्मात् । (११)

इह च सतोऽर्थस्य प्रतिषेधः कृ<sup>(?)</sup>यते नासतः । तद्यथा नास्ति घटो गेह इति सतो घटस्य प्रतिषेधः क्रियते नासतः । एवमेव नास्ति भावो धर्माणामिति सतः स्वभावस्य प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति नासतः । (११)

तत्र यदुक्तं । निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावाः निः<sup>७</sup>स्वभावत्वात् शून्या इति (१) तन्न । प्रतिषेधसम्भवादेव सर्वभावस्वभावोऽप्रतिषिद्धः ॥

किञ्चान्यत् ।<sup>८</sup>

अथ नास्ति स स्वभावः किन्तु प्रतिषिध्यते त्वयाऽनेन ।

वचनेनर्ते वचनात् प्रतिषेधः सिध्यते ह्यसतः । (१२)

<sup>१</sup> In the Commentary on verse ६०—अस्ति is Omitted.

<sup>२</sup> VT. एवं धर्माणां निःस्वभावत्वाद् धर्मशून्यता सिद्धा भविष्यति ।

<sup>३</sup> VT. यस्त उपदेष्टुमर्थः <sup>४</sup> VT.

नास्त्येव स्वभाव इत्यनेन वचनेन निःस्वभावा भावा इति [वचनेन]<sup>१</sup> किं भवता प्रतिषिध्यते। असतो हि वचनाद् विना सिद्धः प्रतिषेधः। तद्यथाग्नेः शैत्यस्य। अपामौष्ण्यस्य। (१२)

किञ्चान्यत्।

3a बालानामिव मिथ्या मृगतृष्णायां यथा जलग्राहः।

एवं मिथ्याग्राहः स्यात् ते प्रतिषिध्यतो ह्यसतः (१३)

स्यात् ते बुद्धिः य[थ]ा बालानां मृगतृष्णायां मिथ्याजलमिति ग्राहो भवति। ननु निर्जला सा मृगतृष्णेति तत्र पण्डितजातीयेन पुरुषेणोच्यते तस्य मिथ्याग्राहस्य विनिवर्तनार्थम्<sup>(१)</sup> एवन्निःस्वभावेषु यः स्वभावे ग्राहः सत्त्वानां तस्य व्यावर्तनार्थन्निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावा इत्युच्यत<sup>१</sup> इति॥ (१३)

(ग्राहादिषट्कास्वीकारात्)

अत्र ब्रूमः।

नन्वेवं सत्यस्ति ग्राहो ग्राह्यञ्च तद्गृहीतं च।

प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्यं प्रतिषेद्धा चेति षट्कं तत्। (१४)

यद्येवं<sup>(१)</sup> नन्वेवं सत्यस्ति तावत् सत्त्वानां मिथ्याग्राहः<sup>२</sup> अस्ति ग्राह्यः<sup>(२)</sup> सन्ति सत्त्वा<sup>३</sup> गृहीतारः। अस्ति प्रतिषेधः तस्यापि मिथ्याग्राहस्य<sup>(१)</sup> अस्ति प्रतिषेध्यं यदिदं मिथ्याग्राह्यं नाम। सन्ति प्रतिषेद्धारो युस्म<sup>(३)</sup> (३) दादयोस्य मिथ्याग्राहस्येति सिद्धं षट्कं। षट्कस्याप्यप्रसिद्धत्वात्। (१४)

यदुक्तं<sup>(१)</sup> [अप्रतिषिद्धत्वात्]<sup>१</sup> शून्याः सर्वभावा इति (१) तन्ना।

अथ नैवास्ति ग्राहो न च ग्राह्यं न च गृहीतारः।

प्रतिषेध्य<sup>(३)</sup> (३) प्रतिषेध्यं प्रतिषेद्धारोस्य तु<sup>(३)</sup> (३) न सन्ति। (१५)

अथ मा भूदेष दोष इति कृत्वा नैव ग्राहोऽस्ति नैव ग्राह्यं न च गृहीतार इति। एवं सति ग्राहस्य [यः] प्रतिषेधः निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावा इति। सोपि नास्ति<sup>(१)</sup> प्रतिषेध्यमपि नास्ति<sup>(१)</sup> प्रतिषे(द्)धारोपि न सन्ति। (१५)

प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्यं प्रतिषेद्धारश्च यद्युत न सन्ति (१)

सिद्धा हि सर्वभावा येषामेवं स्वभाव<sup>३</sup>श्च। (१६)

यदि च न प्रतिषेधो न प्रतिषेध्यं न प्रतिषेद्धारः सन्त्यप्रति सि ( ? पि ) द्वाः  
सर्वभावा अस्ति च सर्वभावानां स्वभावः ॥ (१६)

(ग) निर्हेतुत्वात्

किञ्चान्यत् ।

हेतोस्ततो न सिद्धिः नैःस्व (१) भाव्यात् कुतो हि ते हेतुः (१)

निर्हेतुकस्य सिद्धिर्न चोपपन्नास्य तर्कस्य । (१७)

निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावा इत्येतस्मिन् (न) नर्थे ते हेतोरसिद्धिः । किं कारणं  
(१) निःस्वभावत्वाद्धि सर्वभावानां शून्यत्वान्न ततो हेतुः [ यतः ] । असति हेतौ  
निर्हेतुकस्यार्थस्य शून्याः सर्वभावा इति कुत एव प्रसिद्धिः ॥ (१७)

तत्र यदुक्तं शून्याः सर्वभावा इति (१) तन्न ॥

किञ्चान्यत् ।

यदि चाहेतोः सिद्धिः स्वभावविनिवर्तनस्य ते भवति ।

\* स्व [ १ ] भाव्यस्यास्तित्वं ममापि निर्हेतुकं सिद्धं । (१८)

अथ मन्यसे नैर्हेतुकी सिद्धिः निःस्वभावत्वस्य भावानामिति । यथा तव  
स्वभावविनिवर्तनं निर्हेतुकं सिद्धं । तथा ममापि स्वभावसद्भावोपि निर्हेतुकः सिद्धः ।  
[ ममापीति मय्यस्ति । (१८) ]

अथ हेतोरस्तित्वं भावनैः (ः) स्व (१) भाव्यमित्यनुपपन्नं ।

लोके नैःस्व (१) भाव्यात् न हि कश्चन विद्यते भावः । (१९)

इह यदि [ भावानां नैःस्वाभाव्यस्य ] हेतोरस्तित्वं मन्यसे । निःस्वभावाः  
सर्वभावा इति तदनुपपन्नं । किं कारणं । न हि लोके निःस्वभावः कश्चिद्  
भावोऽस्ति ॥ (१९)

(४) प्रतिषेध्यासिद्धेः

किञ्चान्यत् ।

पूर्वं चेत् प्रतिषेधः पश्चात् प्रतिषेध्यमिति च नोपपन्नं ।<sup>१</sup>

पश्चा<sup>२</sup>नुपपन्नो युगपच्च यतः स्वभावोऽसन् । (२०)

<sup>१</sup> ० मित्यनुपपन्नम् In the Commentary on the verse 70

<sup>२</sup> VT. अपिच-शिद्धः=पश्चाद् ।

इह पूर्वं चेत् प्रतिषेधः पश्चाच्च प्रतिषेध्यं । निःस्व(१)भाव्यं नोपपन्नं ।  
अ<sup>१</sup>सति हि प्रतिषेध्ये कस्य प्रतिषेधः ।

अथ पश्चात् प्रतिषेधः पूर्वं प्रतिषेध्यमिति च नोपपन्नं । सिद्धे हि प्रतिषेध्ये किं  
प्रतिषेध्य [ ? ध ] : करोति । अथ युगपत् प्रतिषेध-प्रतिषेध्ये (१) तथापि न प्रतिषेधः  
प्रतिषेध्यस्यार्थस्य कारणं प्रति न(?) प्रतिषेध्यः न प्रतिषेधस्य च । यथा युगपदुत्पन्नयोः  
श[श]विषाणयोः नैव दक्षिणं सव्यस्य कारणं सव्यम्वादक्षिणस्य कारणं भवतीति । (२०)

### ख—उत्तरपक्षः

#### १. भावानां शून्यता युक्ता (क)

#### (१) वचनस्य शून्यतास्वीकारेऽपि

तत्र यदुक्तं निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावा इति (१) तन्न ।<sup>१</sup> अत्रोच्यते— यत् तावद्  
भवतोक्तं (१)

सर्वेषां भावानां सर्वत्र न विद्यते स्वभावश्चेत् ।

त्वद्वचनमस्वभावं न निवर्त्तयितुं स्वभावमलमिति । (१)

अत्र ब्रूमः ।

हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्र्यां पृथग्भावेऽपि मद्ब्रूचो न यदि ।

ननु शून्यत्वं सिद्धं भावानामस्वभावत्वात् । (२१)

यदि मद्ब्रूचो हे[तुः] नास्ति मातो [ ? ] हाभूतेषु सम्प्रयुक्तेषु विप्रयुक्तेषु वा (१)  
b<sub>3</sub> प्रत्ययेषु नास्ति । उरःकण्ठो[ष्ठ] जिह्वादन्ततालुनासिकमूर्ध्वप्रभृतिषु प्र [यत्नेष्वपि  
नास्ति । नोभयसा]<sup>२</sup>मग्र्यामस्ति (१) हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्रीविनिर्मुक्तं पृथग् [न] वास्ति ।  
तस्मान्निःस्वभावा (ः१) निःस्वभावत्वाच्छून्यं । एवं ।

ननु शून्यत्वं सिद्धं निःस्वभावत्वादस्य मदीयवचसः । यथा चैतन्मद्वचनं निः-  
स्वभावत्वाच्छून्यं । तथा सर्वभावा निःस्वभावत्वाच्छून्यं इति । (२१)

#### (शून्यतालक्षणम्)

यद् भवतोक्तं त्वदीयवचसः<sup>१</sup> शून्यत्वात् शून्यता सर्वभावानां नोपपद्यत  
इति (१) तन्न ॥

<sup>१</sup> VT. छोस्-किय ० = धर्मवचसः ।

किञ्चान्यत् ।

यश्च प्रतीत्य [भावो] भावानां शून्यतेति [सा ह्युक्ता] ।

<sup>१</sup>प्रतीत्य [यश्च] भावो भवति हि तस्यास्वभावत्वं । (२२)

शून्यतार्थञ्च भावान् भावानामनवस (१) य शून्यतार्थमज्ञात्वा प्रवृत्ति (?त) उपालम्भं वक्तुं (१) त्वद्वचनस्य शून्यत्वात् त्वद्वचनस्य निःस्वभावत्वादेवं त्वद्वचनेन निःस्वभावेन भावानां स्वभावप्रतिषेधो नोपपद्यत इति । इह हि यः प्रतीत्य भावानां भावः<sup>१</sup> सा शून्यता । कस्मात् (१) निःस्वभावत्वात् । ये हि प्रतीत्य समुत्पन्ना भावास्ते न सस्वभावा भवन्ति । स्वभावाभावात्<sup>२</sup> त[?]क]स्माद्धेतुप्रत्ययापेक्षत्वात् । यदि हि स्वभावतो भावा भवेयुः । प्रत्याख्यायापि हेतुप्रत्ययञ्च<sup>३</sup> भवेयुः । न चैवं भवन्ति । तस्मान्निःस्वभावाः (१) निःस्वभावत्वाच्छून्या इत्यभिधीयन्ते ।<sup>४</sup> एवं मदीयमपि वचनं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वान्निःस्वभावं निःस्वभावत्वात् शून्यमिति उपपन्नं । यथा च प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् स्वभावशून्याः रथपटघटादयः स्वेषु स्वेषु कार्येषु काष्ठाह (२) ण-मृत्तिक (१) ह<sup>५</sup>रणम्मधूदकपयसां धारणं शीतवातातपपरित्राणप्रभृतिषु वर्तन्ते<sup>६</sup> । एवमिदं मदीयवचनं प्रत्ययसमुत्पन्नत्वात्<sup>७</sup> निःस्वभावं निःस्वभावत्वप्रसाधनं प्रत्ययभावानां वर्तते<sup>८</sup> । (२२)

तत्र यदुक्तं । निःस्वभावत्वात् त्वदीयवचनस्य शून्यत्वं शून्यत्वात् तस्य च तेन सर्वभावस्वभावप्रतिषेध उपपन्नमिति<sup>९</sup> (१) तन्न ।

किञ्चान्यत् ।

निर्मितको निर्मितकं मायापुरुष [ः] स्वमायया सृष्टं (१)

प्रतिषेधयते यद्वत् प्रतिषेधोयं<sup>४</sup>तथैव स्यात् । (२३)

यथा निर्मितकः पुरुषमभ्यासतं (?) तु कश्चिदर्थेन वर्तमानं प्रतिषेधयेत् । माया-कारेण वा सृष्टो मायापुरुषोऽन्यं मायापुरुष समन्याव तन्न (?) कस्मिंश्चिदर्थे वर्तमानं

<sup>१</sup> VT. ० प्रतीत्य भावान् उत्पन्नः

<sup>२</sup> VT. हेतुप्रत्ययाभावेऽपि भवेयुः

<sup>३</sup> VT. इत्युपपन्नम्

<sup>४</sup> VT. यथा घटपटादयः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् स्वभावशून्या अपि मधूदकपायसधारणाहरणयोः शीतवातातपपरित्राणे च समर्थाः ।

<sup>५</sup> अपि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् <sup>६</sup> निःस्वभावा अपि भावनिःस्वभाव-प्रसाधनसमर्थाः सन्ति <sup>७</sup> त्वदीयवचनस्य निःस्वभावत्वात् सर्वभावस्वभाव-प्रतिषेध उपपन्न इति ।

प्रतिषेधयेत् ।<sup>१</sup> तत्र यो निर्मितकः पुरुषः प्रतिषिध्यते स शून्यः यः प्रतिषेधयति सोऽपि [शून्यः । योऽपि] माया<sup>२</sup>पुरुषः [प्रतिषिध्यते सोऽपि शून्यः यः प्रतिषेध्यः सोऽपि शून्यः । मायापुरुषो यः प्रतिषेध्यः सोऽपि शून्यः । यः प्रतिषेधः सोऽपि] शून्य एवमेव मद्वचनेन शून्येन सर्वभावानां [सर्वभावस्वभावशून्येन] स्वभावप्रतिषेध उपपन्नः ॥ (२३)

### (२) न प्रतिज्ञाहानिः

तत्र यद् भवतोक्तं<sup>५</sup> । शून्यत्व[त्] त्वद्वचनस्य सर्वभावस्वभावप्रतिषेधो नोप-  
पन्न इति (१) तन्न । [तत्र यः] षट्कोटिको वाद उक्तः स एवं प्रतिसि[?]षिद्धः (१)  
नैव ह्येवं सति न सर्वभावान्तर्गतं<sup>३</sup> मद्वचनं नास्ति शून्यं नापि सर्वभावा  
ऽ[?]शून्याः ।

यत् पुनर्भवतोक्तम् (१)

अथ सस्वभावमेतद् वाक्यं पूर्वा हता प्रतिज्ञा ते (१)

वैषमिकत्वं तस्मिन् विशेषहेतुश्च वक्तव्य (२)

इत्यत्रापि ब्रूमः ।

न स्वाभाविकमेतद् वाक्यं तस्मान्न वादहानिर्मे ।

नास्ति च वैषमिकत्वं विशेषहे<sup>६</sup>तुश्च न निग[?]द्यः ॥ (२४)

न तावन्मम वचनं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् स्वभावोपपन्नं (१) यथा पूर्वमुक्तं ।  
स्वभावानुपपन्नत्वात् शून्यं । यस्माच्च इदमपि मद्वचनं शून्यं शेषाऽ[?]षि  
सर्वभावाः शून्यास्तस्मान्नास्ति वैषमिकत्वं । यदि हि वयं ब्रूमः । इदम्वचनमशून्यं  
शेषाः सर्वभावाः शून्या इति (१) ततो वैषमिकत्वं स्यात् (१) न चैतदेवं (१)  
तस्मान्न वैषमिकत्वं । यस्माच्च वैषमिकत्वं न संभवति इदम्वचनमशून्यं<sup>७</sup> शेषाः  
पुनः सर्वभावाः शून्या इति । तस्मादस्माभिर्विशेषहेतुरपि न वक्तव्यः अनेन [हेतुना]  
इदम्वचनमशून्यं सर्वभावाः (:) पुनः शून्या इति । (२४)

तत्र यद् भवतोक्तं (१) वादहानिस्ते वैषमिकत्वं च विशेषहेतुश्च त्वया वक्तव्य  
इति (१) तन्न ।

<sup>१</sup> VT. यथा निर्मितकः पुरुषः निर्मितकं पुरुषं कस्मिंश्चिदर्थे वर्तमानं  
प्रतिषेधयेत्; मायाकारेण च सृष्टो मायापुरुषो मायापुरुषं कस्मिंश्चिदर्थे वर्तमानं  
प्रतिषेधयेत् । <sup>२</sup> VT. Omits. <sup>३</sup> VT. सर्वान्तर्गतं ।

यत् पुनर्भवतोक्तं ।

मा शब्दवदित्येतत् स्यात् ते बुद्धिर्न चैतदुपपन्नं ।

शब्देन ह्यत्र सता भविष्यतो वारणं तस्येति । (३)

अत्र ब्रूमः ।

मा शब्दवदिति नायं दृष्टान्तो यस्त्वया ममारब्धः (१)

4a

शब्देन <sup>८</sup> हि तच्च शब्दस्य वारणं नैव मे वचः <sup>९</sup> । (२५)

नाप्ययमस्माकं दृष्टान्तः । यथा कश्चित् मा शब्दं कार्षीरिति ब्रुवं शब्दमेव करोति शब्दञ्च प्रतिषेधयति । यद्वत् शून्येन वचनेन शून्यतां [न] प्रतिषेधयति । किं कारणं । अत्र हि दृष्टान्ते शब्देन शब्दस्य व्यावर्तनं क्रियते । न चैतदेवं (१) वयं ब्रूमः । निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावाः निःस्वभावत्वात् तदशून्यमिति <sup>२</sup> (२५) ।

किं कारणं (१)

नैःस्व(१)भाव्यानां चेन्नैःस्वभाव्येन वारणं यदि हि <sup>३</sup> (१)

नैःस्वभाव्यनिवृत्तौ स्वाभाव्यं हि प्रसिद्धं स्यात् । (२६)

यथा मा शब्दमिति शब्देन शब्दस्य व्यावर्तनं क्रियते । एवं यदि नैःस्वभाव्ये-  
[न] वचनेन <sup>४</sup> नैःस्वभाव्यानां व्यावर्तनं क्रियते ततोयं दृष्टान्तोपपन्नं [ ? क्त  
उपपन्नः ] स्यात् । इह तु नैःस्वभाव्येन वचनेन भावानां स्वभावप्रतिषेधः क्रियते ।  
एवं यदि नैःस्वभाव्येन वचनेन निःस्वभावानां नैःस्वभाव्यप्रतिषेधः क्रियते । नैःस्व-  
[१] भाव्यप्रतिषेधादेव [भावाः] सस्वभावा भवेथ्युः । सस्वभावत्वादशून्याः स्युः ।  
शून्यताञ्च वयं भावानामाचक्ष्महे नाशून्यतामित्यदृष्टान्त एवायमिति । (२६)

अथवा निमित्तकायां यथा स्त्रियां स्त्रियमित्यसंज्ञग्राहं ।

निमित्तकः प्रतिहन्यात् कस्यचिदेवं भवेदेतत् । (२७)

अथवा कस्यचित् पुरुषस्य निमित्तकायां स्त्रियां स्वभावशून्यायां परमार्थतः  
स्त्रियमित्यसंज्ञ [१] हः स्यादेवं तस्यां <sup>५</sup> तेनासंज्ञग्राहेण रागमुत्पादयेत् । तत्  
यथा <sup>६</sup> तथागतेन वा तच्छ्रावकेण <sup>७</sup> वा निमित्तको निर्मितः स्यात् । तथागताधिष्ठानेन

<sup>१</sup> In the Commentary of verse २८—“शब्देन ह्यत्र सता भविष्यतो वारणं तस्य ।”

<sup>२</sup> तच्छून्यमिति । <sup>३</sup> VT. यथा क्रियते ।

<sup>४</sup> VT. भावः

<sup>५</sup> VT. तस्मात्

<sup>६</sup> VT. Omits.

वा तथागत स्त्रा (?श्रा) वकाधिष्ठानेन<sup>१</sup> वा तस्य तमसङ्ग्रहं विनिवर्तयेत् । एवमेव निर्मितकोपमेन [ मदीयेन ] शून्येन वचनेन निर्मितकस्त्रीस (T) दृश्येषु [ सर्वभाव- ] निःस्वभावेषु योयं स्वभावग्राहः स निवर्त्यते स प्रतिषिध्यते । तस्मादयमत्र दृष्टान्तः शून्यताप्रसाधनं प्रत्युपपद्यमानो नेतरः । (२७)

अथवा साध्यसमोयं हेतुर्न हि विद्यते ध्वनेः सत्ता ।

संव्यवहारञ्च वयं नानभ्युपगम्य कथयामः । (२८)

मा शब्दवदिति साध्यसम एवायं हेतुः । कस्मात् (I) सर्वभावानां नैःस्वभाव्ये-  
नाविशिष्टत्वात् । न हि तस्य ध्वनेः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् स्वभवं (?भाव) सत्ता  
विद्यते । तस्या (:) स्वभावसत्तायाः अविद्यमानत्वात् ।

यदुक्तं (I) “शब्देन ह्यत्र सत्ता भविष्यतो वारणं तस्ये”ति (२५) । तद्  
व्याहृत्यते । अपि च (I) न वयं व्यवहारसत्यं प्रत्याख्याय व्यवहारसत्यमनभ्युपगम्य  
कथयामः । शून्याः सर्वभावा इति । न हि<sup>५</sup> व्यवहारसत्यमनागम्य शक्या धर्मदेशना  
कर्तुं । यथोक्तं (I)

व्यवहारमनाश्रित्य परमार्थो न देश्यते ।

परमार्थमवागम्य निर्वाणं नाधिगम्यत इति ।

तस्मात् मद्बचनवत् शून्या [ : ] सर्वभावाः सर्वभावानाञ्च निःस्वभावत्वमुभय-  
योपपद्यमानमिति ॥ (२८)

यत्पुनर्भवतोक्तं ।<sup>२</sup>

प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्योप्येवमिति मतं भवेत् तदसदेव ।

एवं तव प्रतिज्ञा लक्षणतो दूष्यते न ममेति । (४)

अत्र ब्रूमः ।

यदि काचन प्रतिज्ञा तत्र स्यात् एष मे भवेद् दोषः ।

नास्ति च मम प्रतिज्ञा तस्मान्नेवास्ति मे दोषः (२९)

यदि च काचित् मम प्रतिज्ञा स्यात् ततो मम प्रतिज्ञालक्षणप्राप्तत्वात् स  
पूर्वको दोषः । यथा त्वयोक्तं भावाः (?त्वयोक्तः) तथा मम स्यात् (I) न  
मम काचिदस्ति प्रतिज्ञा । तस्मात् सर्वभावेषु शून्येष्वत्यन्तोपशान्तेषु प्रकृतिवि-

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits तथागताधिष्ठानेन ० श्रावकाधिष्ठानेन ।

<sup>२</sup> VT. Omits यत्



विकल्पेषु कुतः [ प्रतिज्ञा । कुतः ] प्रतिज्ञालक्षणप्राप्तिः (१) कुतः प्रतिज्ञालक्षणता (?)  
प्राप्तिकृतो दोषः । (२९)

(३) प्रमाणसिद्धिः

(क) न परतः प्रमाणसिद्धिः

तत्र यत् भवतोक्तं प्रतिज्ञालक्षणप्राप्तत्वात् तवैव<sup>७</sup> दोष इति तन्नास्ति ।

यत्पुनर्भवतोक्तं (१)

प्रत्यक्षेण हि तावत् यद्युपलभ्य नि वर्तयसि भावान् (१)

तन्नास्ति प्रत्यक्षं भावा येनोपलभ्यन्ते । (५)

अनुमानं प्रत्युक्तं प्रत्यक्षेणागमोपमाने च (१)

अनुमानागमसाध्या येषां दृष्टान्तसाध्याश्चेति । (६)

अत्र वयं ब्रूमः ।

यदि किञ्चिदुपलभ्यं प्रवर्तयेयं निवर्तयेयम्वा (१)

प्रत्यक्षादिभिरर्थैस्तदभावान्मेनुपालम्भः । (३०)

यद्यहं किञ्चिदर्थमुपलभ्यं प्रत्यक्षानुमानोप[मानागमैः च] शुभिः प्रमाणैः 4b  
(:) चतुर्णाम्वा प्रमाणानां अन्यतमान्यतमेन । अत एव प्रवर्तयेयम्वा [निवर्तयेयं  
वा ।] अर्थमेवाहं किञ्चिन्नोपलभ्यते(?) तस्मान्न प्रवर्तयामि न निवर्तयामि ।  
तत्रैवं सति यो भवतोपालम्भोक्तः(?) म्भ उक्तः) । यदि प्रत्यक्षादीनां प्रमाणानाम-  
न्यतमेन उपलभ्य भावान् विनिवर्तयसीति ।

ननु भवतोक्ता<sup>१</sup> निप्रमाणानि न सन्ति [तानि] तैश्च प्रमाणैरपि गम्या-  
[अ]र्था इति [यो दोष उक्तः] स मे भवत्येवानुपालम्भः [ : ]<sup>१</sup> (३०)

किञ्चान्यत् । ]

यदि च प्रमाणतस्तेषां तेषां प्रसिद्धिरर्थानां ।

तेषां पुनः प्रसिद्धिं ब्रूहि कथं तेषां (?) तेषां प्रमाणानां । (३१)

प्रसिद्धिरिति (१)

यदि च प्रमाणतस्तेषां (?) तेषामर्थानां प्रमेयानां (?) सिद्धिं मन्यसे यथा  
मानैर्मैयानां । तथा<sup>२</sup> तेषामिदानीं प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानागमानां चतुर्णां प्रमाणानां

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits ननु भवतोक्तानि ।

<sup>२</sup> VT. अथ

कुतः प्रसिद्धिः । यदि तावन्निःप्रमाणानां प्रमाणं स्यात् नादेः सिद्धिस्तत्रास्ति नैव मध्यस्य नान्तस्य ।<sup>१</sup> यदि पुनः मन्यसे प्रमाणैः प्र<sup>२</sup>सिद्धिः<sup>३</sup> प्रमाणतोऽर्थानां प्रसिद्धिरिति हीयते प्रतिज्ञा । तथापि<sup>३</sup> (१३१)

अन्यैः यदि प्रमाणैः प्रमाणसिद्धिर्भवत्यनवस्था ।

नादेः सिद्धिस्तत्रास्ति नैव मध्यस्य नान्तस्य । (३२)

यदि पुनर्मन्यसे । प्रमाणैः प्रमेयानां प्रसिद्धिस्तेषां प्रमाणानामन्यैः प्रमाणैः प्रसिद्धिरनवस्थाप्रसङ्गः । अनवस्थाप्रसङ्गौ (? ङ गे) को दोषः ।

नादेः सिद्धिस्तत्रास्ति नैव मध्यस्य नान्तस्य ।

अस्यानवस्थाप्रसङ्गो आदेः सिद्धिर्नास्ति । किं कारणं (१) तेषाम<sup>३</sup>पि हि प्रमाणानामन्यैः प्रमाणैः [प्र]सिद्धिस्तेषामन्यै[रिव तेषामप्यन्यै]रिति नास्त्यादिः । आदेरसद्भावात् कुतो मध्यं कुतो [?तः] अन्तः । तस्मात् तेषां प्रमाणानामन्यैः प्रमाणैः प्रसिद्धिः [इति यदुक्तं तत्] नोपपद्यतेति [?त इति] । (३२)

तेषामथ प्रमाणैर्विना प्रसिद्धिः विहीयते वादः ।

वैषमिकत्वं तस्मिन् विशेषहेतुश्च वक्तव्यः । (३३)

अथ मन्यसे (—) तेषां प्रमाणानां विना प्रमाणैः प्रसिद्धिः प्रमेयानां पुनरर्थानां प्रमाणैः प्रसिद्धिरिति । एवं सति यस्ते वादः (—) प्रमाणैः<sup>४</sup> प्रसिद्धिरर्थानामिति हीयते (१) वैषमिकत्वञ्च भवति । (—) केषाञ्चित् अर्थानां प्रमाणैः प्रसिद्धिः केषाञ्चिन्नेति (१) विशेषहेतुश्च वक्तव्यः येन हेतुना केषांचिदर्थानां प्रमाणैः प्रसिद्धिः केषाञ्चिन्नेति । सा च नोपदिष्टा (१) तस्मादियमपि<sup>५</sup> कल्पना नोपपन्नेति । (३३)

(ख) नाऽग्निवत् स्वतः

अत्राह । प्रमाणान्येव मम स्वात्मानं परात्मानञ्च प्रसाधयन्ति ।<sup>६</sup> यथोक्तं ।

द्योतयति स्वात्मानं यथा द्रुतास<sup>(?श)</sup> तथा परात्मानं ।

स्वपरात्मानावेवं प्रसाधय<sup>७</sup>न्ति प्रमाणानि । (३४)

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits यदि ० नान्तस्य  
प्रमाण(प्र)सिद्धिः <sup>३</sup> VT. अथापि

<sup>४</sup> VT. नियङ्ग = ?ऽदि यङ्ग

<sup>५</sup> VT. Omits प्रमा ० प्रसाधयन्ति

<sup>६</sup> VT. यद्यन्यैः प्रमाणैरपि

१ परमिव २ स्वात्मानं परात्मानञ्चेति ॥ (३४)

अत्रोच्यते ।

विषमोपन्यासोयं न ह्यात्मानं प्रकाशयत्यग्निः ।

न हि तस्यानुपलब्धिः दृष्टा तमसीव कुम्भस्य । (३५)

विषम एवायमुपन्यासः । अग्निवत् प्रमाणानि स्वात्मानञ्च प्रसाधयन्ति परात्मानञ्च प्रसाधयन्तीति । न ह्यग्निरात्मानं प्रकाशयति । यदि हि ३ यथा प्रागेवाग्निना अप्रकाशितस्तमसि कुम्भो नोपलभ्यते । अथोत्तरकालमुपलभ्यतेऽग्निना प्रकाशितः सन् ६ (१) एवमेव यद्यग्निना न प्रकाशितः प्रागग्निर्नः [?तमसि] स्यादुत्तरकालमग्नेः प्रकाशनं स्यात् । अतः स्वात्मानं प्रकाशयेन्नैतदेवं । तस्मादियमपि कल्पना नोपपद्यन्ते (?त इ)ति । (३५)

किञ्चान्यत् ।

यदि स्वात्मानमयं त्वद्वचनेन प्रकाशयत्यग्निः ।

परमिव न त्वात्मानं परिधक्ष्यत्यपि हुताशः । (३६)

यदि च त्वद्वचनेन यथा परात्मानं प्रकाशयत्यग्निः एवमेव स्वात्मानमपि प्रकाशयत्यग्निरिति । ननु यथा परात्मानं दहति एवमेव स्वात्मानमपि धक्ष्यतीति । न चैतदेवं । (३६)

तत्र यदुक्तं (१) परात्मानमिव स्वात्मानं प्रकाशयत्यग्निरिति (१) तन्न ॥

किञ्चान्यत् ।

यदि च स्वपरात्मानौ त्वद्वचनेन प्रकाशयत्यग्निः ।

प्रच्छादयिष्यति तमः स्वपरात्मानौ हुताश इव । (३७)

यदि च भवतो मतेन स्वात्मपरात्मानौ प्रकाशयत्यग्निः । नन्विदानीं प्रतिपक्षभूततमोपि स्वात्मपरात्मानौ छादयेत् । नैतदिष्टं । ४ (३७)

तत्र यदुक्तं स्वपरात्मानौ प्रकाशयत्यग्निरिति (१) तन्न ॥

किञ्चान्यत् (१) ४

१ VT. Adds—इत्युपदेशवत् प्रमाणान्येव स्वात्मानं परात्मानञ्च प्रसाधयन्ति । यथाऽग्निः स्वात्मानं परात्मानञ्च प्रसाधयति, एवं प्रमाणान्यपि ।

२ VT. Omits—परमिव । ३ VT. Omits—यदि हि

४ VT. ननु तत्प्रतिपक्षभूतोपि स्वपरात्मानौ छादयेत् । नैतदेवम् ।

5a नास्ति तमश्च ज्वलने यत्र च तिष्ठति सदात्मनि ज्वलनः ।

कुरुते कथं प्रकाशं स हि प्रकाशोऽभ्युद्योऽन्धकारबधः । (३८)

इह चाग्नौ नास्ति तमः । नापि च यत्राग्निस्तत्रास्ति तमः । प्रकाशश्च नाम तमसः प्रतिघातः[ तस्मादग्नावपि नास्ति तमः । यत्राग्निस्तत्राऽपि नास्ति तमः ।] तत्र कथमस्य<sup>१</sup> तमसः प्रतिघातः(१) तमग्निः करोति । यस्य प्रतिघातात् स्वपरात्मानौ प्रकाशयतीति । आह । यत्<sup>२</sup> यस्मादेवं<sup>३</sup> नाग्नौ तमोस्ति । नापि यत्राग्निस्तत्र तमोस्ति ।<sup>४</sup> यस्मादेवं स्वपरात्मा(१)नौ न प्रकाशयत्यग्निः । तेन ह्युत्पद्यमाने-  
नैवाग्निना तमसः प्रतिग्रहः कुतः । (१) तस्मान्नाग्नौ<sup>५</sup> तमोऽस्ति । नापि यत्राग्निः तत्र तमोस्ति । यस्मादु<sup>६</sup>त्पद्यमान एवोभयं प्रकाशयत्यग्निः स्वात्मानं परात्मानञ्चेति । (३८)

अत्रोच्यते ।

उत्पद्यमान एव प्रकाशयत्यग्निरित्यसद्वादः ।

उत्पद्यमान एव प्राप्नोति तमो न हि हुताशः । (३९)

अयमग्निरुत्पद्यमान एव प्रकाशयति स्वात्मानं<sup>२</sup> परात्मानञ्चेति । नायमुप-  
पद्यते वादः । कस्मात्(१)<sup>३</sup> न ह्युत्पद्यमान एवाग्निः तमः प्राप्नोति । अप्राप्तत्वा  
नैवोपहन्ति । तमसश्चानुपघातान्नास्ति प्रकाशः । (३९)

किञ्चान्यत् (१)

अप्राप्तोपि ज्वलनो यदि वा पुनरन्धकारमुपहन्त्यात् ।

सर्वेषु लोकधातुषु तमोऽयमिह संस्थित उपहन्त्यात् । (४०)

अथापि मन्यसे अप्राप्तोप्यग्निरन्धकारमुपहन्तीति । नन्विदानीमिह<sup>४</sup> संस्थितो-  
ऽग्निः सर्वलोकधातुस्थमुपहृनिष्यति तमः तुल्या<sup>५</sup> यामप्राप्तः (१) न चैतदेवं दृष्टं ।<sup>६</sup>  
तस्मादप्राप्येवाग्निरन्धकारमुपहन्तीति<sup>७</sup> यदिष्टं । तन्न । (४०)

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits—तत्र कथं adds. यस्य <sup>२</sup> VT. अथ

<sup>३</sup> VT Omits—एवं <sup>४</sup> VT. ० ग्नि । उत्पद्यमानेनैवाग्निना

तेन तमसः प्रतिघातः । तत्रावपि न तत् <sup>५</sup> VT. तस्माद् ।

<sup>६</sup> VT. repeats twice—अयम ० कस्मात्

<sup>७</sup> VT. ननु सोप्राप्त इव

<sup>८</sup> VT. Omits—दृष्टं

<sup>९</sup> VT. तस्मात्प्राप्याप्राप्याग्नि ० न्तीति

(ग) न प्रमेयतः प्रमाणसिद्धिः

यदि च स्वतः प्रमाणसिद्धिरनपेक्ष्य ते प्रमेयाणि ।

भवति प्रमाणसिद्धिः न परापेक्षा हि सिद्धिरिति ।<sup>१</sup> (४१)

यदि चाग्निवत् स्वतः प्रमाणसिद्धिरिति मन्यसे । अनपेक्ष (पेक्ष्य) अपि प्रमेयाणि प्रमाणानां सिद्धिः भविष्यतीति (।) किं कारणं । न हि स्वतः [ सिद्धिः ] परमपेक्षते । अथापेक्षते न स्वतः प्रसिद्धिः । (४१)

अत्राह । यदि नापेक्ष्यन्ते<sup>४</sup> प्रमेयानर्थान् प्रमाणानि को दोषो भविष्यतीति । अत्रोच्यते ।

अनपेक्ष्य हि प्रमेयानर्थान् यदि ते प्रमाणसिद्धिः भवति ।

न भवन्ति कस्यचिदेवमिमानि<sup>२</sup> प्रमाणानि । (४२)

यदि प्रमेयानर्थाननपेक्ष्य सिद्धिर्भवति प्रमाणानामिति । [ एवं हि ते ] तानीमानि प्रमाणानि न कस्यचित् प्रमाणानि भवन्ति । एवं दोषः ॥

अथ कस्यचिद् भवन्ति प्रमाणानि । नैवेदानीमनपेक्ष्य<sup>३</sup> [ तान् ] प्रमेयानर्थान् प्रमाणानि भवन्ति ॥ (४२)

अथ मतमपेक्ष (पेक्ष्य) सिद्धिस्तेषामिति अ भवतो<sup>४</sup> को दोषः ।

सिद्धस्य साधनं स्यान्नासिद्धोपेक्षते ह्यन्यत् । (४३)

अथापि मतम् (।) अपेक्ष्य प्रमेयानर्थान् प्रमाणानां सिद्धिर्भवतीति । एवं हि सति सिद्धस्य प्रमाणचतुष्टयस्य साधनं भवतीति । किं कारणं ।<sup>५</sup> न ह्यसिद्धस्यार्थस्यापेक्षणं भवति । न ह्यसिद्धो देवदत्तः कञ्चिदर्थमपेक्षते (।)<sup>६</sup> न च सिद्धस्य साधनमिष्टं कृतस्य कार (क) रणमनुपपत्तेरिति ॥ (४३)

किञ्चान्यत् ।

सिध्यन्ति हि प्रमेयाण्यपेक्ष्य यदि सर्वथा प्रमाणा<sup>७</sup>नि (।)

भवन्ति (? ति) प्रमेयसिद्धिरनपेक्ष्यैव प्रमाणानि । (४४)

<sup>१</sup> VT. ० न परापेक्षात्मसिद्धिः

<sup>२</sup> VT. कस्यचिदेव हीमानि

<sup>३</sup> VT. नैवानपेक्ष्य \* VT. तेषामित्यत्र

<sup>४</sup> VT. Omits सिद्धस्य ० कारणं

<sup>६</sup> VT. adds—ते सिद्धस्य प्रमाणचतुष्टयस्य साधनं भवति ।

यदि प्रमेयाण्यपेक्ष्य प्रमाणानि सिध्यन्ति । नेदानीं प्रमाणान्यपेक्ष्य प्रमेयाणि सिध्यन्ति (1) किं कारणं (1) न हि साध्यं साधनं साधयति <sup>1</sup> (1) साधनानि च किल प्रमेयाणां प्रमाणानि <sup>9</sup> ॥ (४४)

किञ्चान्यत् ।

यदि च प्रमेयसिद्धिरनपेक्षै (?क्षयै)व भवति प्रमाणानि ।

किन्ते प्रमाणसिद्ध्या तानि यदर्थं प्रसिद्धं तत् । (४५)

यदि च मन्यसेऽनपेक्ष्यैव प्रमाणानि प्रमेयानां (?णां) प्रसिद्धिर्भवति । किमि) <sup>7</sup> दानीं ते प्रमाणसिद्ध्या पर्यन्विष्टया (1) किं कारणं । यदर्थं हि तानि प्रमाणानि पर्यन्विष्येरन् । ते प्रमेयाऽर्था (? या अर्था) विना प्रमाणैः सिद्धाः (1) तत्र किं प्रमाणैः कृत्यं । (४५)

अथ तु प्रमाणसिद्धिर्भवत्यपेक्ष्यैव ते प्रमेयाणि ।

व्यत्यय एवं सति ते ध्रुवं प्रमाणप्रमेयाणां । (४६)

अथापि मन्यसेऽपेक्ष्यैव प्रमेयानर्थान् (?न्) प्रमाणानि भवन्ति । एवं हि सति 5b मा भूत् पूर्वोक्तदोष इति कृत्वा (1) एवं ते सति व्यत्ययः [प्रमाण] प्रमे <sup>8</sup> याणां भवति । प्रमाणि (?णा) नि ते प्रमेयाणि भवन्ति प्रमेयैः साधितत्वात् । प्रमाणानि च प्रमेयाणि भवन्ति प्रमाणानां साधकत्वात् । (४६)

अथ ते प्रमाणसिद्ध्या प्रमेयसिद्धिः प्रमेयसिद्ध्या च (1)

भवति प्रमाणसिद्धिः; नास्त्युभयस्यापि ते सिद्धिः ॥ (४७)

अथ मन्यसे (1) प्रमाणसिद्ध्या प्रमेयसिद्धिर्भवति प्रमाणापेक्षत्वात् । प्रमेयसिद्ध्या च प्रमाणसिद्धिर्भवति प्रमेयापेक्षत्वादिति ॥ एवं सत्युभयस्यापि सिद्धिर्न [1 (४७)

किं कार] णं (1)

सिध्यन्ति हि प्रमाणैर्यदि प्रमेयाणि तानि तैरेव (1)

साध्यानि च प्रमेयैस्तानि कथं साधयिष्यन्ति । (४८)

यदि हि प्रमाणैः प्रमेयाणि सिध्यन्ति (1) तानि प्रमाणानि तैरेव प्रमेयैः साधयितव्यानि । नन्वसिद्धेषु प्रमेयेषु कारणस्यासिद्धत्वादसिद्धानि कथं साधयिष्यन्ति प्रमेयाणीति । (४८)

सिध्यन्ति च प्रमेयैः यदि प्रमाणानि तानि तैरेव (१)  
साध्यानि च प्रमेयैस्तानि कथं साधयिष्यन्ति । (४९)

यदि [च] प्रमेयैः प्रमाणानि सिध्यन्ति<sup>१</sup> तानि च प्रमेया<sup>२</sup> णि तैरेव प्रमाणैः  
साधयितव्यानीति । नन्वसिद्धेषु प्रमाणेषु कारणस्यासिद्धत्वादसिद्धानि कथं साध-  
यिष्यन्ति प्रमाणानि । (४९)

पित्र(१) यद्युत्पाद्यः पुत्रो यदि तेन चैव पुत्रेण ।  
उत्पाद्यः स यदि पिता वद तत्रोत्पादयति कः कं । (५०)

यद्यथापि नाम कश्चित् ब्रूयात् । पित्रा पुत्र उत्पादनीयः स च पिता पुत्रेणो-  
त्पादनीय इति । तत्रेदानीं ब्रूहि केन क उत्पादयितव्यः । तथैव खलु भवान्  
ब्रवीति । प्रमाणैः प्रमेयानि (? णि) साधयितव्यानि तान्येव<sup>३</sup> च पुनः प्रमाणानि  
तै प्रमेयैः<sup>४</sup> (१) तत्रेदानीं ते कतमैः कतमानि साधयितव्यानि । (५०)

कश्च पिता कः पुत्रः, तत्र त्वं ब्रूहि कथं तावुभावपि च ।

पित्रौ [ ? पिता ] पुत्रलक्षणधरौ यतो न पुत्रसंदेहः ।<sup>५</sup> (५१)

तयोश्च पूर्वोपदिष्टयोः पितापुत्रयोः वद कतरः पुत्रः कतरः पिता (१) उभावपि  
तावुत्पादकत्वात् पितृलक्षणधरौ । उत्पाद्यत्वाच्च पुत्रलक्षणधरावत्र नः सन्देहो  
भवति । कतरस्तत्र पिता कतरस्तत्र पुत्र<sup>६</sup> इति । एवमेव यान्येतानि भवति  
[ ? तः ] प्रमाणप्रमेयाणि । [ तेषु ] तत्र कतराणि प्रमाणानि कतराणि प्रमेयाणि ।  
उभयान्यपि ह्येतानि [ साधनत्वात् ] प्रमाणानि तानि प्रमेयाणि<sup>७</sup> साध्यत्वात्  
प्रमेयाणीति । अत्र न [ : ] सन्देहो भवति (—) कतराप्यत्र प्रमाणानि कतराणि  
प्रमेयाणीति । (५१)

(घ) नाप्यकस्मात् प्रमाणसिद्धिः

नैव स्वतः प्रसिद्धिर्न परस्परतः प्रमाणैर्वा<sup>८</sup> (१)

भवति न च प्रमेयैः न चाप्यकस्मात् प्रमाणानां ।<sup>९</sup> (५२)

<sup>१</sup> VT. यदि च प्रमेयाणि सिध्यन्ति <sup>२</sup> VT. adds—साधयितव्यानि

<sup>३</sup> VT. ततो नोऽत्र संदेहः

<sup>४</sup> VT. Omits तानि प्रमेयाणि

<sup>५</sup> VT. परस्परतोऽन्यप्रमाणैर्वा

<sup>६</sup> VT. ० न चाप्यकारणं भवति ।

न स्वतः प्रसिद्धिः प्रत्यक्षस्य<sup>५</sup> तेनैव प्रत्यक्षेण (१) अनुमानस्य तेनैवानुमाने (न।) उपमानस्य (?स्य) तेनैवोपमानेन। आगमस्य तेनैवागमेन। नापि पर-  
स्यात्र [?स्परतः।] प्रत्यक्षस्यानुमानोपमानागमैरनुमानस्य प्रत्यक्षोपमानागमैरुप-  
मानस्य प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमैः। आगमस्य प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानैः। नापि प्रत्यक्षा-  
नुमानोपमानागमादन्यैः<sup>१</sup> प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानागमैर्यथास्वं (१) नापि प्रमेयैः समस्त  
व्यस्तैः<sup>६</sup> स्वविषयपरविषय (य) तागृहीतैः<sup>२</sup> नाप्यकस्मान्नास्ति समुच्चयेन। एतेषां  
कारणानां पूर्वोद्दिष्टानां विंशतिश्चत्वारिंशत् श (१५) द्विंशतिर्वा<sup>३</sup> (१५२)  
तत्र<sup>४</sup> यदुक्तं। प्रमाणाधिगम्यत्वात् प्रमेयाणां भावानां सन्ति तु प्रमेया  
भावाः (१) तानि च<sup>५</sup> प्रमाणानि (१) यैस्तु प्रमाणैः प्रमेया भावाः सन्तश्च भावाः<sup>६</sup>  
समधिगता इति (१) तन्न ॥

## २. भावानां शून्यता युक्ता (ख)

(१) प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् कुशलादेः प्रविभागः

यत् पुनर्भवतोक्तं।

कुशलानां धर्माणां धर्मावस्थाविदश्च मन्यन्ते।

कुशलं जनस्वभाव<sup>७</sup>ं मन्यन्ते<sup>८</sup> शेषेष्वप्येष विनियोगः। (७)

अत्र ब्रूमः।

कुशलानां धर्माणां धर्मावस्थ (१) विदो ब्रूते यत्।

6a कुशलस्वभाव<sup>१</sup> [१ वं] एवं प्रविभागेनाभिधेयः स्यात् (५३)

कुशलानां धर्माणां धर्मावस्थ (१) विदः कुशलं जन<sup>२</sup> स्वभावं मन्यन्ते। स च  
भवता प्रविभागेनोपदेष्टव्यः (—) स्यादयं स कुशलः स्वभावः इमे ते कुशला धर्मा  
इति। इदं तत् कुशलं विज्ञानमयं कुशलविज्ञानस्वभावः (१) एवं सर्वेषां (१) न  
चैतदेवं दृष्टं।<sup>३</sup> (५३)

<sup>४</sup> तस्माद् यदुक्तमुपदिष्टः<sup>५</sup> स्वभावो धर्माणामिति (१) तन्न ॥

<sup>१</sup> VT. ० नागमा अन्यैः

<sup>२</sup> VT. स्वपरविषयगृहीतान्ता

<sup>३</sup> VT.

षट्त्रिंशतिर्वा न सिद्धिः

<sup>४</sup> VT. तत्र त्वया

<sup>५</sup> VT. adds सन्ति

<sup>६</sup> VT. Omits—सन्तश्च भावा

<sup>७</sup> VT. मन्यन्ते is Omitted

in the verse 7

<sup>८</sup> VT. Omits जन

<sup>९</sup> VT. न तदप्युपदिष्टम्

<sup>१०</sup> VT. तस्मात् स्वयं यथा यदुक्तं—उपदिष्टः



किञ्चान्यत् ।

यदि च प्रतीत्य कुशलः स्वभाव उत्पद्यते स कुशलानां (१)

धर्माणां परभावः स्वभाव एव कथं भवति । (५४)

यदि च कुशलानां धर्माणां स्वभावो हेतुप्रत्ययसाधर्मी प्रतीत्योत्पद्यते । [स] परभावादुत्पन्न<sup>१</sup> : कुशलानां धर्माणां कथं स्वभावो भवति । एवमेवाकुशल-प्रभृतीनां । (५४)

तत्र यदुक्तं । कुशलाव्याकृतानां न.....[<sup>३</sup>कुशलानां]<sup>१</sup> धर्माणां कुशलः स्वभावो (?व उ) पदिष्टः । एवमकुशलानामकुशलादिरिति । तन्न ॥

किञ्चान्यत् ।

अथ न प्रतीत्य किञ्चित् स्वभाव उत्पद्यते स कुशलानां ।

धर्माणामेवं स्याद् वासो न ब्रह्मचर्यस्य ॥ (५५)

अथ मन्यसे । न किञ्चित् प्रतीत्य कुशलानां धर्माणां कुशलस्वभाव उत्पद्यते । एवमकुशलानां धर्माणामकुशलः अव्याकृतानमव्याकृत इति<sup>३</sup> । एवं सत्यब्रह्मचर्य-वासो भवति (१) किं कारणं । प्रतीत्य स<sup>२</sup>मुत्पादस्य हि एवं सति प्रत्याख्यानं भवति । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्य प्रत्याख्यानात् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाददर्शनं प्रत्याख्यानं (?तं) भवति । न ह्यविद्यमानस्य प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्य दर्शनमुपपद्यमानं भवति । असति प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाददर्शने धर्मदर्शनं न भवति । उक्तं हि भगवता (—) “यो हि भिक्षवः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं पश्यति स धर्मं पश्यति” । धर्मदर्शनाभावात् ब्रह्मचर्यवासा-भावः ।

अथवा (१) प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादप्रत्याख्यानात् दुःखसमुदय<sup>३</sup>प्रत्याख्यानं भवति । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादो हि दुःखस्य समुदयः । दुःखसमुदयस्य प्रत्याख्यानात् दुःखप्रत्याख्यानं भवति । असति हि समुदये तत् कुतो दुःखं समुदेष्यति । दुःखसमुदयप्रत्याख्यानाच्च दुःखनिरोधस्य प्रत्याख्यानं । असति हि दुःखसमुदये<sup>४</sup> कस्य प्रहाणात् निरोधो भविष्यति । असति हि दुःखनिरोधे कस्य प्राप्तये मार्गो भविष्यति दुःख-निरोधगामी । एवं चतुर्णामार्यसत्यानामभाववच्छ्राम<sup>५</sup>प्यफलाभावः ।<sup>५</sup> सत्यदर्शना-

<sup>१</sup> VT. परभावं प्रतीत्य उत्पन्नः

<sup>२</sup> VT. Omits—

कुशलाव्याकृतानां न.....

<sup>३</sup> VT. अकुशलादीनामप्येवम्

<sup>४</sup> VT.

असतो दुःखसमुदययोः

<sup>५</sup> VT. एतेन चतुर्णामार्यसत्यानामभावः स्यात् ।

तदभावाच्छ्रामप्यफलाभावः संप्राप्तः

दिश्र (†) मण्यफलानि (अ) धिगम्यन्ते ।<sup>१</sup> श्रामण्यफलानामभावादब्रह्मचर्यवास इति ॥ (५५)

किञ्चान्यत् ।

नाधर्मो धर्मो वा संव्यवहाराश्च लौकिका नि (?न) स्युः ।

नित्याश्च सर्वभावाः स्युः नित्यत्वादहेतुमतः । (५६)

एवं सति प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं प्रत्याचक्षाणस्य भवतः को<sup>२</sup> दोषः (:) प्रसज्यते । धर्मो न भवति अधर्मो न भवति । संव्यवहाराश्च लौकिका न सम्भवन्ति । किं कारणं (१) प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं ह्येतत्<sup>३</sup> सर्वमसति प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादे कुतो भविष्यति । अपि च सस्वभावोऽप्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नो निर्हेतुको नित्यः स्यात् । किं कारणं (१) निर्हेतुका हि भावा नित्यास्तत्र स एव चाब्रह्मचर्यवासः प्रसज्येतु (?त) स्वसिद्धान्तविरोधः<sup>४</sup> । किं कारणम् (१) अनित्या हि भगवता सर्वे संस्कारा निर्दिष्टास्ते स्वभावनित्यत्वात् नित्या हि भवन्ति । (५६)

एष चाकुशलेष्वव्याकृतेषु नैर्याणादिषु च दोषः (१)

तस्मात् सर्वं संस्कृतमसंस्कृतं ते भवत्येवं । (५७)

यश्चैष (:) कुशलेषु निर्दिष्टः क<sup>५</sup>ल्पः स एवाकुशलेषु स एवाव्याकृतेषु स एव नैर्याणिकप्रभृतिषु दोषः (१) तस्मात् [ति] सर्वमिदं संस्कृतमसंस्कृतं संपद्यते । किं कारणं (१) हेतो<sup>६</sup> (?तौ) ह्यसत्युत्पादस्थितिभङ्गा न भवति । उत्पादस्थितिभङ्गेष्वसत्यु<sup>७</sup> संस्कृतलक्षणाभावात् । सर्वं संस्कृतमसंस्कृतं संपद्यते । (५७)

तत्र यदुक्तं (१) कुशलादीनां भावानां स्वभावसद्भावादशून्याः सर्वभावा इति तन्न ॥

## (२) निर्वस्तुकस्य नामामावे न नियमः

यत्पुनर्भवतोक्तं ।

यदि च न भवेत् स्वभावो भावानां न स्वभाव<sup>८</sup> इत्येवं (१)

नामापि भवेदेवं नाम हि<sup>९</sup> निर्वस्तुकं नास्ति । (९)

(?अत्रोच्यते)

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits—सत्य ० धिगम्यन्ते <sup>२</sup> VT. Omits को

<sup>३</sup> VT. प्रसज्येत सिद्धान्तविरोधः

<sup>४</sup> VT. ० भङ्गाभावात् तदभावे

<sup>५</sup> VT. धर्माणां निःस्वभाव

<sup>६</sup> In The verse 9—नामापि भवेन्नैवं नामापि

यः सद्भूतं नाम ब्रूयात् स स्वभाव इत्येवं ।

भवता प्रतिवक्तव्यो नाम ब्रूमश्च न वयं सत् । (५८)

यो नाम सद्भूतं ब्रूयात् सस्वभाव इति स भवता प्रतिवक्तव्यः स्यात् । यस्य सद्भूतनामस्वभावस्य । तस्मात् तेनापि स्वभावेन सद्भूतेन भवितव्यं । न ह्यसद्भूतस्य स्वभावस्य सद्भूतं नाम भवतीति । न पुनर्वयं नाम सद्भूतं<sup>१</sup> ब्रूमस्तदपि हि स्वभावस्याभावान्नाम निः<sup>२</sup>स्वभावत्वात् शून्यं शून्यत्वादसद्भूतं । (५८)

b6

तत्र यत् भवतोक्तं नामसद्भावात् सद्भूतः स्वभाव इति । तन्न ॥

किञ्चान्यत् ।

नामासदिति च<sup>३</sup> यदिदं तत्किं नु सतो भवत्युतासतः ।

यदि हि सतो यद्यसतो द्विधापि ते हीयते वादः । (५९)

यच्चैतन्नामासदिति<sup>३</sup> तत्किं [नाम] सतः असतः<sup>४</sup> । यदि हि सतस्त (त्) नाम यद्यसत उभयथापि प्रतिज्ञा हीयते । तत्र यदि तावत् सत् ।<sup>५</sup> असदिति [नास्तीति] प्रतिज्ञा हीयते । नहीदानीं तदसदिदानीं सत्<sup>६</sup> अथासत् । असदिति नाम या प्रतिज्ञा असद्भूतस्य नाम न भवति अस्तित्वस्वभाव इति तस्मात् सद्भूतः स्वभाव इति । सा हीना ॥ (५९)

किञ्चान्यत् ।

सर्वेषां भावानां शून्यत्वञ्चोपपादितं पूर्वं ।

स उपालम्भः तस्माद् भवत्ययञ्चाप्रतिज्ञायाः<sup>६</sup> । (६०)

इह चास्माभिः पूर्वमेव सर्वेषां भावानां विस्तरतः शून्यत्वमुपपादितं । तत्र प्राग् नाम्नोपि शून्यत्वमुक्तं (१) संभवं अशून्यत्वं परिगृह्य परिवृत्तो<sup>७</sup> वक्तुं । यदि भावानां स्वभावो न स्यादस्वभाव इति नामापीदन्न स्यादिति ।<sup>८</sup> तस्माद् (? त्) प्रतिज्ञोपलम्भोयं भवतः संपद्यते । न हि वयं नाम सद्भूतमिति ब्रूमः ॥ (६०)

<sup>१</sup> VT. ० सद्भूतस्वभावं    <sup>२</sup> VT. नामा सदि न

<sup>३</sup> VT. यच्चैतन्न नामासत इति

<sup>४</sup> VT. असतो वा । अथ

<sup>५</sup> VT. ० तावन्नामासद् (१)

<sup>६</sup> VT. तस्मात् प्रतिज्ञाऽभावेऽप्युपालम्भो योऽस्ति

<sup>७</sup> VT. Omits—संभवं ० स्यादिति

(३) प्रतिषेधासिद्धिर्न युक्ता

(क) धर्मविनिर्मुक्तः स्वभावः प्रतिषिद्धः

यत्पुनः भवतोक्तं ।

अथ विद्यते स्वभावस्स च धर्माणां न विद्यते तस्मात् (१)

धर्मैर्विना स्वभावः स यस्य तत् युक्तमुपदेष्टुं । (१०)

(अत्रोच्यते)

अथ विद्यते स्वभावः स च धर्माणां न विद्यत इति ।

इदमाशङ्कितं यदुक्तं भवत्यनाशङ्कितं तच्च । (६१)

न हि वयं धर्माणां स्वभावं<sup>३</sup> प्रतिषेधयामः । धर्मविनिर्मुक्तस्य वा कस्यचि-  
दर्थस्य स्वभावमभ्युपगच्छामः । नन्वेवं सति य उपालम्भो भवत[ १ ] यदि धर्मा  
निःस्वभावाः कस्य खल्वदानीमन्यस्यार्थस्य धर्मविनिर्मुक्तस्य स्वभावो भवति ।  
स युक्तमेवोपदिष्टमिति । दूरापकृष्टमेवैतत् भवति ।<sup>१</sup> (६१)

(ख) असतोऽपि धनभ्युपगमस्य प्रतिषेधात् समः

यत् पुनर्भवतोक्तं ।

सत एव प्रतिषेधो नास्ति घटो गेह इत्ययं यस्मात् ।

दृष्टः प्रतिषेधोयं सतः स्वभावस्य ते तस्मात् । (११)

इत्यत्र ब्रूमः ।<sup>४</sup>

सत एव प्रतिषेधो यदि शून्यत्वं नन्वप्रतिसि(?षि)द्धमिदं ।

प्रतिषेधयते हि भवान् भावानां निःस्वभावत्वं । (६२)

यदि सत एव प्रतिषेधो भवति नासत [ : । सर्व ] भावानां निःस्वभावत्वं  
प्रतिषेधयति [ भवान् ] । ननु प्रतिसि(?षि)द्धं<sup>२</sup> सर्वभावाणां निःस्वभावत्वं त्वद्व-  
चनेन । प्रतिषेधयसि त्वं सदभावात् । निःस्वभावत्वस्य च सर्वभावाणां प्रतिषिद्ध-  
त्वात् । प्रतिषिद्धा शून्येति<sup>३</sup> । (६२)

<sup>१</sup> VT. दूरापकृष्टो न दृढस्स उपालम्भो भवति

<sup>२</sup> VT. न प्रसिद्धं

<sup>३</sup> VT. प्रतिसिद्धं त्वया शून्यता हेतोः प्रतिषिद्धत्वात् सर्वभावाणां  
निःस्वभावत्वस्व च प्रतिषिद्धत्वाच्च

प्रतिषेधयसे अथ त्वं शून्यत्वं तच्च नास्ति शून्यत्वं ।

प्रतिषेधः <sup>१</sup> सत इति ते नन्वे(वं) विहीयते वादः ।<sup>२</sup> (६३)

अथ <sup>३</sup> शून्यत्वं प्रतिषेधयसि त्वं सर्वभावानां निःस्वभावत्वं शून्यत्वं (।) नास्ति तच्च शून्यत्वं ।<sup>४</sup> या तर्हि ते प्रतिज्ञा सतः प्रतिषेधो भवति नासत इति सा हीना ॥ (६३)

किञ्चान्यत् ।

प्रतिषेधयामि नाहं किञ्चित् प्रतिषेध्यमस्ति न च किञ्चित् ।

तस्मात् प्रतिषेधयसीत्यधिलयः<sup>५</sup> एव त्वया क्रियते । (६४)

एवमपि तु कृत्वा यद्यहं किञ्चित् प्रतिषेधयामि ततो युक्तमेव वक्तुं स्यात् । न चैवाहं<sup>६</sup> किञ्चित् प्रतिषेधयामि तस्मान्न<sup>७</sup> किञ्चित् (प्रति)शे(षे)द्व्य-मस्ति । तस्मात् शून्येषु सर्वभावेष्वविद्यमाने प्रतिषेध्ये [प्रतिषेधे च] प्रतिषेधयसीत्येष त्वयात्र सद्भूतोऽधिलयः<sup>८</sup> क्रियत इति ॥ (६४)

यत् पुनर्भवतोक्तं ।

अथ नास्ति स स्वभावः किन्तु प्रतिषिध्यते त्वयानेन (।)

वचनेनर्ते वचनात् प्रतिषेधः सिध्यते ह्यसतः ॥ (१२)

अत्र ब्रूमः ।

यच्चाहं ते वचनादसतः प्रतिषेधवचनसिद्धिरिति ।

अत्र ज्ञापयते वागसदिति तन्न प्रतिनिहन्ति । (६५)

यच्च भवान्<sup>९</sup> ब्रूवीति । सतो<sup>१०</sup>पि वचनादसतः प्रतिषेधः प्रतिसिद्धः<sup>११</sup> तत्र किन्निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावा इति एतद्वचनं करोतीति ॥

अत्र ब्रूमः (।) निःस्वभावाः [सर्वभावा] इति एतत् खलु वचनं न निःस्वभा-वान् सर्वभावान् करोति<sup>१२</sup> । किन्त्वसत्स्वभावो भावानामसत्स्वभावानामिति

<sup>१</sup> VT. इति ननु स हीयते वादः      <sup>२</sup> VT. यस्मात्

<sup>३</sup> VT. adds अथ      <sup>४</sup> VT. ब्रू-प=पूजा

<sup>५</sup> VT. यस्माच्च

<sup>६</sup> VT. ब्रू-प थो-नु मि-ब-प दे=न्यस्तस्सोऽधिलयः

<sup>७</sup> VT. असतोऽपि      <sup>८</sup> VT. प्रसिद्धः

<sup>९</sup> VT. एतत् खलु वचनं भावानां निःस्वभावत्वं न करोति

ज्ञापयति । तत्र कश्चिद् ब्रूयादविद्यमानगृहे देवदत्तस्तमस्ति (? त्तमस्ति) गृहे देवदत्त इति ।<sup>१</sup> तत्रैतन्<sup>१</sup> [ ? वं ] कश्चित् प्रतिब्रूयात् [देवदत्तो गेहे] नास्तीति । न त[द्वचनं देवदत्तस्याभावं करोति न] <sup>२</sup>देवदत्तस्य संभवं करोति । किन्तु ज्ञापयति केवलमसद्भावं गृहे देवदत्तस्येति । तद्वत् नास्ति स्वभावो भावानामित्येतद् वचनं न स्वभावानां<sup>३</sup> निः स्वभावत्वं करोति । भावेषु स्वभावस्याभावं ज्ञापयति<sup>३</sup> ॥ (६५)

तत्र यद्वचनोक्तं (१) किमसति स्वभावे नास्ति स्वभाव इत्येतद् वचनं करोति । रि (? ऋ) तेषां वचनात् प्रसिद्धिः स्वभावस्याभाव इति । तत् ते न युक्तं (१)

(ग) प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् न निर्हेतुकतादोषः

यदुक्तं (१)

बालानामिव मृगतृष्णायां स यथा<sup>१</sup> जलग्राहः ।

एवं मिथ्याग्राहः स्यात् ते प्रसिध्यते ह्यसतः । (१३-१६)

यत् पुनर्भवतो मृगतृष्णायामित्यत्र ब्रूमः ।

मृगतृष्णादृष्टान्ते यः पुनरुक्तं त्वया महाश्चर्चः ।

तत्रापि निर्णयं शृणु यथा स दृष्टान्त उपपन्नः । (६६)

य एव त्वया मृगतृष्णादृष्टान्ते महाश्चर्च उक्तः । तत्रापि यः निर्णयः स श्रूयतां (१) उपपन्न एव दृष्टान्तो भवति ।<sup>२</sup> (६६)

स यदि स्वभावतः स्यात् भावो<sup>३</sup> न स्यात् प्रतीत्य समुद्भूतः (१)<sup>२</sup>

यश्च प्रतीत्य भवति ग्राहो ननु<sup>४</sup> शून्यता सैव । (६७)

यदि च मृगतृष्णायां स यथा जलग्राहः स्वभावतः स्यात् । न स्यात् प्रतीत्य-समुत्पन्नो । यतो मृगतृष्णाञ्च प्रतीत्य विपरीतञ्च दर्शनं प्रतीत्य [अ]योनिशो मन-स्कारञ्च प्रतीत्य स्यादुद्भूतोः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नः<sup>५</sup> (१) यतश्च प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नोऽतः स्वभावतः शून्य एव । यथा पूर्वमुक्तं तथा (६७)

<sup>१</sup> VT. यथा <sup>२</sup> VT. उक्तः । ० तत्रापि दृष्टान्तः स कथमुपपन्नः । निर्णयो योऽस्ति सश्रूयताम् । <sup>३</sup> VT. भावानां <sup>४</sup> VT. ० करोति ।

अथापि सर्वभावा निःस्वभावा मायापुरुषवत् । अभूतवस्तुमोहात् अविद्यया मूढान् बालपुरुषान् आरोपितेषु सस्वभावेषु स्वभावाभावं ज्ञापयति । <sup>५</sup> VT.

ग्राहो <sup>६</sup> VT. न <sup>७</sup> VT. ० प्रतीत्यास्त्युद्भूतः

किञ्चान्यत् ।

यदि च स्वभावतः स्यात् ग्राहः कस्तं विनिवर्तयेत् ग्राहं<sup>३</sup>

शे(षे)ष्वप्येष विधिः तस्मा(द्) दोषोऽनुपालम्भः<sup>१</sup> । (६८)

यदि च मृगतृष्णायां जलग्राहः स्वभावतः स्यात् । क एव तं विनिवर्तयेत् ।  
न हि स्वभावः(ः) शक्यो निवर्तयितुं । तथा<sup>२</sup>ग्नेरुष्णत्वमपाम् द्रवत्वमाकाशस्य  
निरु(१रा)वरणत्वं(१) दृष्टं चास्य विनिवर्तनं । तस्माच्छून्यस्वभावः ग्राहः<sup>३</sup> ।  
यदा चैतदेवं शेषेष्वपि धर्मेष्वेष क्रमः प्रत्यवगन्तव्यः(१) ग्राह्यप्रवृत्तिषु  
पञ्चषु(?सु) । (६८)

तत्र यद् भव[तोकतं—षट्लक्षणभा]<sup>४</sup>वादशून्याः सर्वभावा इति (१) तन्न ॥

यत्पुनर्भवतोकतं<sup>५</sup> ।

हेतोश्च ते न<sup>६</sup> सिद्धि (र्) नैःस्व(१)भाव्यात् कुतो हि ते हेतुः(१)

निर्हेतुकस्य सिद्धिर्न चोपपन्नास्य तेऽर्थस्य इति ॥ (१७-१९)

अत्र ब्रूमः ।

एतेन हेत्वभावः प्रत्युक्तः पूर्वमेव स समत्वात्<sup>७</sup> ।

मृगतृष्णादृष्टान्तव्यावृत्तिविधौ<sup>८</sup> य उक्तः प्राग् । (६९)

एतेनैव चेदानीं चर्चेन पूर्वोक्तेन हेत्वभावोपि प्रत्यवगन्तव्यः । य एव हि चर्चः  
पूर्वस्मिन् हेतावुक्तः षट्कप्रतिषेधचर्चो यः स इ]<sup>९</sup>हापि चर्चयितव्यः । (६९)

(४) प्रतिषेधप्रतिषेध्याभ्युपगमाददोषः

यत्पुनर्भवतोकतं<sup>५</sup> ।

पूर्वं चेत् प्रतिषेधः पश्चात् प्रतिषेध्यमित्यनुपपन्नं ।

पश्चाच्चानुपपन्नो युगपच्च यतः स्वभावोऽसन् ॥ (२०)

अत्र ब्रूमः ।

यस्त्रैकाल्ये हेतुः प्रत्युक्तः पूर्वमेव स समत्वात् ।

त्रैकाल्यप्रतिहेतुश्च शून्यतावादिनां प्राप्तः । (७०)

<sup>१</sup> VT. तस्मादनुपालम्भः    <sup>२</sup> VT. यथा    <sup>३</sup> VT. तस्मान्निःस्वभावो  
ग्राहः । यथा    <sup>४</sup> VT. अन्यच्च verse-17 हेतोस्ततो न०    <sup>५</sup> VT.  
साध्यसमत्वात्    <sup>६</sup> VT. ० व्यावृत्तिसिद्धौ    <sup>७</sup> VT. अन्यच्च

य एष हेतुः त्रैकाल्ये प्रतिषेधवाची स तूक्तोत्तरः प्रत्यवमन्तः<sup>१</sup> । कस्मात् (१) साध्यसमत्वात् । यथा हि<sup>२</sup> प्रतिषेधस्त्रैकाल्ये नोपपन्नः स<sup>३</sup> प्रतिषेधप्रतिषेधेपि । तस्मात् प्रतिषेधप्रतिषेधेऽसति [यद्] भवान् मन्यते प्रतिषेधः प्रतिसि(?षद्व) इति (१) तन्न । यत्तच्चैष<sup>४</sup> त्रिकालप्रतिषेधवाची हेतुरेष एव शून्यतावादिनां प्राप्तः सर्वभावस्वभावप्रतिषेधकत्वान्न<sup>५</sup> भवतः ।

अथवा कथमेतदुक्तोत्तरं ।

प्रतिषेधयामि नाहं किञ्चित् प्रतिषेध्यमस्ति न च किञ्चित् ।

तस्मात् प्रतिषेधयसीत्यधिलय एष त्वया क्रियत इति ॥ (६४)

[प्रतिषेधः सिद्धः] अथ मन्यसे त्रिष्वपि कालेषु<sup>६</sup> दृष्टः<sup>७</sup> पूर्वकालीनोपि हेतुः उत्तरकालीनोपि । युगपत्कालीनोपि हेतुः (१) कथं पूर्वकालीनः<sup>८</sup> । यथा पिता पुत्रस्य त्वद्वचनेन<sup>९</sup> पश्चात्कालीनः । यथा शिष्या (?ष्य आ)चार्यस्य (१) युगपत्कालीनः यथा प्रदीपः<sup>१०</sup> प्रकाशस्येति ॥ (७०)

अत्र ब्रूमः । न चैतदेव युक्ता ह्येतस्मिं त्रयः पूर्वदोषाः<sup>११</sup> ।

अपि च पुनः यद्येवं क्रमः<sup>१२</sup> । प्रतिषेधसद्भावत्वे याभ्युपगम्यते<sup>१३</sup> । प्रतिज्ञा-  
7b हानिश्च ते भवति [। एतेन क्रमेण]<sup>१४</sup> स्वभावप्रतिषेधोऽपि सिद्धः<sup>१५</sup>]

प्रभवति च शून्यतेयं यस्य प्रभवन्ति तस्य सर्वार्थाः (१)

प्रभवति न तस्य किन्<sup>१६</sup> भवति शून्यता यस्येति ॥ (७१)

यस्य शून्यतेयं प्रभवति तस्य सर्वार्थाः लौकिकलोकोत्तराः प्रभवन्ति (१) किं कारणं । यस्य हि शून्यता प्रभवति तस्य प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः प्रभवति । यस्य प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः प्रभवति तस्य<sup>१७</sup> चत्वा (र्या) र्यसत्यानि प्रभवन्ति । यस्य चत्वार्यार्य-सत्यानि<sup>१८</sup> आ<sup>१९</sup> मण्यफलानि भवन्ति । सर्वविशेषाधिगमाः भवन्ति । यस्य सर्वविशेषाधिगमाः प्रभवन्ति । तस्य त्रीणि रत्नानि बुद्धधर्मसंघाः प्रभवन्ति । यस्य प्रतीत्य-

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits प्रत्यवमन्तः    <sup>२</sup> VT. एवं त्वद्वचनेन    <sup>३</sup> VT. नोपपन्नः प्रतिषेधवत् प्रतिषेध्योऽपि स स्यात्    <sup>४</sup> VT. यश्च    <sup>५</sup> VT. ० भावप्रतिषेधः    <sup>६</sup> VT. तत्र पूर्वं ० हेतुः    <sup>७</sup> VT. Omits— त्वद्वचनेन    <sup>८</sup> VT. नैतदेवम् । एतस्मिन् क्रमे पूर्वोक्ता दोषाः    <sup>९</sup> VT. Omits क्रमः    <sup>१०</sup> VT. प्रतिषेधभावो भवताऽभ्युपगम्यते । सा ह्यसिद्धतः    <sup>११</sup> VT. किञ्चित्    <sup>१२</sup> VT. Omits यस्य ० भवति    <sup>१३</sup> VT. प्रभवति । ० सत्यानि



समुत्पादः प्रभवति तस्य धर्मो धर्महेतुर्धर्मफलञ्च प्रभवति<sup>१</sup> । तस्याधर्मोऽधर्म-  
हेतुरधर्मफलञ्च प्रभवति । तस्य क्लेशः क्लेशसमुदयः क्लेशवस्तुनो<sup>२</sup> च प्रभवान्त ।  
यस्यैतत् सर्वं भवति पूर्वोक्तं तस्य सुगतिदुर्गतिव्यवस्थ[र] सु<sup>३</sup> गतिदुर्गतिगमनं ।  
सुगतिदुर्गतिगामी मार्गः<sup>४</sup> । सुगतिदुर्गतिगमनव्यतिक्रमणं सुगतिदुर्गतिव्यतिक्रमोपायः  
सर्वसंव्यवहाराश्च लौकिकाः स्वयमधिगन्तव्याः (१) अनया दिशा किञ्चित्  
शक्यं वचनो (? नमु) पदेषुमिति । भवति<sup>५</sup> चात्र (१७१)

यः शून्यतां प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं मध्यमां प्रतिपदमनेकार्थं<sup>६</sup> ।

निजगाद प्रणमामि तमप्रतिमसंबुद्धमिति ॥<sup>६</sup> (७२)

कृतिरियमाचार्यनागार्जुनपादान (i .....<sup>३</sup> एकत्र श्लोकशत ४५०॥

॥ लिखितमिदं श्रीधर्मकीर्तिना सर्वसत्त्वहेतोः यथालब्धमिति<sup>६</sup> ॥

॥ विग्रहव्यावर्त्तनी ॥<sup>४९</sup>

<sup>१</sup> VT. Omits प्रभवति <sup>२</sup> VT. क्लेशवस्तूनि <sup>३</sup> VT. प्राणी

<sup>४</sup> VT. Omits भवति <sup>५</sup> VT. ० पदमेकार्थं <sup>६</sup> VT. विग्रहव्यावर्त्तनि-

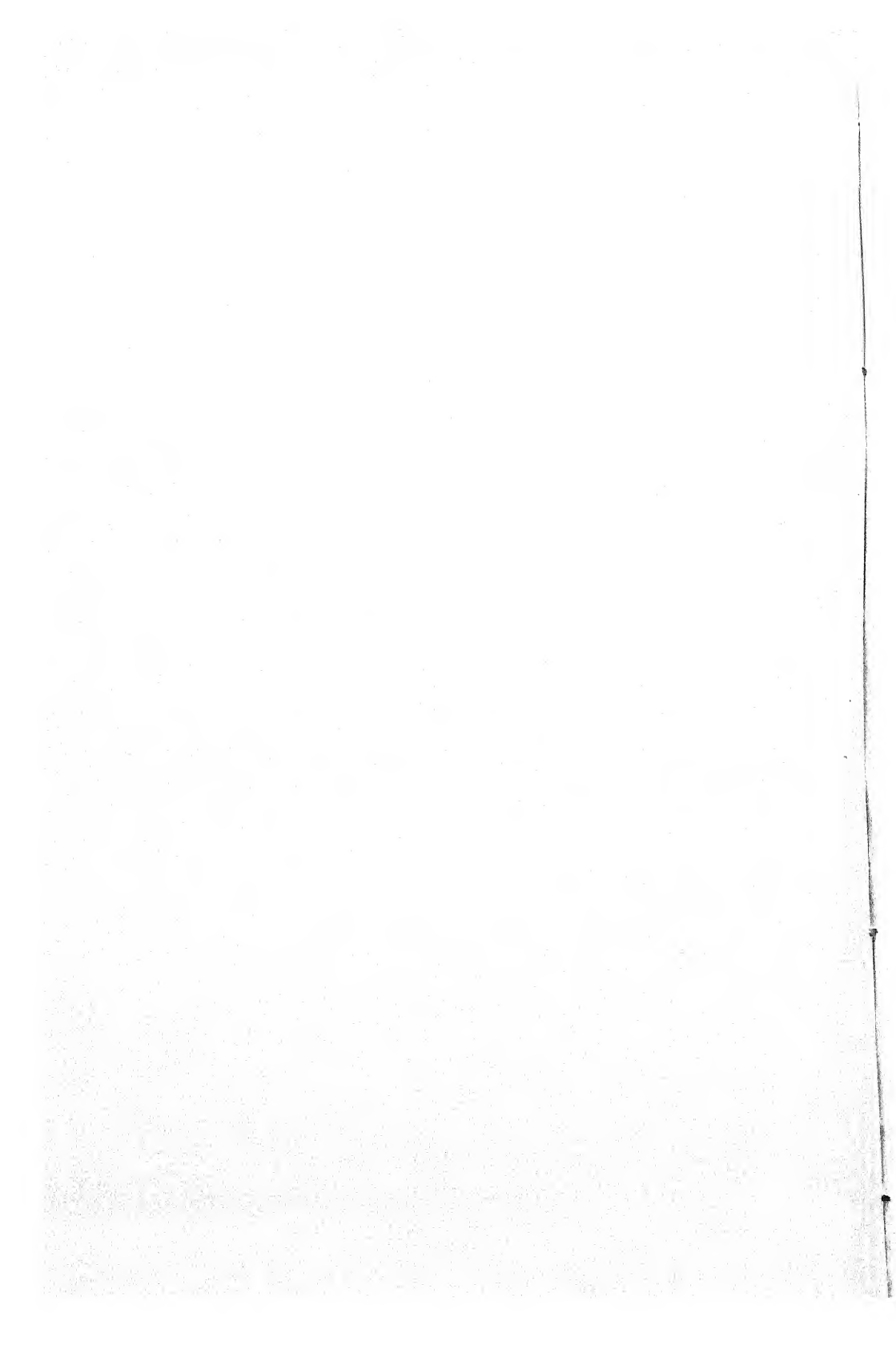
प्रकरणटीकायाः प्रथमप्रमोदावतारः आचार्यनागार्जुनेन कृतः समाप्तः ।

भारतीयपण्डितेन ज्ञानगर्भेण लोकचक्षुषा बन्धरक्षितेनानूदितः ।

The colophon. of the kārīkās is: विग्रहव्यावर्त्तनीकारिका नाम  
आचार्येणार्थनागार्जुनेन मानकलशेन (शल्-सूङ्) कृता समाप्ता ।

(१) भारतीयपण्डितेन ज्ञानगर्भेण (८७४ A.C.) भोटलोकचक्षुषा  
कवा (भिजनेन) श्रीकृतेन चानूदितः । (२) पुनः कश्मीरकपण्डितेन जयानन्तेन  
(१०६० A.C.?) लोकचक्षुषा खु (वास्ताव्येन) सूत्रश्रिया चानूदितः ।

<sup>९</sup> तत्रैव भोटभाषायां—“सुलोब-दपोन्-क्लु-गुब्-ग्यिस् म्जद्-प छिग्स-सु ब्चद्-प  
बशि-वर्ग्य-लङ्-बचु-प ।” (=आचार्यनागार्जुनकृता सार्द्धचतुःशतिका कारिका)



## APPENDIX I

### विग्रहव्यावर्त्तनी कारिकाप्रतीकानुक्रमणी

अत्र ज्ञापयते .	६५	कश्च पिता .	५१
अथ तु प्रमाण .	४६	किन्ते प्रमाण .	४५
अथ ते प्रमाण .	४७	कुशलं जनस्वभाव .	७
अथ न प्रतीत्य .	५५	कुशल स्वभाव एवं .	५३
अथ नास्ति स .	१२	कुशलानां धर्माणां .	७, ५३
अथ नैवास्ति .	१५	कुरुते कथं .	३८
अथ मत मपेक्ष्य .	४३	तस्मात् सर्व .	५७
अथवा निर्मित .	२७	तत्रापि निर्णयं .	६६
अथवा साध्य .	२८	तत्रास्ति प्रत्यक्षं .	५
अथ विद्यते .	१०, ६१	तस्मात् प्रतिषेध .	६४
अथ सस्वभाव .	२	तेषां पुनः प्रसिद्धि .	३१
अथ हेतोर .	१९	तेषामथ प्रमा० .	३३
अनपेक्ष्य हि .	४२	त्रैकाल्य प्रतिहेतु .	७०
अनुमानं प्रत्यु .	६	त्वद्वचनमस्वभावं .	१
अनुमानागम .	६	द्योतयति स्वात्मानं .	३४
अन्यैर्यदि प्रमा .	३२	दृष्टः प्रतिषे .	११
अप्राप्तोऽपि ज्वलनो .	४०	धर्माणां परभावः .	५४
इदमाशङ्कित .	६१	धर्माणामेवं स्यात् .	५५
उत्पद्यमान एव प्रका० .	३९	धर्मावस्थ .	८
उत्पद्यमान एव प्रा० .	३९	धर्मो विना .	१०
उत्पाद्यः स यदि .	५०	ननु शून्यत्वं .	२१
एतेन हेत्वभावः .	६९	नन्वेवं सत्यस्ति .	१४
एवं तव .	४	न भवन्ति कस्य .	४२
एवं मिथ्या .	१३	न स्वाभाविक .	२४
एषचाकुशलेष्व .	५७	नहि तस्याः .	३५

नादेः सिद्धिः .	३२	प्रत्यक्षादिभिः .	३०
नामापि भवेत् .	९	प्रत्यक्षेण हि .	५
नामासदिति च .	५९	प्रभवति च शून्यतेयं .	६१
नास्ति च मम .	२९	प्रभवति न तस्य .	७१
नास्ति च वैष .	२४	बालानामिव .	१३
नास्ति तमश्च .	३८	भवति न च .	५८
नाधर्मो धर्मोवा .	५६	भवता प्रतिवक्तव्यः .	५८
निजगाद .	७२	भवति प्रमाण .	४१
नित्याश्च सर्वभावाः .	५६	भवति प्रमाण .	४७
निर्मितकः प्रति .	२७	भवन्ति हि प्रमेय .	४४
निर्मितको निर्मि .	२३	मा शब्द वद .	३
निर्हेतुकस्य .	१७	माशब्द वदिति .	२५
नैर्याणिक स्वभावो .	८	मृगतृष्णा दृष्टान्त .	६९
नैव स्वतः प्रसिद्धिः .	५२	मृगतृष्णा दृष्टान्ते .	६६
नैः स्वभाव्य निवृ० .	२६	यच्चाहं ते वचनात् .	६५
नैः स्वाभाव्यानां० .	२६	यदि काचन .	२९
परमिव .	३६	यदि किञ्चिदुप .	३०
पश्चादनु .	२०	यदि च न .	९
पित्रा यद्युत्पाद्यः .	५०	यदि च प्रतीत्य .	५४
पिता-पुत्र लक्षण .	५१	यदि च प्रमाणतः .	३१
पूर्वं चेत् प्रति .	२०	यदि च प्रमेय .	४५
प्रच्छादयिष्यति तमः .	३७	यदि च स्वतः .	४१
प्रतिप्रतिषेध्ये .	४	यदि च स्वपरा० .	३७
प्रतिषेधः प्रति .	१४	यदि च स्वभावतः .	६८
प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्यं .	१६	यदि चा हेतोः .	१८
प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्यं प्र० .	१५	यस्य प्रतीत्य .	२२
प्रतिषेधयते यद्वत् .	२३	यश्च प्रतीत्य .	६७
प्रतिषेधयतेहि .	६२	यः शून्यतां .	७२
प्रतिषेधयसे .	६३	यस्त्रै काल्ये हेतुः .	७०
प्रतिषेधयामि नाहं .	६४	यः सद्भूतं .	५८
प्रतिषेधः सतः .	६३	यदि स्वात्मा .	३६
प्रतीत्य यश्च .	२२	यदि हि सतो .	५९

प्रतीकानुक्रमणी

३

लोके नैः स्वा	१९	सर्वेषु लोक	४०
वचनेनर्ते	१२	सर्वेषां भावानां	१, ६०
विषमोपन्यासो	३५	संव्यवहारञ्च	२८
वैषमिकत्वं	१२	साध्या नि च प्रमेयैः	४८, ४९
वैषमिकत्वं तस्मिन्	३३	सिद्धस्य साधनं	४३
व्यत्यय एवं	४६	सिद्धा हि	१६
शब्दे नहि	२५	सिद्ध्यन्ति च प्रमेयैः	४९
शब्दे नात्र	३	सिद्ध्यन्ति हि	४८
शेषेष्वप्येष	६८	सिद्ध्यन्ति हि प्रमेयेषैः	४४
स उपालम्भः	६०	स्वपरात्मानावे	३४
सत एव	११	स्वाभाव्यस्य	१८
सत एव प्रतिषेधः	६२	हेतु प्रत्यय	२१
स यदि स्वभावतः	६७	हेतोस्ततो	१७

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## APPENDIX II

### नामानुक्रमणी

	कारिकाङ्कः		कारिकाङ्कः
जयानन्तः	. ७२ (col.)	वन्द्यरक्षितः	. ७२ (col.)
ज्ञानगर्भः	. "	विग्रहव्यावर्तिनी	. "
धर्मकीर्तिः	. "	श्रीकूटः	. "
नागार्जुनः	. "	सूत्रश्री	. "

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### APPENDIX III

अग्निः ३२, ३५, ३७, ६८  
 अदीनता ७  
 अधिमोक्षः ७  
 अधिलयः ६४, ७०  
 अधिष्ठानम् २७  
 अध्यवसायः ७  
 अध्याशयः ७  
 अनवस्था प्रसङ्गः ३२  
 अनुमानम् ५, ३०  
 अपत्राप्यम् ८  
 अन्नक्षः (द्र० अन्नक्षः)  
 अयोनिशः ६७  
 अरतिः ८  
 असदग्निः १  
 असद्वादः ३९  
 आगमः ५, ३०, ५२  
 आरूप्योक्तः ७  
 आर्जवम् ७  
 आर्यसत्यानि ५५, ७१  
 आस्रवः। अन्-७  
 उत्पादः ७  
 उत्पादस्थितिभङ्गाः ५७  
 उत्साहः ७  
 उपमानम् ५, ३०, ५२  
 उपनाहः ७  
 उपनाहः। अन्-८  
 उपशमः ७

उपालम्भः ६०  
 उपेक्षा ७  
 उष्णत्वम् ६८  
 ऋद्धिः ८  
 औत्सुक्यम् ७  
 कल्पना १०  
 काम प्रतिकूलः ८  
 कामोक्तः ७  
 कार्यक्रिया समर्थाः २  
 काष्ठाहरण मृत्तिका हरणम् २२  
 कुशलाः ७, ५३, ५५  
 कुशलाः। अ-७  
 कुशलादिः। अ-५४  
 कुशल स्वभावः ५३  
 कुशला व्याकृतानि ५४  
 क्लेशः ७१  
 क्षान्तिः ८  
 गौरवम् ७  
 ग्रहीतारः १४, १६  
 ग्राहः १५  
 ग्राह्यः १४, १५  
 घटः ११  
 चर्चः ६६, ६९  
 चित्रिकारः ७  
 चेतना ७  
 चेतसोऽपरिद्रवः ८  
 छन्दः ७

जनस्वभावः ५३	निरोधगामी ५५
जरा ७	निरोधोक्तः ७
ज्वलनः ३८	निमित्तः २७
तथागतः २७	निमित्तकः २३, २७
त्रिकाल प्रतिषेध ७०	निर्वस्तुकम् १०
त्रैकाल्यम् ७०	निर्वाणम् २८
दक्षिणाम् २०	निर्हेतुकः १७, ५६
दिक् ७१	निर्हेतुकी सिद्धिः १८
दुःख निरोधः ५५	निःस्वभावः १, १७, २२
दुःख समुदयः ५५	निःस्वभावत्वम् २८, ६२, ६५
दुःखोक्तः ७	निःस्वभावाः सर्वभावाः ७, ८, ११, २०,
दुर्गतिः ७१	२२, ६५
दूरापकृष्टम् ६१	नैर्याणादीनि ५७
दृष्टान्तः २५, २६, ६६, ६९	नैर्याणिकाः ८
दृष्टान्त विरोधः २	नैर्याणिकः। अ-८
देव दत्तः ४३, ६५	नैर्याणिकता ७
द्रवत्वम् ६८	नैःस्वाभाव्यम् २०, २६
धर्म दर्शनम् ५५	पण्डित जातीय०, १३
धर्म देशना २८	परमार्थः २८
धर्म फलम् ७१	परित्रास्यता ७
धर्म विनिर्मुक्तः ६१	परिदाहता ८
धर्म शून्यता १०	परिशुद्धिः ७
धर्महेतुः ७१	पश्चात्कालीनः ७०
धर्माः ७, १०, ५३, ५५	पिता ५०
धर्माविस्थाविदः ७, ५३	पुण्यम् ७
धृतिः ७, ८	पुत्रः ५०
नाम ५९	पूर्वकालीनः ७०
नित्यता। अ-७	परिदाहः। अ-८
नित्याः। अ-५६	प्रकृताव्याकृताः ७
नियमः ८	प्रज्ञा ७
नियमः। अ-८	प्रतिज्ञा ५९
निवृताव्याकृतः ७	प्रतिज्ञा लक्षणम् ४, २८



प्रतिज्ञा हानिः ७०	प्रसिद्धिः ३३, ५२
प्रतिनिःसर्गः । अ-७	प्रहातव्यः ७
प्रतिनिःसर्गः । अ-७	प्रहातव्यः । अ-७
प्रतिपक्षभूतः ३७	प्राप्तिः ७
प्रतिपत्तिः ७	प्रीतिः ७
प्रतिपदम् ७२	बालाः १३
प्रति विरतिः ७	बुद्ध धर्म संघाः ७१
प्रतिषेद्धा १४, १५, १६	बोधिपाक्षिकः ८
प्रतिषेधः २, ३, ११, १५, १६, २०, २३, ६९, ७०	बोधिपाक्षिकः । अ-८
प्रतिषेध वचन सिद्धिः ६५	बोध्यङ्गिकः ७
प्रतिषेध्यः ४, १४, १५, १६, २०, ६९, ७०	बोध्यङ्गिकः । अ-८
प्रतीत्य २२, ५४, ५५	ब्रह्मचर्यम् ५५
प्रतीत्य समुत्पन्नाः २२, ६७	ब्रह्मचर्यवासः ५५
प्रतीत्य समुत्पन्नत्वम् २४	ब्रह्मचर्यवासः । अ-५६
प्रतीत्य समुत्पादः ५५, ७१, ७२	भक्तिः ७
प्रत्यक्षम् ५, ६, ३०	भक्तिः । अ-७
प्रत्ययः २१	भगवान् ५५, ५६
प्रत्यय संज्ञा १	भावना प्रहातव्यः ७
प्रदक्षिण ग्राहः ७	भावाः १, ६०
प्रदक्षिण ग्राहः । अ-८	भूतानि-सम्प्रयुक्तानि । २१
प्रमाण ४, ५, ६, ३०, ३१, ३३, ४४, ५२	भूतानि । महा (द्र-महा भूतानि)
प्रमाण चतुष्टयम् ४३	भोगान्वयः ८
प्रमाण सिद्धिः ४६, ५१	मदः ७, ८
प्रमादः ७	मध्यमा ७२
प्रमेय ३२, ३३, ४१, ४४, ५२	मनसिकारः ७
प्रमेयसिद्धिः ४४, ४५	मनस्कारः ६७
प्रयत्नः २१	मनोहरः । अ-८
प्रयोगः ७	महाभूतानि १
प्रविभागः ५३	मानाम् ३१
प्रश्नान्विः । अ-७, ८	मायाकारः २३
प्रसादः ८	माया पुरुषः २३
	मार्गः ५५

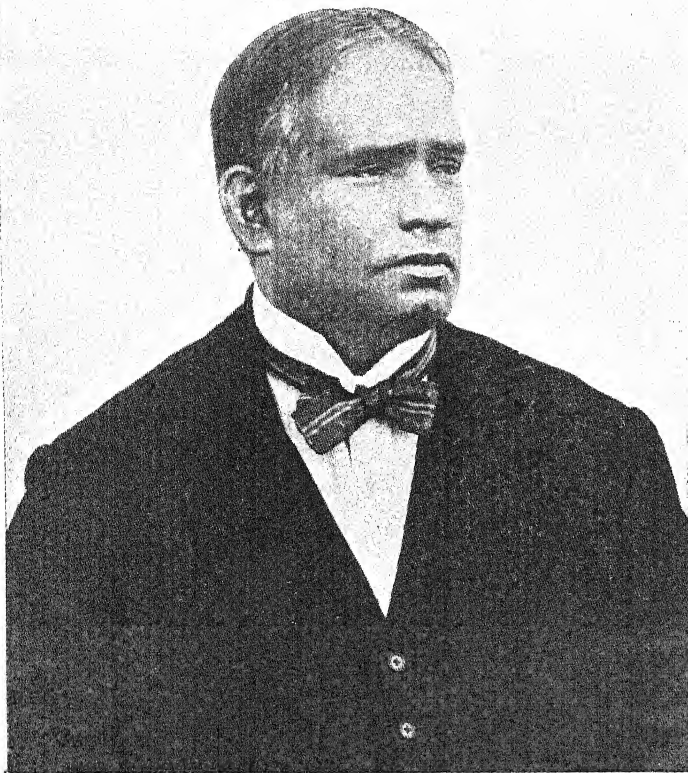
मार्गोक्तिः ७	वैषमिकत्वम् २४
मिथ्याग्राहः १३, ६५	वैषमिकत्व प्रसङ्गः २
मृगतृष्णा १३, ६५, ६६, ६७, ६९	व्यवसायः ७
मेयानि ३१	व्यवहारः २८
मैत्री ८	व्यवहारता ७
मोहः। अ-८	व्यवहारसत्यम् २८
भ्रक्षः। अ-८	शत्रुः। अ-८
गुणपत्कालीनः ७०	शशविषाणम् २०
रतिः ७	शून्याः ६, ७, ९, ११, १७
रतिः। अ-(द्र० अरतिः)	शून्यता २२, २६, ७२
रत्नानि ७१	शून्यता वादिनः ७०
रूपोक्तः ७	शून्यत्वम् १७, २१, ६०, ६३
लोक धातुः ४०	शून्याः सर्वभावाः १, २, ३
लोकोत्तरम् ७१	शैत्यम् १२
लौकिकाः ७१	शोकः ८
वञ्चनम्। अ-७	श्रद्धा ७
वादः २३, ३९, ६३	श्रामण्यफलम् ५६, ७१
विग्रहः ८	श्रामण्य फलाभावः ५५
विचयः ८	श्रावकः २७
विज्ञानम् ७	षट्कम् १४
वितर्कः ७	षट्कोटिकः (वादः) २, २३
विधिः ६८	सन् ११
विप्रतिसारः ८	संज्ञा ७
विप्रतिसारः। अ-७	संज्ञी। अ-७
विप्रयुक्तः १, २१	समाधिः ७
विग्रहाणिः ८	समापत्तिः ७
विभवः ७	समुदयः ७१
विशेष हेतुः ३३	समुदायोक्तः ७
विषमोपन्यासः ३, ३५	सम्प्रयुक्त १
वीर्यम् ७	सम्प्रयोगः ७
वेदनाः ७	सम्बुद्धम् ७२
वैशारद्यम् ७	सर्वज्ञता। अ-८

सर्वभाव व्यावर्तनम् ५  
 सर्वभाव स्वभावः ३, २३  
 सर्वविशेषाधिगमः ७१  
 संवरः ८  
 सयवम् २०  
 सव्यवहारः ५६, ७१  
 संशयः ८  
 संस्काराः ५६  
 संस्कृतम् ५७  
 संस्कृताः ! अ-७, ५७  
 संस्कृत लक्षणाभावः ५७  
 सस्वभावम् २  
 साध्यसमः २८  
 सुगतिः ७१

स्थितिः ७  
 स्पर्शः ७  
 स्मृतिः ७  
 स्वभावः १, १६, ५५, ५८  
 स्वभाव प्रतिषेधः २२, ७०  
 स्वभाव प्रसिद्धः ८  
 स्वभावशून्या २७  
 हुताशः ३६, ३७, ३९  
 हेतुः ७०  
 हेतु प्रत्ययाः १  
 हेतु प्रत्ययापेक्षत्वम् २२  
 हेत्वभावः ६९  
 हीः ७







**Kashi Prasad Jayaswal**

Born in 1881—Died on August 4, 1937

377

# JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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VOL. XXIII ]

1937

[ PART IV

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## JAYASWAL COMMEMORATION VOLUME

From

Sir E. A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (Retd.)

To

The Honorary Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research  
Society, Patna.

Dear Sir,

I have heard with the deepest regret of the untimely death of my old and valued friend, Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal.

Of his great services to the cause of historical and antiquarian research, especially in Bihar and Orissa, others are more competent than I am to give an appreciation. But as one who has been closely interested in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, ever since its foundation in 1915, I may say that Jayaswal's services to that Society have been of outstanding importance. His valuable contribu-

tions to the Society's Journal far outnumber those of any member; and throughout its existence he has been a very active member of the Council. His loss is, I greatly fear, irreparable.

Yours truly,  
E. A. GAIT



## KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL

Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal first came into prominence in northern India when as a young man he went to England as a student and started writing articles in Hindi about his experiences there. It was not then so well known that he was utilising his time at Oxford in making a special study of ancient Indian History; but his friends were aware that he was diving deep into the mysteries of the past and he was credited with a knowledge and study of the Chinese language and literature. He also freely participated in the political activities of his compeers in England for which he remained a suspect for a pretty long time in India. Thus when he returned to India his reputation had travelled in advance of him and he had three classes of friends and admirers. There were the Hindi writers and readers who admired in him his courage and sagacity and his love of his mother tongue and hoped that he would enrich the growing literature of Hindi by his writings. There were scholars and historians who hoped much from him and whose hopes were amply fulfilled in course of time by his researches. Lastly there were his near and dear ones who naturally hoped that his talents would bring honour and fame and also money from his practice at the Bar. He had a handicap to overcome on account of his political views and activities in England which made the police and the Government suspicious.

Soon after his return he became a popular figure not only in the Bar Library in Calcutta but also in the learned world. I know that at a very early stage he was offered the chair of History in the Benares Hindu University which he was unable to accept. The Calcutta University offered him a Professorship which he accepted but which for political reasons he could not retain. In Calcutta he was thus engaged partly in Educational work and partly in his professional work at the Bar. By the time the Patna High Court was opened, he had established a position at the Bar and had already acquired a great reputation as a historian and research worker. He came to Patna and continued his activities in both directions. Till the last day of his life he retained his double love.

It was an enigma how in the midst of his professional activities he found time to study the ancient records on stone and coin, in manuscripts and architecture. Many also wondered whether he loved law or ancient history more. I have no doubt in my mind that he was a historian by choice and instinct and a lawyer by compulsion. His own inclinations and talents attracted him towards history but the demands of the flesh dragged him towards law courts and law reports.

It is not for a layman like me to assess the value of his researches. But I am not aware that anything he has written or advocated as a result of his researches has been seriously challenged by scholars or displaced or falsified by later researches. Sriyut Rakhal Das Banerji, another historian who passed away in the prime of life after leaving an impress on

all that he touched, once told me that Dr. Jayaswal had a peculiar knack of tumbling on new interpretation of old facts. Many a thing that another scholar would pass by would furnish to him the starting point of a fresh series of researches and would ultimately form the basis of a well-established theory which would stand the test and scrutiny of other scholars.

Above all, Dr. Jayaswal was an ardent patriot. His researches were inspired by love of country whose achievements in the past he felt it his duty to expound to the world. Yet he was not a blind lover of everything ancient. The critical faculty which enabled him to separate the false from the true in his historical researches was also brought fully to bear on the social defects and shortcomings of our people and made him an earnest social reformer. He became a great admirer of Buddhist thought and literature and, if I mistake not, had a leaning towards the teaching of Buddha.

His researches in the domain of history will be treasured by scholars and historians. But every Indian and particularly every Bihari will remember his researches for the blow they struck on the self-complacent theory that had been sedulously propagated and uncritically accepted that we have never had anything like a democratic government in this country and that Indians know and understand only an absolute government. His history of the early republics of Bihar showed how they flourished not only in small cities but over large tracts and not only for a short period but for centuries and established once for all that forms of democracy were an indigenous

growth and have left their imperishable impress on our lives which have lasted through centuries of autocratic rule in the village life of our people.

Sadakat Ashram

RAJENDRA PRASAD

14th December, 1937

## Dr. K. P. JAYASWAL—THE BARRISTER AND MAN—A CHARACTER SKETCH

*By A COLLEAGUE AT THE BAR*

I have been requested to contribute a short article to the special number of the Magazine in Commemoration of Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal. The only condition was that the article should be "worthy of the occasion"—and the subject of the article was left entirely to my choice. To attempt to write on any of the erudite subjects associated with Dr. Jayaswal's name was an impossibility. That must be left to those with more profound scholarship than a mere dilettante can claim to possess. On Indian Pictorial Art, a subject with which I may claim a modest acquaintance, much has already been written, including certain contributions addressed to the man in the street by myself. That ground has been exhausted. What then could I contribute to this commemorative volume? In this dilemma some one suggested an Article on Jayaswal, the barrister and man—a character sketch of a remarkable personality. Glancing through the numerous obituary notices on Dr. Jayaswal, I found that there was but scanty reference to his professional career. That department of his activities had been submerged by the deservedly copious references to his brilliant achievements in the wider fields of scholarly research, in other words to Jayaswal, "the international," whose reputation had

spread from China to Peru as a profound scholar of India's ancient languages, history, culture and laws. The authorship of "Hindu Polity," by itself, would have sufficed to place him in the forefront of those who strive to penetrate the secrets of India's past, to rewrite the lost pages of its distant and elusive history ; but "Hindu Polity" was only one of the many important contributions to the subject so near his heart. As for Jayaswal the man, the obituary notices could hardly be expected to give an adequate exposition of his character and personality, as known to those who met him daily and knew him intimately.

The legal profession to which he was always proud to belong may well claim that his training at the Bar—with its constant call on one's mental resources to appreciate values correctly, to sift essentials from non-essentials, to draw legitimate inferences pro tanto from facts proven or morally proven—was an invaluable asset to Jayaswal, the searcher after the recondite, the constructive theorist of a buried past. Open at haphazard any article or work by Dr. Jayaswal on any of the controversial subjects with which he dealt, and it will be obvious that the evidence is being weighed and the facts marshalled by one practised in these arts and not by a mere doctrinaire. All known circumstances are considered which can bear on the problem and the handling is that of the expert. If imagination played a part in his deductions it was a small part. Moreover, descended as he was from generations of Hindus, steeped in Hindu lore himself, may it not be suggested that in his case it was inspiration rather than imagination which

served him and placed him at an advantage vis á vis his Western compeers? Be that as it may, no theories or inferences in such fields of research can ordinarily be classed as final and authoritative. The doctrine of 'res judicata' can not apply to such findings; they must ex necessitate be controversial—and no body realised this better than Dr. Jayaswal himself. His training at the Bar equipped him to bear with equanimity the storm of criticism raised by other scholars and savants at what they characterised as audacious speculation on insufficient material. He used to say that his purpose had been partially served, even if his views merely raised a genuine controversy. Then others would be stimulated to fresh efforts; further research may result in fresh discoveries, new light thrown on a subject which had no limitations. Had not Dr. Vincent Smith been constrained to revise his opinions in successive editions of his *Early History of India*? And had not Dr. Jayaswal's researches and publications led to revision of such views not by Dr. Vincent Smith alone but also by other scholars of international repute?

The writer was in constant and intimate touch with Dr. Jayaswal since the latter joined the Patna High Court at its inception in 1916—and it was in the years that followed that much of his best work was given to the world. "Hindu Polity"—after many vicissitudes—was finally published in 1924. Very frequently in the Bar Library, during leisure moments, did we discuss some of his conclusions based on recent study and research. Not infrequently I thought his conclusions were based on somewhat slender material

and I expressed the thought quite frankly to him—a privilege which he never resented for many reasons : For some years he had served as a member of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum during my Presidentship of that Committee—and I had relied greatly on his expert knowledge and advice in matters archaeological and historical. For many years I had been a member—interested but ignorant—of the B. & O. Research Society, of which he was a main pillar, a stalwart. For many years, too, as President of the Bar Association—*i.e.* the English Bar—I had found in him a staunch and loyal colleague and supporter. When he was to receive the Hony. Doctorate of philosophy from Patna University in 1936, he said he hoped I would be present. When I assured him that nothing short of an earthquake would mark me absent, his face beamed like that of a child over a new toy and he gave expression to simple unforgettable words of gratitude :

“Alas ! the gratitude of man  
Has oftener left me mourning”

was my thought. The affectionate gesture, however, remains a very pleasing memory—an incident, insignificant in itself, but throwing a side-light on the human side of our Dr. of Philosophy. Hundreds would be there to applaud the reward of meritorious service to Knowledge, yet his happiness would not be complete if one was not there. The glow of a personal tie was not to be dimmed by the glare of a public acclaim.

Frequently too I consulted him unofficially on



questions of Hindu Law, even when he was not my junior in the case. When he happened to be briefed with me, his learning and scholarship in all branches of Hindu Law were freely placed at my disposal ; in fact he coached me—the voice in Court was mine, the brain was his. When the point was particularly abstruse, requiring the elucidation of ambiguous Sanskrit texts, I left the whole of that topic entirely to him, and it was a pleasure to hear him expound the law and the sages.

Like that of most scholars, his delivery on such occasions was slow and measured, every word carefully chosen, every sentence deliberately enunciated. Rhetorical flights or the impassioned oratory, which wins verdicts from Juries in Criminal trials, were not in his composition. In fact he rarely appeared on the criminal side, nor was he known as a great cross-examiner. The Civil side of practice was more suited to his equipment and temperament—and that is where he shone. Interruptions from the Bench never flustered him—interruptions by his opponents he was less tolerant of. Generally he met such interruptions with a pithy remark, short, terse and to the point, which covered the interruptor with ridicule. With a strong sense of dry humour, ridicule was a facile and effective weapon in his hands. The following anecdote illustrates this faculty :

Mr. A a Mohammadan barrister had a case of his own and asked Jayaswal to go down to the Magistrate's Court to cross-examine Mr. A's opponent a Rajput Hindu. The first question put by the cross-examiner was : Are you my sala (brother-in-

law, but also a term of abuse in India)? There was great consternation in Court. Had the learned counsel gone mad or had he forgotten all the proprieties? The witness looked puzzled, but the cross-examiner remained unperturbed and the cross-examination continued:

*Q.*—Are you not married in the same village as Mr. A?

*A.*—Yes.

*Q.*—And according to Indian custom that makes you Mr. A's sala?

*A.*—Yes.

*Q.*—And you know that Mr. A & I are brothers as barristers.

*A.*—Yes.

*Q.*—And that makes you my sala as well, does it not?

There was no answer. Every one laughed, the poor witness was completely discomfited and accepted all Jayaswal's suggestions thereafter. In the Bar Library and specially in the luncheon room during the luncheon interval, the humorist par excellence was always Jayaswal—no matter what the topic under discussion—from the idiosyncrasies of a learned judge to the foibles of his colleagues. Being an excellent mimic, he punctuated his sallies with a by-play of face, voice, and manner in imitation of the subject of his story. No one was immune if the occasion arose; but it was all done with such complete good humour that resentment was out of the question. One had to laugh at one's self as seen in the mirror of Jayaswal's creation. A vocal caricaturist of no mean order

was this placid scholarly gentleman in his middle age.

In one of the many excellent obituary notices on Dr. Jayaswal, this appeared: "Dr. Jayaswal was not only a scholar but a patriot and a nationalist to the very marrow of his bones." That was undoubtedly true—but in one matter his views were hardly nationalistic. When the Bar Council Act levelled us up, abolished the privileges theretofore enjoyed by the English Bar in this country, Jayaswal was probably more wrathful than any of us. He really resented this legislation, and many were the quips that flowed from his tongue during the early days of the operation of the new enactment. He was a genuine believer in the high traditions of the Bar in England and he foresaw that the new Act would be the death-knell of the English Bar. Perhaps his strong nationalistic spirit itself made him apprehensive that the complete elimination in course of time of counsel—Indian or British—called to the Bar in England, would not be productive of benefit to the Indian litigant or the Indian Bench. In this respect he was not singular. Many eminent colleagues of the Indian Bar have expressed similar views to the writer.

One day he told us the following story himself: A client came to him and said his master had a case but wanted to know whether Jayaswal was a Mohamadan or a Bengalee. "Why does he want to know this?" queried Jayaswal. "Because they say Mohamadans are good cross-examiners, while Bengalees are good speakers" replied the client. "Then tell your master I am a Bengalee Mohammadan," said Jayaswal quite seriously! He added "That satisfied the fools

and they engaged me. Now they know I am a Hindu from the United Provinces, God knows what they will do." A wag replied "Report you to the Bar Council of course—you had better run to Bengal and turn Mohammadan !"

Once the biter was bit : Owing to the presence of a venerable Mohammadan litigant with a remarkable flowing beard, the talk at our "Round Table" ran on beards. The learned Dr. held forth on their sanctity and utility in times ancient and modern, amongst Jews and Gentiles alike, and not only amongst Muslims, and then by way of lending point to his semi-humorous discourse on beards, he turned to a Mohammadan Colleague, a particular friend of his, and addressed him thus : "There is my friend X a pious Muslim ; he would never dare to pull that old gentleman's beard". A bet was offered and accepted. Mr. X went very politely up to the old and bearded pard, engaged him in affable conversation about the deterioration of manners in these democratic days and so forth. "For instance" he continued "I saw a youth the other day having an altercation with an old man with a grey beard like yours, and what do you think the young man did ? he actually seized the old man's beard like this and shook it like this" suiting the deed to the words by giving the old gentleman's beard a fairly vigorous shake ! With a disarming smile the shaker added : "Disgraceful, was it not"? The old fellow agreed—and the bet had been won. K. P. J. fled into Court : Scholars do not like to be laughed at over much!

To his colleagues, it was a matter of wonder how

he found time in the midst of a busy professional life and a rapidly rising practice to pursue his real Love, Research. The fact is that the Research scholar was a handicap to the barrister. The study of comparative law, the quest of ancient systems of jurisprudence in Hindustan were of absorbing interest. The practice of the law with its briefs and fees and dreary hours in modern Courts were necessary evils—to be borne because even scholars can not live on mental pabulum alone. A scholar with a large family needs to think in terms of daily rations. He would have preferred to echo Plato's thought that philosophers might be kings and kings philosophers—but as this could not be, he compromised: The daylight hours found him a matter of fact busy barrister ; but once the day's work was over, he doffed his work-a-day garb and with it his work-a-day thoughts, and sat late into the night and the small hours of the morning in a world of real interest to him, unravelling the mysteries of this grand old Hindustan, his beloved mother country, his dream land. It was during these quiet and undisturbed hours that he did the real work of his life, the work which made him famous in the old World and the new. Some times he sat alone, some times with others equally interested in his particular branch of Research—the reading and interpretation of ancient inscriptions and manuscripts leading to fresh archaeological discoveries, so that the past may inspire the present. His home in Patna attracted Hindu and Buddhist scholars from far and wide—their minds were in tune with his and they were ever welcome to his hospitable roof. Here they supped late and

debated even later the meaning of this, the purport of that, Jayaswal's trained legal mind balancing the evidence, weighing the pros and cons and formulating the precise results on the material available. These results were then given to the world in his numerous articles, his lectures and his more comprehensive works. Strangely enough, despite this life of intellectual dissipation, he always seemed to be fresh and vigorous and full of fun when he walked into the Bar Library at the usual hour. Perhaps this freshness was due to the early morning bath in the holy waters of the Ganges, which flows past Patna, for that was his daily practice. There, no doubt he did his worship and perhaps had visions of and drew inspiration from ancient imperial Pataliputra. Was there not in the Patna Museum, of which he was President for some years, many an interesting relic excavated from the long buried remains of that ancient City of the Hindu Raj, that citadel of Hindu culture?—Surely it was in the fitness of things that this erudite Hindu should have spent his best years on the site of Pataliputra.

Yet this dual life took its toll and, all unobserved by those who knew him best, undermined his constitution and cut him off in the prime of life, leaving unfulfilled his cherished dream of a connected History of India from the earliest times.

His attitude to religion was worthy of the man. His wide reading and deep-thinking gave him a breadth of vision in matters religious. He saw good in all the great religions of the civilised world, respected the Teachers and founders of each and scoffed at the precepts and tenets of none. He may be

said to have adopted, perhaps unconsciously, a doctrine of the Stoical system : Not only are we all brethren, but also the "children of one Father." In more serious mood, he compared the lives of the Teachers and emphasised how environment and circumstances had influenced their teachings. In lighter mood, he humorously exposed the cant and hypocrisy of avowed followers of all Religions. Flashes of humour, however, always illumined even his most serious talks.

Whatever may have been Jayaswal's attitude to Indian Politics in his younger days, in more mature days his mind was remarkably free from prejudice. He had made too many contacts with the intellectuals of the West to believe that nothing good could come from that quarter. On the other hand his critical mind perceived the necessity for reform in many directions ; and always he was intolerant of humbug and pretence, on whichever side of the political fence these qualities were to be found. More than this it would not be proper to divulge, without a breach of confidence. I may, however, quote a passage from the Mahabharata as translated on the front page of "Hindu Polity" :

When traditional State Ethics are departed from, all the bases of the divisions of individual life are shattered.

That was his view and at that view no one can cavil.

Apart from his pre-eminence as an authority on Hindu Law, there was another line in which he was recognised at the Bar, as 'facile princeps' and that was the Law of Income Tax. He had specialised in this line and there was hardly an Income Tax case of any

importance in this Province (Bihar) in which he did not appear—and generally led—for the assessee. In this connection it may be of interest to record that he was all for the taxation of agricultural income, which has always been exempted from tax in permanently settled areas *i.e.* the areas covered by the famous Permanent Settlement Regulation of 1793, promulgated by “The Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Governor-General in Council empowered by the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the East India Company” (to quote the high sounding language of the Regulation, language which the learned Doctor thoroughly approved of as dignified and appropriate). He ventilated these views in an article published shortly before his death and thereby displayed a rare courage, for he well knew that such an article would alienate his Zamindar clientèle and perhaps cost him many a brief. But that was Jayaswal, as fearless a publicist as he was an Advocate. Conventions or convenience mattered little to him, convictions mattered most.

In the summer of 1934 I met him in London. He had gone on an important Income Tax matter to instruct and “junior” a famous K. C. in the Appeal to the Privy Council. With the Board’s permission, Jayaswal followed his senior and created an instant impression. I dropped in for a while to hear the proceedings. Three law lords sat in morning coats at a table—the senior lord in the middle, wearing a button-hole! They wore no robes, no wigs—though counsel were fully robed. The wholly unconventional atmosphere suited the learned counsel from



India, and his audience was appreciative. So he was at his best ; so much so that he was then and there briefed in another matter before that august Tribunal, and succeeded. When we met later, Jayaswal was greatly intrigued by the button-hole, thought he might wear one himself next time, "not to be outdone by the Bench" as he put it. I told him he would not be "seen"—and he agreed—but added "What about a flower in my wig like the girls in Burma?" Such was the learned counsel and erudite scholar in private life, but I doubt if his colleagues in the West saw anything of this side of the man. One associates deep scholarship and learning with a dry as dust temperament, devoid of humour. If that is the rule, Jayaswal was an exception ; but I have known other exceptions in India, though never such an exceptional exception.

The learned Dr. loved beauty—no matter in what form or shape or material it evinced itself. Often he held forth to me on the beautiful symmetry and proportions of the Taj at Agra, comparing its glorious arches with those of the West, and its general architectural effects with Rajput architecture. Particularly was he struck by the skill with which the decorators of the Taj had proportioned the sizes of the letters in the Persian inscriptions over the entrance arch so that all the letters of the different lines, one above the other, appeared to be of the same length to the observer below. "After that," he used to say, "critics say we Indians had no sense of perspective."

The Patna Museum was built during the writer's Presidentship of the Committee—all honorary offices—of that institution. Previously we had been housed

in a wing of the High Court for want of an adequate building. After much insistence, the Government of the day sanctioned an adequate sum for a home worthy of the many excellent exhibits already collected. That day Jayaswal, a member of the Committee, was a happy enthusiastic man! He was determined that the building should combine the grace and merits of both the Mogul and Rajput styles of architecture, within the limits of the grant. We all agreed. Backwards and forwards went the plans from the Committee to the capable engineers charged with the construction. With such an excellent "fidus Achates" at my elbow, my task was easy. Again mine was the pen—his the inspiration, helped by that other profound scholar and Jayaswal's colleague in Research work, Dr. Banerjee Shastri. Thus emerged the beautiful Museum in the Mogul-Rajput style which Patna boasts of today.

This love of the beautiful he carried into his home, of which he was justly proud. Unable to indulge in expensive objets d'art, he was always picking up artistic little works of man's hand to beautify his home. Incidentally, he loved the pretty little gold fish darting about in a specially constructed font in his garden—also a tiny graceful deer in a special cage. They pleased his artistic sense—appealed to his simple nature. Enter his drawing room and one was immediately struck by the Catholic mentality and tastes of this true cosmopolitan. Side by side were modern but artistic figures of the Christ and the Virgin Mary, purchased in Spain, and mediaeval sculptures of the Buddha, and gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Who but Jayaswal would have dared to mix them thus, and not only the different religious figures but also the modern and the mediaeval in religious art? To his mind, there was nothing incongruous in this juxtaposition. His face, beaming with genuine joy over these possessions, had a curious reaction on the visitor—as though a pigmy mind had secretly and foolishly smiled at a giant mind and been detected in the act. One left chastened in spirit, not by any word or look from the ever courteous host, but by the grand simplicity of his character.

Whom the gods love die young—Dr. Jayaswal died young.

P. C. MANUK

Barrister-at-Law

*President, High Court Bar Association, Patna*

I do not pretend that this short article complies with the sole condition laid down, viz. that it should be "worthy of the occasion." I give it to the world through the pages of this Volume as my modest contribution to the memory of a friend and colleague—in response to the invitation by the Editor of this Magazine, another personal friend whose request could not be refused.—P. C. M.

SOME REMARKS ON THE MODELS  
OF THE BODH GAYA TEMPLE  
FOUND AT NAR-THANG

Shortly before his last illness Dr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal sent me copies of the photographs reproduced in *JBORS.* XXIII, Pt. I (March 1937) facing p. 17, of two models, one in stone and one in wood, of the great temple at Bodh Gayā found by Śrī Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana at Nar-thang monastery in the course of his now famous second journey to Tibet in 1936. He suggested that I should write a note about them for publication in the *JBORS.* In reply, I pointed out the difficulty of doing this on the evidence of the two photographs only, and without further details. He had mentioned, in his letter, for example, that the gateways of the stone model bore inscriptions and that there was an inscription in Chinese characters on the wooden model (copies of these inscriptions have not been sent to me), and also that a record in Tibetan had been discovered in the monastery written by a Tibetan monk named Lo-tsa-va, who had been an eye-witness of an attack on Bodh Gayā by Muhammadan soldiery. In his paper published in the issue of the *Journal* quoted above, Śrī Rāhula writes that this diarist had described the position of many sites inside and outside the walls of Mahābodhi. I do not know whether a complete copy was made of this diary and, if so, whether it is proposed to publish a

translation of it : it might help towards establishing the time at which the stone model was made, and perhaps also in identifying certain of the parts thereof. Assuming, however, that these models were intended to depict the condition of the great temple and its surroundings within its enclosure wall at the close of the twelfth century or, say *circa* 1200 A.C., there are some features seen in the photographs to which attention may be directed. I shall attempt to do this in the following lines, as a tribute to the memory of a friend for whose brilliant intellectual gifts and valuable original researches into the past history of his motherland I had profound admiration.

That the stone model had been brought from the Gayā district appears to be reasonably certain from the fact that, as Śrī Rāhula tells us, it is wrought "in the black stone of Gayā," that is to say, in the soft stone quarried from the Pattharkaṭṭī hill (some 3 mi. north of Ṭeṭuā), which has been used for sculptural purposes for centuries past. The texture of this stone would also account for the worn condition of the parts of this model. We know that it was a custom at the chief sites sacred to Buddhists to prepare locally mementos of such character in stone or baked clay which were taken away by pious pilgrims (see in this connexion A. Foucher in *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Feb. 1911, and Cunningham's preface to his *Mahabodhi*, p. ix., note 1). Let us presume, then, that these models fairly represent the conditions at the site at the end of the 12th century. The wooden model, which is in a much better state of preservation, seems to have been an exact copy of the stone one, as the

dimensions are similar. Each shows a rectangular walled enclosure with three elaborate gateways (on the east, south and north), a large central temple, and a number of other shrines and *stūpas* inside the walls. Besides the central temple and the three gateways, in the case of the stone copy there are eleven (or perhaps twelve) other models, and in the case of the wooden copy, about twenty other models, as well as two portions of a railing, which was probably intended to represent the Śuṅga railing that surrounded the temple. Some of the *stūpas* seem to show features of Tibetan character. The wooden model, Dr. Jayaswal thought, was probably made in Tibet, and by a Chinese carver, as it bears an inscription in Chinese characters. In the case of both models, unfortunately, the pieces have been shifted, so that it is not possible to compare their positions with Hsüan-tsang's description or with the location of the sites mentioned by him suggested by Cunningham. In some respects, however, the models will be found to bear out the account of the site given by the great Chinese pilgrim.

*The Enclosure Wall*—According to the models this formed a rectangle, longer from north to south than from east to west. The proportion of length to breadth is about as 6 to 5, as Dr. Jayaswal stated in his letter referred to above that each of the models measured about 30" by 25". It may be noted that this is practically the same proportion that Cunningham assigned to the original enclosure round Aśoka's temple (*Mahabodhi*, Pl. II). When the big brick temple, as seen by Hsüan-tsang, had been built

and the railings re-erected and extended, the courtyard included within the outer wall appears to have been longer from east to west. Hsüan-tsang, according to Watters (Vol. II, p. 113), describes the enclosing walls as being built of brick, high and strong, and the enclosure as being long from east to west and narrow from north to south, and above 500 paces in circuit. At some period after the pilgrim's visit, and prior to the making of the stone model, the shape would therefore seem to have been altered, making it longer from north to south, as it has since remained. The present contour will be seen from Cunningham's plan of the temple courtyard (*Mahabodhi*, Pl. XVIII), from which it will be noticed that the proportion of the length from N. to S. to the breadth from E. to W. is roughly as 6 to 5, and that the inside circuit would measure about 460 yards, or, say, 550 of Hsüan-tsang's paces. If we regard the Nar-thang models as having been prepared roughly to scale, and if we take the base of the model of the central temple to be 50 ft. broad (Hsüan-tsang's 20 paces), the length of the courtyard from N. to S., which looks about seven times the width of the temple base, would be roughly 350 ft., and the breadth 290 ft. This would make the circuit approximately 510 of Hsüan-tsang's paces. The similarity between these proportions perhaps enhances the value of the models.

The wall shown in the models has disappeared, but some portion of it, or possibly of a later wall that replaced it, was, I believe, to be seen in 1880, when the deep accumulation of silt and debris that covered the courtyard was removed. In the possession

of Lady Holnwood are a number of photographs taken during the restoration operations by Mr. James Keddie, the then District Engineer of Gayā, to whom was entrusted the actual work under the supervision of Mr. J. D. Beglar. These photographs illustrate the progress of the work in its different stages. In one of them, taken from the temple terrace looking N.-E., may be seen the eastern end of a boundary wall on the north of the courtyard. The same corner may be seen in a photograph, taken a little later apparently, which has been reproduced in Cunningham's Pl. XXI. If my memory does not fail me, a portion of a similar enclosure wall was to be seen in the south-western corner of the compound. It will be noticed from Cunningham's plate that this wall had niches at intervals. Examination of the Nar-thang wooden model shows that the surrounding wall bore sculptures (which are not identifiable from the photograph). Is it possible that the niches in the wall referred to above contained Buddhistic images ?

In quite recent times, when the old boundary wall had crumbled into ruins, another thick and coarsely built brick wall was constructed much closer to the temple, and so reducing the area of the courtyard. This unsightly wall, wholly out of keeping with its environment, which had been plastered and white-washed, with gateways at all four points of the compass, appears in several of Mr. Keddie's photographs, and the eastern gate is seen in Mitra's Pl. XVII. This wall was, I believe, built by the Burmese in 1877 in the course of their repair work, the nature of which induced the Local Government to take the



work of restoration into their own hands. It was demolished and entirely removed in 1880, when the existing fence wall was set up, restoring the courtyard to its old dimensions more or less.

*Gateways*—It is questionable whether any structure in situ at present can be regarded as showing remains, or marking the position, of the northern and southern gateways of the models. The case of the eastern gateway is perhaps different. When Cunningham first examined the Bodh Gayā site in Dec.-Jan. 1861-62, he found an old brick-built thick archway due east of the great temple, some 75 or 80 feet therefrom. This archway he has marked on his plan in *A. S. I.* Vol. I, Pl. IV, facing p. 6, which shows that the walls must have been at least 15 to 20 ft. wide. The only illustration of this old archway that I have seen is that in Pl. XV to Rajendralala Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, which is stated (p. xi) to have been reduced from a photograph, taken in 1864, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. If this be examined it will be evident that this was no ordinary archway, but what remained of a massive gateway, the superstructure of which had fallen in the course of time. The great depth of the masonry indicates the weight which the arch had originally supported. Is it possible that this ruin represented all that was left of the eastern gateway of the models? Its position seems at least to suggest this question.

In one respect at all events these models bear out the description of Hsüan-tsang. The pilgrim tells us definitely that there were three gates, one on the east leading to the Nairañjana river, one on the

south leading to the tank made by the Brāhmaṇa's brother, and one on the north leading to the Mahābodhi monastery. These are doubtless the three gates of the models.

*The Great Temple*—There are certain points of interest in the model of the great temple itself which should be noticed. When, in 1880, the difficult question of how to restore the obliterated features of the old monument was under consideration, a small damaged stone model of a temple was found amongst the ruins, which Cunningham with that remarkable intuition he so often displayed, held to be a model showing the design of the temple in medieval times. This fragment is shown in Pl. XVI of his *Mahabodhi*. Cunningham had also recognised at the S.-W. corner of the terrace the foundations of what he concluded to have been a corner pavilion. Acting on this evidence and on that of the presumed 'model,' on one corner of which was the stump of what might have been such a pavilion, Mr. Beglar drew the design which was given effect to in the restoration. If the stone model of the central temple found at Nar-thang be compared with the broken one found amid the ruins, the close resemblance between the two will at once be apparent. For example, on the proper left front (the other side has been broken off) of the porch of the Bodh Gayā model we see the same kind of pillar and a similar sculptured figure surmounted by what looks like an elaborate halo on the outer pilaster as in the Nar-thang model. In both cases the details of the carving have been much obliterated, but these may be seen clearly in the wooden model.

Looking at the entrance to the upper chamber the similarity is even more marked : we see the same type of pillar and arch, and the same peculiar radiating lines of moulding above the arch ; and on the face of the tower will be seen similar sculptural ornamentation and figures (presumably of the Buddha). On the Bodh Gayā model may be noticed the base only of the pavilion at the S.-W. corner of the terrace, while on the Nar-thang model the base of the N.-E. pavilion is seen (the tall shrine that appears behind this base in the photograph is obviously no part of the central temple). The wooden model shows all four pavilions complete in place. The comparison can hardly fail to convince the observer that both stone models were made to represent the same temple, and therefore to establish on the one hand the authenticity of the model found at Nar-thang, and on the other hand the correctness of Cunningham's reasoning. The Nar-thang wooden model, in fact, justifies in a striking manner the restoration of the upper parts of the great temple, including the *āmalaka* and finial. It will be recollected that the late Dr. Spooner, when describing (*JBORS*, I, p. 2) the plaque found at Kumhrār, drew special attention to the "fivefold *hti*" as being the most unexpected feature thereof, and suggested that Cunningham had restored what would "seem to have been itself a Burmese restoration made at some intermediate date in ignorance of the original form." We now see that Cunningham restored a form that had persisted perhaps for nearly 700 years, and that the temple portrayed on the plaque must have been a very early one, as the Kharoṣṭhī characters thereon

would indicate (see in this connexion Dr. Sten Konow's paper in *JBORS*, XII, p. 181). Dr. Jayaswal, who had the highest respect for the work of that great pioneer, would have been pleased to know to what extent Cunningham had been vindicated in this matter.

The existence in the Nar-thang models of only one arched doorway in the upper storey and giving on to the terrace, and its construction, with pillars on either side and a peculiar form of ornamentation overhead (also to be seen above the arch on the eastern gateway, and possibly intended to represent radiating beams of light, or flames), is interesting having regard to the appearance of this front before the restoration of 1880. Cunningham's Pl. XXXI and Mitra's Pl. XVII show the aspect of this front, with the great triangular opening that gave rise to different theories as to the original form of the upper arching. Unfortunately the photographs only show the front view of the temple; but if we look at the north and south views of the Bodh Gayā model on Cunningham's Pl. XVI we see that the upper chamber had a shallow porch, the outer doorway of which had a semicircular arch. Referring next to the photograph of the temple taken in 1863 (see Mitra's Pl. XVI), we can see the remains of the masonry piers and portions of the arch of this porch standing out from the eastern face of the temple shaft, in which are seen the pointed gothic arches, the history of which is still obscure.

Looking at the lower storey in the models, Hsüan-tsang's three lofty halls "connected with the

east side of the temple," as Watters translates, are not there. Had these been constructed of wood they might well have disappeared in the course of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  centuries. But there is a high and spacious porch, to judge of its dimensions from the known size of the temple. This was apparently added after Hsüan-tsang's time, probably replacing the lofty halls he saw. That it was an addition to the original building was definitely pointed out by Cunningham, who found that its courses of bricks did not correspond with those of the main body of the temple. According to the pilgrim, on each side of the outer entrance to the halls were images of silver over 10 ft. high of Avalokiteśvara (on the left) and Maitreya (on the right). In the wooden Nar-thang model we see two large figures, which, comparing their size with that of the temple, would measure well over 10 ft. in height. From the photographs, however, it is not possible definitely to identify the images as representing Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. These figures might conceivably have been in stone, or in brick or stucco, as silver images would not have survived the troublous period that ensued after Harṣavardhana's death. In any case the representation of these two figures in the Nar-thang models recalls once more the pilgrim's description of the site.

One point remains to be noticed. In neither of the models is there any representation of a *torāṇa* gateway. How Cunningham discovered the remains of the *torāṇa* now facing the eastern doorway of the temple, and the reasons for setting it up, as restored, in its present position, are explained at pp. 32-33

of his *Mababodhi*. The absence of such a gateway in the models may conceivably be due either (*a*) to the fact that this gateway had fallen down long before the model was made, which is perhaps most probable, or (*b*) to the difficulty of making a model of a slender gateway of such character in soft stone, or (*c*) if made, to its having been broken and lost.

C. E. A. W. O.

## VIRAKAL AND SATI MEMORIAL STONES AT BUDDHPUR AND BURĀM

*By* E. H. C. WALSH

In 1916, when I was Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, when on tour in the district of Manbhum, I went to see the ruined temples at Buddhpur, a village on the Kasai River in the southern part of that district, and, near the temples, found a number of Sati and Virakal memorial stones, which are described below. The people of the neighbourhood had no tradition and knew nothing about them. As I found that they had no religious associations and that they were getting damaged, I obtained the consent of the proprietor of the Manbazar estate to their removal to the Bihar Provincial Museum, who kindly presented the six stones which I asked for (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) to the Museum. I paid a second visit and took impressions of the inscriptions on the stones, which Dr. Jayaswal kindly read. I was also informed by Mr. Crawford, the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum, who accompanied me, that there were similar stones at the village of Palma in that neighbourhood. I was not able to visit Palma, but obtained the permission of the proprietress of the Manbazar estate to their removal, and she kindly presented the four stones to the Museum. During the same tour I went to the village of Burām, there found two Virakal memorial

stones and also another stone with an inscription lying on the ground in a field a little distance from the temple, and also another stone near the bank of the river. These stones are described below (Nos. 11, 12 and 13). No one of the neighbourhood knew anything about them, and as they had no religious association, I obtained the consent of the proprietor, Raja Jyoti Prasad Singh Deo of Panchet, to their removal, who kindly presented them to the Museum.

### THE BUDDHPUR MEMORIAL STONES

At Buddhpur there is an ancient temple of Budhesvara Siva which stood in a large enclosure in the four corners of which there were four subsidiary temples. All the temples are now in ruins, and a modern building of brick and plaster enshrines the object of worship, a huge lingam. Mr. J. D. Beglar, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, visited the temple in 1872 (A. S. I. R. Vol. VIII, p. 197) and gives a full description of the remains of the buildings. From their resemblance in design and details of architecture to the temples at Barakar, they appear to be of the same period as those temples, 1482 A.D. Mr. Beglar considered that there is no doubt that it was, as it now is, a Saivite temple.

Mr. Beglar refers to the memorial stones which he found near the temple and in the village as follows—(p. 198).

“Besides the stones belonging to the temples, there are numerous other slabs sculptured on one face standing and lying about; my guide said they were tombstones, whereat the ministering Brahmans



of the temple became very indignant; but there can be no doubt notwithstanding the head priest's anger, that the stones referred to are sati pillars; *none are inscribed*, but all are more or less sculptured; the general subjects appear to be a man drawing a bow, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, showing that the husbands of those in whose memories these pillars stand were warriors slain in battle; most of them have animals also sculptured in the topmost compartment.

The lingam in the temple is known as Buddheswar; the people of the place consider it so holy and so well known, as to compare it with the Gadadhar of Gaya. Gadadhar they say at Gaya and Buddheswar at Buddhpur are both equally holy and equally well known.

The material of the temples is a tolerably good sandstone, cut to shape and set plain without any cement.

In the village there are a few *sati pillars*; two of them were inscribed, but the weather has not left the writing legible, and what the weather spared of one appears to have been destroyed purposely by the chisel. I give the inscription in the margin: on the first one, the only word legible is Yuva-rajā, in the second, which is also the last line; the first line is illegible."

Mr. Beglar, naturally, was unable to find the inscriptions on the two stones, (Nos. 5 and 7), described below, as the portion of the stones bearing the inscription was, in each case, buried in the ground until I excavated them. He was also mistaken in

taking the "Pillars" which he refers to in the village as being Sati Stones. In each case they are Boundary Marks (Nos. 9 and 10) described below and the inscription which he gives from one of them "in the margin" is the inscription on No. 9.

The district of Manbhum was again visited in 1903 by the Superintendent of the Bengal Circle of that time, who writes as follows in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902-3, pp. 13-15 :—

"This district contains a number of mediaeval Hindu and Jain temples of about the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D. Their form is quite different from the more recent temples, which are of the usual modern types occurring in Bengal and Bihar. They consist generally of a spire, or *rekha*, with, however, in a few cases, an addition of a *mandapa* in front. The spire is surmounted by a melon dome and a vase, or *kalasa*, instead of which I found in one case a *linga*, as in the temple at Umga, in Gaya. The ornamentation is generally very plain, and only in a few temples, I found carvings of human or animal figures. The best specimens of this type are the *Barakar temples*, which have been included in this account, *although they belong to a different district*. One of them has an inscription, the date of which corresponds either to the 18th February, or to the 4th March 1462 A.D. *This is the only inscription found in any of these temples, but there is good reason to assume that it fixes approximately the period of all other similar monuments*. Their presence in the ancient forest country of Jharkhand points to some sort of civilization, which then must have existed

there, and to this also seems to be due the prevalence of Jain remains here. It is a *well known tradition that the country was taken away by the Hos from the Srawaks, i.e., the Jains*, and it is believed that the latter had come down there to work the numerous copper-ores, instances of which are to be found here and there.

Monuments of a peculiar sort, but of a much later date, are crude stone carvings, which are placed here and there in front of the temples. They generally represent a man either on horseback or running, holding a drawn sword in one hand, and a shield in the other. Sometimes a chowrie-bearer runs behind him, and also another attendant holding an umbrella over his head. With these, often occur, hunting scenes, representing a dog killing some animal, the exact species of which cannot be made out. *In one case these stones have been described as Sati monuments, but I see no reason for this. They are evidently put up as temple-wardens*, just as in modern houses similar figures are still painted near the door. On several stones I found short inscriptions in Bengali characters, but the letters were too much damaged to be read. However, they seemed to contain merely dedicatory records. The shape of the letters shows that they could not be very old."

He visited Buddhpur and described the temple (p. 15) and notes "Here, also, I found numerous monolithic shrines."

There can be no doubt that the Superintendent is wrong in his opinion about this class of Memorial Stones. They are found in many parts of India, and

although with variation as regards the individual figures sculptured on them, they are all of a general type. Nor are they, by any means always found in the vicinity of temples. All authorities who have considered them, from Prinsep and Cunningham onwards have, without exception, considered them to be either Virakals, monuments to warriors killed in battle, or in some cases in hunting wild beasts, or Sati Memorials.

As regard the dates of the inscriptions, that "The shape of the letters shows that they could not be very old," whatever may be the case as regards other inscriptions which the Superintendent may have seen elsewhere, this is not so in the case of the Buddhpur memorials, as is clearly shown by Dr. Jayaswal's dating of the inscriptions from the form of the letters, as being 700 A.D. and 1000 A.D., as noted below.

Virakal and Sati Memorial Stones are found in many places throughout India. The Sati Memorials in some cases, in addition to the human figures depicted, bear an upraised arm and hand, with the sun and moon on either side, as being perpetual witnesses to the Sati's offering; in some cases the hand holds a lime-fruit between the thumb and forefinger. This is what is alluded to in the old inscriptions, where women are said to "have given arm and hand." In some cases this symbol of the upraised hand with sun and moon alone appears. In some cases there is the figure of a snake, indicating the household deity. In some cases also, there is a niche in the monument for a lamp, in which case they are known as Dewalis. The earliest example is a pillar at Balōd

in the Central Provinces, which is now in the Nagpur Museum. This stone had served as a memorial of three successive Satis, and bears three inscriptions. The two later inscriptions are worn off, but the earliest remains and is in characters which Prinsep considered to be of the second century A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. VII, p. 136-7). One at Eran is dated in the Gupta year 191, namely 510-11 A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. XX, p. 45). One at Baro in Malwa is dated by Cunningham as the 9th or 10th century (A. S. I. R. Vol. X, p. 75). One at Satanwara is dated Samvat 1016=959 A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. VII, p. 94). One at Hindoria in the Damoh district of the Central Provinces is dated=1056 A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 53), and one at Saura in the Jubbulpur district, Samvat 1355 and Saka 1220=1298 A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 41). The majority of the olden stones are of the twelfth or thirteenth century. They are very numerous in the Saugor district of the Central Provinces. Cunningham notes "Khimlasa, an old town 41 miles from Saugor, contains perhaps the largest number of these stones, 51 of which are inscribed. Almost all of them are dated, but in about a dozen pillars the figures are illegible. The dates range between Samvat 1510 (A.D. 1453) to Samvat 1880 (A.D. 1823)" (A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 45), which last is the latest dated example of these stones that has been recorded.

Sir Alexander Cunningham notes: "During my long sojourn in India I have observed that nearly all Sati monuments are placed on the western bank either of a stream or of a reservoir, with the

face towards the east.” (A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 41).

The Virakal and Sati monuments are of great interest as showing examples of the dress, weapons and accoutrements, the method of doing the hair, and other particulars of different periods and different localities, and in some cases they refer to the names of the rulers and states or districts of the times.

The Buddhpur stones are described below. Seven of them are illustrated on Plate I.

No. 1 on Plate I. A man on foot with shield in left hand. The right hand is broken off (probably holding a sword). There is a small figure behind him to the left holding an umbrella. The top of the umbrella is broken off. This is an example of an umbrella being held over a footman. The upper part of the head is broken and worn off but shows the large chignon as in examples 2, and 3 (in the lower part), and in 4 and 5. There is no inscription on this stone.

2. A man on foot with leaf-shaped sword in right hand and bow in left. The string of the bow is distinctly shown in this carving which shows that the weapon in this and similar figures is a bow and not a shield. The size of the stone to the foot when excavated is 4 feet 1 inch in height by 19 inches in width and 5 inches in depth. The size of sculptured portion is 26 inches by 19 inches wide.

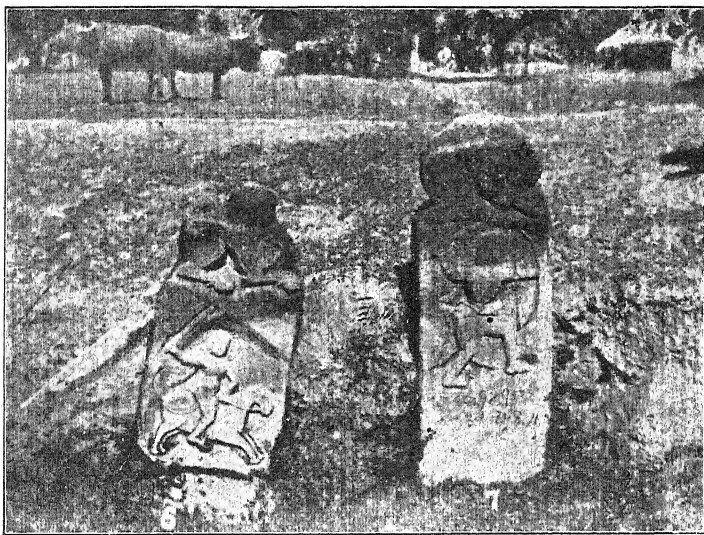
There are traces of an inscription underneath the panel, but it is so worn and faint that no complete letters can be made out, and no impression of it can be obtained.

The depth of the stone in the ground is 18 inches.

PLATE I



Sati Memorial Stones Near the Temple at Buddhpur



Sati Memorial Stones outside the village at Buddhpur





I had the earth removed.

All the figures have the same large round earrings, which are most distinct in the upper panel of No. 3.

3. A high stone with two panels.

In the upper panel :—

A man on a horse with a sword in the right hand and holding bridle with the left. An attendant behind holding an umbrella. The size of the stone is 7 feet 6 inches in height, of which 22 inches are in the ground, 1 foot 8½ inches in width, and 5½ inches thick.

The hair in this figure is different to the others and is done on the top of the head and not in the large chignon behind. The size of the panel is 34 inches by 20½ inches.

In the lower panel :—

A man on foot with a sword in the right hand and a curved shield in the left. The shield in this is very distinctly and clearly distinguishable from the bow in nos. 2, 4 and 5. There is no attendant with umbrella to this figure and it also has not the large round earrings of the other figures. The size of the panel is 21 inches by 20½ inches. The upper panel is in deeper relief than the lower panel being 2½ inches in depth.

The sword in the upper panel is straight, while in the lower panel it is leaf-shaped.

Beneath the lower panel is a small panel with a seated figure of a woman.

There is *no inscription on this stone* which is rough hewn *below the small panel*.

4. A man on foot with a sword in the right

hand and bow in the left, and an attendant holding umbrella. The size of panel is 25 inches by 20 inches. Below this, in a small panel 6 inches high by  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide, is a kneeling female figure with the hands clasped over the lap though too much worn to see the actual attitude of the hands. The figure has the large round earrings, and the hair on the tip of the head bending over to her left. The arms are too worn to see whether there were bracelets or not. The height of the stone is 4 feet 10 inches, of which 22 inches are in the ground. The stone is 20 inches wide.

*There is no inscription on this stone* which is rough hewn below the small panel.

5. A man on foot with a sword in the right hand and bow in the left, with an attendant holding an umbrella. The size of the panel is  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

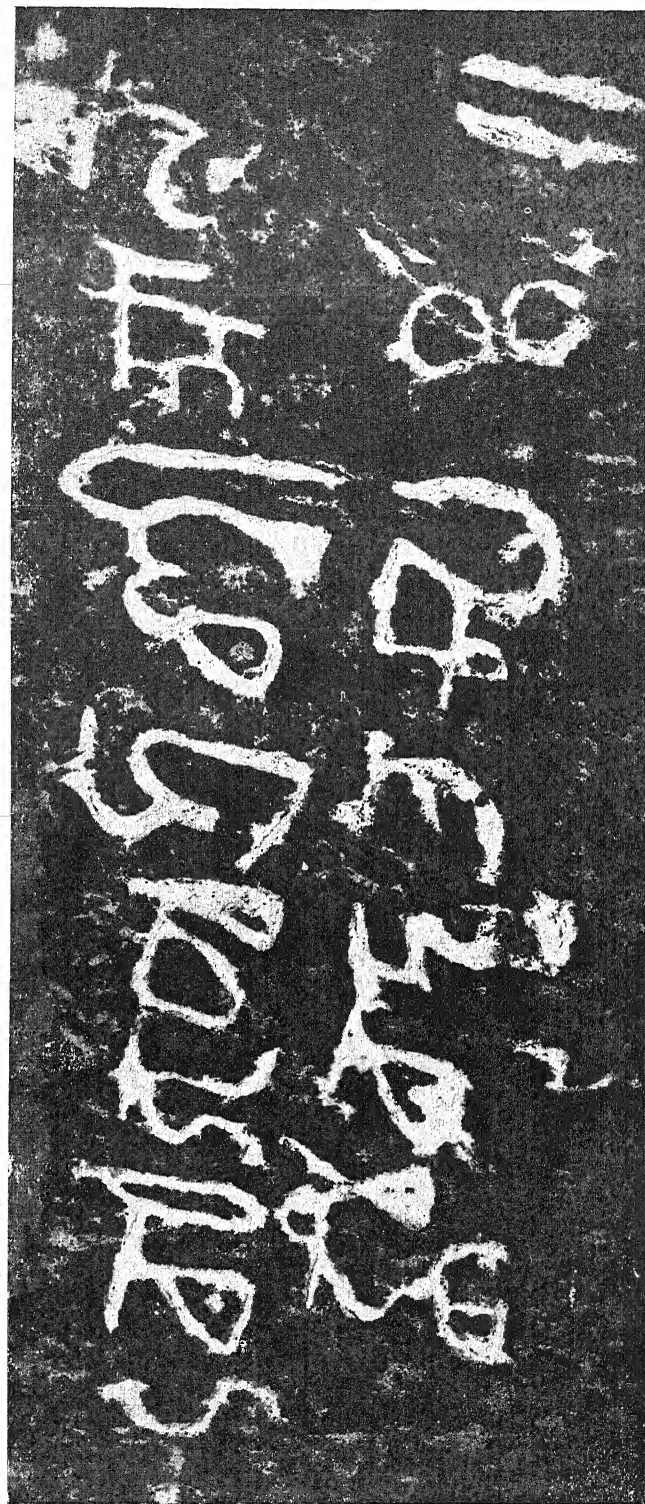
Below, in a small panel 5 inches by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, is a small sitting or kneeling female figure in a similar position to the small figure on No. 4.

In this panel neither the man nor the small seated figure have the round earrings, only ears without earrings. There are several bracelets on the left arm. None can be seen on the right which is more worn.

*This figure and the line of inscription over it were buried in the ground.* The inscription is shown on Plate II(a). It reads "Rāja putra Śrī Vaḍadhuga" or a "Chāḍadhuga"—From the form of the characters, by comparison with Bühler's Tables, Dr. Jayaswal was of opinion that the date of their inscription is between 900 and 1000 A.D.



(a) Inscription on Sati Memorial Stone No. 5



(b) Inscription on Sati Memorial Stone No. 7



The length of this stone is 5 feet of which 26 inches were above ground and 34 inches below. This stone is smoothed to its whole depth.

The figures have an armlet above the elbow and a bracelet round the wrist on both arms. These are most elaborate in the figure of the horseman in No. (3).

To the east of the above row of monuments and 9 feet behind it are two smaller stones side by side. (5A)—The one to the right has a kneeling female figure similar to the small panels on (3), (4), and (5). The figure has a number of bracelets on both arms; there are six on the left arm which is better preserved. There are traces of an inscription on the base of this stone.

(5B)—The other stone is broken but has had a footman—the legs and dhoti only remain. There is an inscription on the base of this stone.

Stones nos. 3, 4 and 5, which contain the figure of a female in a small panel, and no. 5A which bears only a female figure, are Sati Memorials. On two of these there is an inscription, of which I took an impression, though I do not now find from my notes on which of them they were. The one reads “Gharavati Dhruvakasya” “Wife of Dhruvaka.” From the form of the characters, which correspond to Bühler’s Plate V, Dr. Jayaswal considered the date of the inscription to be about 1000 A.D.

The other reads “Rāja-matae ॥ vaḍa dhucha[?]”—“Of the king’s mother Vaḍa dhucha [dhuchā?]” From the form of the characters, Dr. Jayaswal considered this to be the oldest of the inscriptions, and possibly of the date 700 A.D.

6. On the edge of the village there is a dobha. At the south-west corner of the dobha a stone with a crouching lion on the top, below which is a *panel pointed at the top* containing a horseman with a sword raised in his right hand. He is not accompanied by the attendant holding an umbrella, which appears in the other figures of horsemen, but has earrings though not large and round as in the other figures. This figure was buried in the ground. I had it excavated. The lower part of the stone, which may have borne an inscription, is broken off. This stone is illustrated on Plate I.

7. There is another stone surmounted by a crouching lion. In the panel is a man on foot, with a sword in the right hand and a bow in the left. There is no attendant. There is an inscription below. This stone is illustrated on Plate I, and the inscription on Plate II(b). The inscription reads: "Rāja putra Śrī Āṭandṛī chadra tasya"—"The late Prince Āṭandṛī chandra: His." The word āṭandṛī is "one who is not sleepy; careful." Dr. Jayaswal noted that the name has its origin in Hindu Political Science, and, hence, it must be the name of a ruling family. From the form of the characters, Dr. Jayaswal considered that the date of the inscription must be somewhere near 900 A.D.

8. Outside the village there is another stone, also surmounted by a lion the head of which is broken off. In the panel there is a warrior on horseback with a sword. *There is the umbrella held over him though the figure behind holding it does not appear.* The stone is surmounted by the crouching lion, the head of

which is broken off. The stone is much worn and rubbed away, and any inscription there may have been has been rubbed off. The dimensions are 5 feet 4 inches in height by 22 inches wide; the average depth is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The dimensions of the carved figure are 22 inches by 22 inches. The carving on this stone is very deep the relief being as much as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in depth.

9. At a distance of 100 yards to the north-west of the dobha, a little way in the village is a *small square stone pillar* with figures, in a panel, of two animals one above the other and an inscription below. There is no tradition about this stone. The Pujari of the Buddheswar Shiva Temple says that his grandfather told him that the tradition was that the animals are a donkey above a cow, which the figure also shows it to be.

The animals are represented as in the act of coition and this figure shows the stone to be a Boundary or Jurisdiction Mark, and indicates the curse on any person removing the stone, that he will be reborn as a vile creature with an ass for his father and a cow for his mother. Beneath these figures there is an inscription, which is the inscription referred to and given in the margin, but not translated, by Mr. Beglar. The inscription is [first line] "(—) radam ha [second line] ram pamchā [third line] driśvara [fourth line] simā dha [fifth line] jīḥ ye na ha [sixth line] ras-ai"—namely "the boundary flag of the Lord of the Five Mountains [viz. Panchet] which one should not curtail [*or* "decrease"]". From the form of the characters, Dr. Jayaswal considered the

inscription to be of the date 1050 to 1100 A.D.

There are also traces of an inscription in front of the knob at the top of the pillar in smaller letters,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch high; but it is too worn to decipher or to show on an impression. The height of the stone to the present ground level is 33 inches, it is 7 inches wide and 6 inches thick.

10. At the north-west corner of the dobha is another stone 21 inches wide. The top is broken off and worn. This was buried in the earth with only a few lines of a faint inscription showing. I had it excavated as far as possible below the level of the water in the dobha by keeping a bandh round it to keep the water out. This disclosed a panel with a pointed top below the inscription with two animals, an ass above a sow, similar to the pillar in the village, already mentioned. As the stone was submerged in water at my second visit, I was unable to obtain an impression of the inscription.

### *The Burām Memorial Stones*

On my visit to Burām in 1916, I found stones, which turned out to be Virakal Memorials, (Nos. 10 and 11), lying on their faces on the ground on a piece of waste land in the neighbourhood of the temple. Mr. Beglar visited Burām in 1872, (A. S. I. R. Vol. VIII, p. 135) and described the temple, but does not refer to any Sati Stones, which shows that they were not standing at that time. They are of grey granite and are much worn, and the features of the faces entirely worn away. They are described below :—

10. (In the panel). A man on a horse, facing left,



holding a spear in the left hand. Standing behind him is an attendant holding an umbrella. There is no inscription apparent. The stone is 6 feet 3 inches in height, and 13 to 15 inches in width. The panel is 1 foot 4 inches in height and 11 inches in width.

11. (In the panel). A man on foot facing left, with the hair apparently in a pigtail, holding a leaf-shaped sword in the upraised left hand and a shield in the right hand. The sheath of the sword is also shown projecting behind. There is no inscription apparent. The height of the stone is 5 feet 4 inches, the width  $12\frac{3}{4}$  inches. The height of the panel is 1 foot  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches and the width 11 inches. I also found, at some distance from the above, on the bank of the river a stone lying on the ground.

12. This stone bears the following inscription:—  
(First line) Śrī rudra sikhā Juarāja (second line) bali  
aka (—) a (—) tī h (— —) ā (third line) nā adripatī ॥  
vali (fourth line) a (—) a (—) siṃghāsaṇa (fifth  
line) chakravatīḥ ॥. “Śrī Rudra Śikhā Juaraja\*\*\*  
ascended throne.”

From the form of the characters, Dr. Jayaswal considered the date of the inscription to be the thirteenth or fourteenth century. I would propose to publish the inscription in a subsequent number of the journal.

## THE DEVĪCANDRAGUPTA AND ITS AUTHOR

By STEN KONOW

The Devīcandragupta of Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, is only known from quotations.<sup>1</sup> As shown by the late Professor Lévi, it must have been based on certain events in the life of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, before he ascended on the throne, because he is characterised as *kumāra*, while his brother Rāmagupta, who is not known from other sources, bears the title *rājan*.

We learn that Rāmagupta, in order to reassure his subjects, or, according to Jayaswal, his ministers, assented to handing over his consort Dhruvadevī to a Śaka (*prakṛtīnām āśvāsanāya Sakasya Dhruvadevīsam-pradāne abhyūpagate rājñā Rāmaguptena*), and that Candragupta, disguised as Dhruvadevī, set out in order to kill the foe (*arivadhanārtham yīyāsuḥ prati-pannadhruvadevīnepathyaḥ*).

As pointed out by Lévi, such a tradition was certainly known to Bāṇa, who writes in the sixth ucchvāsa of the *Harṣacarita*: *aripure ca parakalatra-kāmukaṃ kāmīnīveśaguptaś ca Candraguptaḥ Sakapatim aśātayat* 'and in the enemy's city, and concealed in the beloved woman's dress, Candragupta butchered the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lévi, JA cciii, 1923, pp. 200ff; Ramaswami Sarasvati, Ind. Ant. lii, 1923, pp. 181 ff; A. S. Altekar, J.B.O.R.S. xiv., pp. 223 ff; xv, pp. 134 ff.; K. P. Jayaswal, J.B. O.R.S. xviii, pp. 17 ff; V. V. Mirashi, Ind. Ant. lxii, 1933, pp. 201 ff.

Śaka-lord, who wanted another's wife.' The commentator, Śaṅkarakavi, says that the Śaka-lord was asking for Dhruvadevī, the wife of Candragupta's brother, and that Candragupta, disguised as Dhruvadevī and accompanied by followers dressed up as women, killed him (*Candragupta bhrātrjāyām Dhruvadevīm prārthayamānaś Candraguptena Dhruvadevīveśadbhāriṇā strīveśajanaparivṛtena rabasi vyāpāditaḥ*).

According to Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvati, the manuscript of Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, contains the notice *strīveśanibhutaḥ Candraguptaḥ śatroḥ skandhāvāram alipuraṁ Sakapativadbhāyāgamat* 'concealed in female attire Candragupta went to the enemy's camp, to *Alipura*, in order to kill the Śaka-lord.' Now a manuscript of the Harṣacarita reads *nalīnapura* instead of *aripure*, and Mr. Rangaswami is of opinion that this points to *alipure* as the right reading, while Professor Mirashi thinks that the original may have had *nalīnapura*, which might be a synonym of Padmapura, according to Watters a name of Hsüan-tsang's Tengkuang 'apparently a little to the west of the modern Jalalabad.' I shall not try to follow this line of argument. The foundation does not seem to me to be sufficient.

It has the appearance as if we were face to face with a comparatively old tradition to the effect that there was a Gupta ruler Rāmagupta, a son of Samudragupta, who held sway at a time when Candragupta II was still a *kumāra*, and that a Śaka chief demanded the delivery of his consort Dhruvadevī. Rāmagupta yielded, in order to reassure his people, but Candra-

gupta disguised himself as Druvadevī and killed the Śaka. If Viśākhadatta was, as some scholars assume, a court poet of Candragupta, this tradition would be traceable to the very period when these happenings had taken place. It is no serious objection that Dhruvadevī is known to have been the queen of Candragupta. Professor Altekar has drawn attention to a passage in the Sanjan copperplate inscription of Amoghavarṣa I, where we read about a Gupta ruler who killed his brother and appropriated his kingdom as well as his queen.

It is quite true that we do not know of any Gupta ruler between Samudragupta and Candragupta, and we know that the latter was chosen as successor by his father. Lévi was therefore inclined to doubt that Viśākhadatta was a contemporary of Candragupta and to place him sometime between the end of the Gupta dynasty and Harṣa.

The Indian scholars mentioned above have, however, adduced what I think are good reasons for assuming that there was a Gupta ruler Rāmagupta, who proved to be unworthy of his high position and was subsequently replaced by Candragupta, who also married his widow Dhruvadevī.

\* That there was a Gupta emperor of that name is not, I think likely, since Samudragupta himself seems to have made Candragupta his successor. But we know that he had more than one son, for his consort is described in the Eran inscription as *babuputrapautra-saṅkrāminī*, and there is nothing to show that Candragupta was the eldest. Moreover, the title *rājan* applied to Rāmagupta in the Devicandragupta

need not mean more than that he was in charge of part of the empire under the suzerainty of his father or acted as regent under him. There are further some indications which add strength to the narrative of the Devicandragupta and also to the assumption that Viśākhadatta was a contemporary of Candragupta.

We know that matrimonial alliances between the Guptas and the Śakas were at least contemplated during the rule of Samudragupta.

In his highly interesting paper, 'History of India c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.', the lamented K. P. Jayaswal has<sup>1</sup> given a new analysis of the much discussed passage ll. 23f. of Hariṣeṇa's Allahabad praśasti: *Daivaputra-śāhi-śāhānu-śāhi-śakamuruṇḍaiḥ Saimbalakādibhiḥ ca sarvadvīpavāsibhir ātmanivedana-kanyopāyanadāna-garutmadanikasvaviṣayabhukti śāsanayācanādyupāyasevākṛtavīryyaprasaradharanibandhasya*. We there read about the various means of homage by which the earth (*dharanibandha*<sup>2</sup>) was made the range of the valour of Samudragupta's arms, by several rulers. Jayaswal took the first group to be *Daivaputraśāhiśāhānuśāhi*, where 'the words *daivaputra* and *śāhi* qualify *śāhānuśāhi*.' The second group were the *Sakamuruṇḍas*, i.e.<sup>3</sup> 'the smaller Śaka rulers like the Shalada Shāka, the Gaḍahara and the Western Satraps.' The Ceylonese and others, finally, form a third group.

With regard to the different kinds of homage, the *ātmanivedana* 'offering of themselves,' and the *kanyopāyanadāna* 'presenting (*upāyana*) unmarried girls

<sup>1</sup> J. B. O. R. S. xix, pp. 145f.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Tanjore 1899, iv. 83.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. O. R. S., xix, p. 210.

and giving of daughters in marriage (*kanyādāna*)' are ascribed to the first group. 'The third was the request (*yācana*) which consisted of two matters : asking for charters for the currency of the Garuḍa coinage within the jurisdiction of their own territories and an application to enjoy the governments of their own countries.' 'We know from the Pālada or Shālada and the 'Shāka' coins of the Kushān subordinate kings of the Western Punjab, that they accepted the Gupta coinage'. This would accordingly apply to the Sakamuruṇḍas, while the second matter should be referred to the Ceylonese etc.'

Ingenious as this analysis is, I am not quite able to see the parallelism between the groups of rulers and the various kinds of homage. Further I have the feeling that *kanyopāyana* is contrasted with *kanyādāna*. And we do not know anything to the effect that Samudragupta's suzerainty was ever acknowledged in Ceylon, Further India etc. And I am inclined to accept Mr. Allan's<sup>1</sup> explanation of *garutmadānīka* as 'bearing the Garuḍa seal' and qualifying the word *śāsana* 'charter.'

So far as I can see, the rulers concerned are divided into two groups, both given in compounds in the instrumental plural. The second group, the *Saiṃhalakādi*, does not concern us in the present connexion, though I am tempted to accept Vincent Smith's explanation that the passage has something to do with the embassy sent by Meghavarna of Ceylon during Samudragupta's rule. What these people are

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, p. xxv.

stated to have done was, in my opinion, to ask for grants confirming them in the possession of their territories, a statement which is apparently somewhat exaggerated.

The first group comprises the *Daivaputra Śāhis*, i.e., in my opinion, the chiefs of the Kuṣāṇa realm, their overlord the *śāhānu śāhi*, and the *Sakamuruṇḍas*. Now *murunḍa* is almost certainly a Saka word, which was translated with *svāmin*, and since this very title is used by the Western Kṣatrapas, I take them to be intended under *Sakamuruṇḍa*.

But then we should also expect three different forms of *sevā* 'homage.' The *ātma-nivedana* 'presentation of one's self,' i.e. 'attendance in person' could hardly be expected from the Kuṣāṇa king of kings (*śāhānu śāhi*), but only from the minor chiefs, the *daivaputra śāhi*. What the overlord could do, and apparently did, was to offer a princess (*kanyopāyana*), just as Seleukos is believed to have given a daughter to Candragupta Maurya. For the Sakamaruṇḍas then we should have the *kanyādāna*, which must, I think, be different from the *kanyopāyana*. I cannot see any other way of bringing out this difference than by taking the whole, from *ātmanivedana* to *dāna* as a dvandva, forming a tatpuruṣa with the ensuing *yācana* : requests of (1) (permission) to present themselves in person ; (2) (to be allowed) to offer a bride; (3) for the bestowal of a bride, and (4) for sealed grants for the enjoyment of territories belonging to them (including religious establishments in India).

What the Śakamuruṇḍa asked for was, if this analysis is right, the hand of a Gupta princess, and we

would have a distinct indication of a state of things similar to that which is pre-supposed in the Devī-candragupta.

We cannot, of course, tell whether the Western Kṣatrapas asked for a Gupta princess more than once, or whether they were able to put pressure on the Guptas in this connexion. But their downfall cannot have been very far removed in time from the events mentioned in Hariṣeṇa's praśasti. According to Rapson,<sup>1</sup> the latest date of Svāmi Rudrasimha III, the last Mahākṣatrapa, is A.D. 388 or a little later, and an Udayagiri inscription of Candragupta II is dated in A.D. 401. There is no a priori objection to the indication contained in the Devīcandragupta and confirmed by Bāṇa that the annihilation of the dynasty had some connexion with the attempt to secure Gupta princesses.

The word *devī* occurring in the name of the play is of some interest in connexion with the question about Viśākhadatta's date.

It is evident that the drama contained much more than the narrative of the happenings connected with Dhruvadevī, as has been pointed out by most scholars who have discussed the question. Dhruvadevī evidently played a secondary rôle, her history was only an episode. As is well known, similar titles, containing a reference to a more or less important detail, are also found elsewhere. We have the *Pratijñāyangandharāyaṇa* and the *Svapnavāsavadattā* ascribed to Bhāsa, the *Vikramorvaśīya* and the

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, etc., pp. cxlix f.



*Abhijñānaśakuntalā* of Kālidāsa, and the *Mudrārāṣasa* of Viśākhadatta. I do not know any other certain examples, and I cannot help thinking that this way of designating a play was fashionable during a comparatively short period, perhaps initiated by some famous poet, who was imitated by subsequent playwrights. It would then be tempting to think of Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadattā* as the most important model. And since later authors do not seem to have continued this practice, it is perhaps allowed to draw the inference that Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Viśākhadatta were not far removed from each other in time and surroundings. In that case it seems to be rather doubtful whether Lévi was right in dating Viśākhadatta between the end of the Guptas and Harṣa. It seems more likely that he was one of the court poets of Candragupta II, as maintained by my deceased friend Jayaswal, to whose memory these lines are devoted.

## THE PILGRIM'S WAY

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

The five verses translated and commented on below occur in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 15, and are found also in the *Sāṅkhya Sāra Sūtra*. Rohita, our "Rufus," has just returned to his village on hearing that his father Aikṣvāku has been stricken with dropsy by Varuṇa, because of the long delay in the fulfilment of the father's promise to sacrifice him (Rufus) to himself (Varuṇa, whom it is not difficult to equate with Mṛtyu, Death). The verses are addressed to Rufus in his capacity as a stay-at-home and householder; he is exhorted to travel in the "forest," in search of a better fortune; in other words, to abandon the household life and become a homeless wanderer. The "greater fortune" (*nānā* has here almost exactly its etymological force of "no naught," and hence "no small," but rather "great") immediately intended for Rufus is to avoid death as a sacrifice to Varuṇa, to whom he had been dedicated at birth. Beneath the apparently episodal features of the story of Rufus and Śunaḥśepa, the substitute found in the sixth year of his wandering, there lies the universal motif of a going forth (*āgārād abhinīṣkrāntaḥ...parivrajat*, Manu, VI. 41) in search of a way of escape from the death to which we are all appointed at birth, and which is by nature always a sacrifice to Varuṇa, whom it is not difficult to identify here and elsewhere with

Mr̥tyu, Death, the master of all that is under the Sun. The infection of death, as the story itself makes plain in connection with the release of the substitute, Sunaḥśepa, can only be escaped by a resort to Agni (so often described in the Vedas as the "Pathfinder" *par excellence*) and by the performance of the offices which he enjoins, of which the most important in the present case is a celebration of Indra, the "traveler's comrade" of our text.

The constant refrain, "Just keep on going, just keep on going" (*cara-ēva*), the connection of the summons with Indra, and the "solar" phraseology employed throughout, give us a key to the technicalities of the wording. We must bear in mind that it is precisely inasmuch as they are nomads and travellers, and not merely stay-at-home ploughmen (*kr̥ṣṭayaḥ*), that they are regularly spoken of in the Vedic texts as *carṣanayaḥ*. *Carṣaṇi*, as pointed out by Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 122, is an agent noun from *car*, to "go" or "move," cf. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, "ursprünglich 'wandernd' (von *car*)."  
Monier-Williams' derivation from *kr̥s* is not impossible, but semantically implausible, as can be very clearly seen in connection with RV. I. 46. 4 *pitā kūtasya carṣaṇiḥ*, "the moving, or active, or vigilant housefather," with reference either to Agni as housefather below or more likely in this context with reference to the Sun as housefather above. Grassmann renders our word in this context by "empsig" (active), and Griffiths by "vigilant." *Nirukta* V. 24, followed by Sāyaṇa, paraphrases *kūtasya carṣaṇiḥ* by *kr̥tasya karmanas cāyitādityaḥ*, rendered by Sarup "who

observes the deed, the action, *i.e.* the sun.”<sup>1</sup>

The Sun is, indeed, the “overseer of *karma*,” or in other words, Providence (*prajñāna*) ; but if vision and motion coincide *in divinis*, it nevertheless remains that the word *carṣaṇi* denotes a motion ; that we understand that the motion also implies a vision, does not justify us in a free translation of the word that means motion by another word that means vision.

It is, of course, by his one foot, or feet, that the Sun, or Death, is present in the heart, and when these are withdrawn, the creature is “cut off,” or dies (SB. X. 5. 2. 13). It is, in other words, by a thread (*sūtrātman*), AV. X. 8. 38 ; SB. VIII. 7. 3. 10, etc.) that the Sun, who is the spiritual-essence (*ātman*)

<sup>1</sup> A derivation of *cāyitā* from *cāy* to “see” or “observe” is evidently assumed here, as it is also implied in Griffiths’ “vigilant.” We do not by any means propose to exclude this connotation, but do not feel that a connotation should be substituted for a denotation when translating. We note that *ṛta* and *karma* can hardly be synonymous ; a tautology (*jāmitva*) is hardly to be expected in Yāska. The Sun is, no doubt, an observer of all that is done within the house of the universe. But this is inasmuch as he is also the mover within it ; which motion is not a locomotion, but by means of his rays or lines of vision, which are also called his feet. It is not the vision, but the motion that is stated in *carṣaṇiḥ*. These considerations lead us to suppose that we have here to do with an overlooked *sandhi*, and to propose the analysis *ca-āyitā*, taking *āyitā* to be the nominative of an agent noun derived from *ā*, to go ; we render accordingly “the mover both of perfected act (*ṛta*) and of action (*karma*),” the Sun being thus the universal cause at once of liberation and embodiment, as in MU. VI. 30 *sarga-svargāpavarga-hētur-bhagavādityaḥ*. Yāska, if indeed he is thus making use of the causative *āyitā*, must have in mind that the mover *in* is also the mover *of* ; that the *kartā* is also the *kārayitā*. In any case, the Sun is in all things the ultimate “doer” : “Of what ‘I’ did, *Thou* art the doer” (*tad akaravam...tasya kartā’si*, JUB. I. 5. 2). And how is He the doer ? “By me as being the Eye, all things are done” (*mayā cakṣuṣā karmāṇi kriyanti*, JUB. IV. 12. 2).

of all things (RV. I. 115, 1; JUB. III, 2-3, etc.) is connected with (*samyukta*, BG. XIII. 26, cf. Śvēt. Up. V. 10) born beings, as the Knower of the Field with the Field. It is in this way that the Spirit, birthless and unchanging (BG. II. 26 etc.) is thought of as Body-dweller (*dēhin*, *śarīrin*) and as ever-born and ever-dying (*nityam-jātam nityam...mṛtam*, BG. II. 26), thus that the Spirit "proceedeth from within, as multifariously born" (*antaś carati babudhā jāyamānaḥ*, Muṇḍ. Up. II. 2. 6).<sup>1</sup> It is this incessant and unwearying peregrination of the Spirit (the Divine Procession) that Rufus is reminded in the fourth verse of our text; when the end of the road (*adbvanah pāram*, Kāṭha Up. III. 9) has been reached, and Fortune found, when Rufus' eye and the Sun's eye, who is himself the "Rufus" of AV. XIII. 1, are one and the same Eye (*sūryam cakṣur gacchatu*, RV. X. 16.3: *dass selbe ouge, dā inne mich got siht; meine auge und gottes auge dass ist ein auge und ein gesicht*,<sup>2</sup> Eckhart, Pfeiffer XCVI) when the Wayfarer (*carṣaṇi*) has become an awakened Comprehensor (*vidvān*; *yo aśakad boddhum*, Kāṭha Up. VI. 4), "then is he fit for embodiment within the emanated worlds" (*tataḥ sargēsu lōkēsu śarīratvāya kalpatē*, Kāṭha Up. VI. 4),<sup>3</sup> a Traveller indeed (*carṣaṇi*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly AV. X. 8. 13 *prajāpatiś carati garbhē antar, adrśya-mānō babudhā vi jāyatē*: RV. III. 1. 20 and I. 72. 7 *janmañ janman nibhito jātavēdaḥ...antarvidvān*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> "The same eye whereby in me God sees; my eye and God's eye that is one eye and one vision;" continuing, "one knowledge and one love." With "eye whereby in me God sees," cf. AA. II. 4. 1-3 *ātmā vā idam eka...sa jato bhūtāny abhyaikṣat* and KU. IV. 6 *vaḥ...pūrvam ajāyata...yō bhūtebbhir vyapaśyata*.

<sup>3</sup> The desperate efforts that have been made by scholars, not excepting Śaṅkara himself (see Rawson, *Kāṭha Upaniṣad*,

as in RV. I. 46·4), fused but not confused (*bhēdābbhēda*) with the being of the Peregrine Falcon (*śyēna*) and Eagle (*suparṇa*) whose Eye extends to the vision of

pp. 179-180), to explain away this passage make rather pitiful reading. Nothing can do away with the doctrine of one essence and two natures, mortal and immortal (BU. II. 3. 1 etc.). The mortal Brahman is the spirant Ātman, the Sun, and Agni, "multifariously born." Whoever becomes the Brahman must evidently participate in both natures, in the divine activity ("eternal work") and in the divine idleness ("eternal rest"). The work is indeed contained in the idleness, as finite in infinite; but this does not mean that it can be taken away from it; even the finite potentialities are essential to the infinity of possibility.

The wishful thinking which leads the exegete to evade the notion of an incessant cosmic incarnation is founded on a mistake, in which the *universal* birth of the Spirit is confused with the *particular* birth of the individual So-and-so. It is particular birth, *per necessitatem coactionis*, from which the Freed (*mukta*) are released; the universal birth, *per necessitatem infallibilitatis*, is an activity inseparable from the divine beatitude in which the Freed participate. It is, moreover, precisely the universal extension of being to all things which is implied by such designations of the perfected as "Mover-at-will" (*kāmacārī*); and as one of the hymns in the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* expresses it, "How can that Beatific Spirit (*ānandatmā*) which, when it enters into the Darkness (of the infrasolar worlds) on its wings of enjoyment and satisfaction, enlivens every world, be made out to be other than man's Last End?" Let us make no mistake: the Spirit, very Self, is that which "wanders about from body to body" (*prati śarīreṣu carati*, MU. II. 7). The same is expressed by Nicolas of Cusa when he says that filiation and defecation imply a "remotion of all otherness (*ablatio omnis alteritatis* = Skr. *advāita*) and all diversity, and a resolution of all things into one which is also a transfusion of the one into all" (*De Fil. Dei*, cited by Vansteenberghe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XIV, Heft 2-4, p. 13, Note 2). If to be unified (*ekam bhū*, *passim*), if to be oned with Death is to have escaped contingent death (BU. I. 2. 7), this is a unification with one who is "One as he is in himself and many as he is in his children" (SB. X. 5. 2. 16); with one who is "undivided in divided things" (BG. XIII. 16 and XVIII. 20) at the same time that he "divides himself, filling these worlds" (MU. VI. 26). Impossible, then, to think of an identification with the Divine Essence that is not also a possession of both its natures, fontal and inflowing, mortal and immortal, formal and informal, born and unborn. An *ablatio*

all things simultaneously.<sup>1</sup>

It is a veritable "pilgrim's progress" that Indra urges upon the stay-at-home "Rufus." And bearing in mind that earthly pilgrimages are mimetic visitations of analogous "centres" ("All roads lead to Rome," or similarly, to Jerusalem, or to Benares or whatever site it may be that represents for us the "navel of the earth"), it can well be imagined that our verses became a song of the road, and were sung as such by early Indian pilgrims, just as in Europe, on their way to Compostella, men sang their *Congau-deant Catholici*. In intention, at least, our verses have something in common with the modern "Onward Christian Soldiers." There cannot be any doubt that Indian pilgrims had their marching songs; we have heard, indeed, bands of pilgrims singing on their

*omnis alteritatis* must imply a participation in the whole life of the Spirit, of "That One" who is "equally spirated, despirated" (RV. X. 129. 2), eternally "unborn" and "universally born."

<sup>1</sup> It is precisely as an "eye" and by means of his "rays," which are also his "feet," that the Sun is constantly thought of as "travelling" and "observant" by what is one act of being; in this way "he proceedeth super-seeing" (*abhicakṣāṇa ēti*, RV. II. 40. 5). Somewhat in the same way the English word "range" can be used either with respect to vision or with respect to an actual locomotion, and we speak too of the "eye travelling."

An interesting parallel can be adduced. It is well known that "The Sun is just sound; so, they say, 'He goes resounding'" (*svara ēti*, JUB. III. 33). In the same way Mitra "speaks" (*brwāṇaḥ*, RV. III. 59, I, etc.). At the same time, the Sun is always an "eye." It can be well understood, accordingly, how it is that the root *cakṣ* can convey either of the two meanings, to see or to say; just as English "observe" can be used in either of these two senses. For a further discussion see my "Beauté, Lumière et Son" in *Études Traditionnelles*, 42, 1937, where we might have spoken of an identity of Beauty, Light, Sound and Motion in *divinis*.

way to the summit to Adam's Peak on Ceylon, and Badrināth in the Himālayas, at the present day. We seem to hear our verses chanted by the leader of a band, and the loud response of the chorus, *Carāva, carāva*., "Keep on going, keep on going." However this may have been, it is unquestionable that our verses are a stirring call to Everyman to take up his bed and walk, and to keep on going until the "end of the road" (*adhvanah pāram*, Katha Up. III. 9) is reached. Our somewhat humorous thought, "It's a great life if you don't weaken," is here applied to the pursuit of man's last end ; by which end we mean all that is implied by an escape from the clutches of Death, the infection of whose power extends over all things under the Sun, but not beyond the golden gates, the solar portals of the world (*sāuram dvāram, lōkadvāram*, Maitri Up. VI. 30 and Chāndōgya Up. VIII. 6.5, etc.).

It is plainly stated in the prose text by which the verses of AB. VII. 15 are divided from one another, that Rufus in fact accepted Indra's advice, and that he wandered in the "forest" for a period of six years ; he became in fact what is elsewhere called a *parivrā- iaka*, or "perambulating" poor man, and, as suggested by the word *śramaṇa*, a *śramaṇa* or "toiler"; the whole context very clearly implies the life, not of a *vāna-prastha*, or forest dwelling anchorite, occupying a hut, but that of a wandering *saṃnyāsin*, or "poor man," of whom it can generally be assumed that he has received the last initiations and that his funeral rites have been performed, so that he has become what Rūmī (*Mathnawī*, VI. 723f) calls a "dead man walk-



ing," one who has "died before death," or as KU. VI. 4 expresses it, "has been able to wake up before the dissolution of the body" (*aśakad boddhum prāk śarīrasya visraṇṣaḥ*),<sup>1</sup> we need hardly add that in India it has been taken for granted that thus to have died to all *proprium*, all sense of "I and mine," is virtually synonymous with a liberation from mortality and from all other "ills." We may add that the state of the homeless wanderers is analogous to that of the "Red Bird that hath no nest" (RV. X. 55.6), and to that of the Son of Man having not "where to lay his head," for as the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 15.1, explains, "'Nest' is cattle, nest is children, nest is 'home'"; the assimilation is the more significant inasmuch as the name "Rufus" is one of the names of the Sun, and that our Rufus is of solar lineage; that the solar Indra should have been his *guru* is perfectly in order. Taking all these things into consideration

<sup>1</sup> The words *aśakad boddhum* in this passage are of peculiar interest in connection with Gautama's acquired epithet, Buddha, the "Wake." Of Solar lineage and Sakya or Sakiya family (Sn. 423, etc.), he is often also referred to by Indra's name of Sakka (Sakra), Sn. passim. In other words, born in the royal line of "those who could" the Buddha was one who "did" awaken before the dissolution of the body.

It may be further observed that just as our "Rufus" is the son of the solar Aikṣvāku, so the Buddha is described as *Okkākarājassa Sakyaputto*, "the Sakyan child of king Okkāka" (Sn. 991), i.e. of Ikṣvāku, as he is called in the *Mahāvastu*, who must be either the same as or the immediate ancestor of our Aikṣvāku. The name implies "Onlooker," cf. AA. II. 4. 3 *abhyāīkṣat* cited in our Note 2; needless to say that the Vedic Sun is the "eye" of Varuṇa, and that the Buddha is repeatedly called the "eye in the world" (*cakkebum loke*).

The Ikṣvāku implied by our Aikṣvāku is doubtless the *ikṣvāku...rēvān marāyī* of RV. X. 60. 4-5, where he flourishes in Indra's following, course, or operation (*vratē*): and the ancestor of Bṛhadratha in MU.

in connection with the designation of Indra as the traveller's "Comrade," it is impossible not to be reminded of the institution of *Compagnonage* which flourished in Europe during the Middle Ages, and even very much later, and for which an immemorial antiquity can be claimed. We cannot pursue these indications farther here, but refer the reader to the special number of *Le Voile d'Isis* dealing with "Le *Compagnonage*" which appeared in April 1934. We shall only cite in connection with the pilgrim's staff the remark that "On a donc là un équivalent exact du caducée hermétique at du brahma-danda ou bâton brahmanique" (*ib.* p. 151), adding that the "Three-strider's (Viṣṇu's) staff" has been recognized as an aspect of the Axis of the Universe<sup>1</sup> (Skr. *skambha*, *akṣa*, GK. *stauros*). There is, then, a metaphysics of travelling, just as we shall presently observe that there is a metaphysics of games. It need hardly be pointed out, after this, that with the decline of pilgrimage, the *art* of travelling has also been lost.

We print below a text and translation accompanied by comments. The text is that of the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, vol. IV, p. 72, 1906, except that in the case of the two words marked by an asterisk we have adopted the readings of the *Sāṅkhāyana Śrānta Sūtra*, and that in the case of the first word of the text we understand, rather than *nānā śrāntāya*, *nānāśrāntāya*, i.e. *nānā* and *aśrāntāya* connected by *sandhi*. We have, then :

<sup>1</sup> *Daśakumāracarita*, introductory invocation.

Nānâsrântāya śrīr-astīti rōhita śuśrūma :

Pāpō niṣadvarō jana, indra ic-carataḥ sākḥā :

Caraiva, caraiva.

Puṣpiṇyō caratō jaṅghau, bhūṣṇur-ātmā phalagrahiḥ :

Sērē'sya sarve pāpmānaḥ, śrameṇa prapathē hatās :

Caraiva, caraiva.

Āstē bhaga āsīnasyōrddhvas-tiṣṭhati tiṣṭhataḥ :

Sētē nipadyamānasya, carati caratō bhagaś :

Caraiva, caravia.

Kaliḥ śayānō bhavati, sañjihānas-tu dvāparaḥ :

Uttiṣṭhas-tretā bhavati, kṛtaṁ sampadyate caraṇś :

Caraiva, caraiva.

Caran-vai madhu vindati, carant-svādum

udumbaram :

Sūryasya paśya śrēmāṇaṁ, yō na tandrayatē caraṇś :

Caraiva, caraiva.

"Manifold fortune is his who wearieeth not,"

Thus have we heard,<sup>1</sup> O Rufus :

T'is an evil race that sitteth down;<sup>2</sup>

Indra companions the traveller<sup>3</sup>

Keep on going, keep on going !

<sup>1</sup> *Śuśrūma*, in the mouth of a Brahman, and like the Biblical "as it is written," implies a quotation from Scripture (*śruti*) rather than the citation of a proverb.

<sup>2</sup> We might have rendered *niṣadvaraḥ* by "stick-in-the-mud." There is, in fact, as will later be seen, a definite suggestion of an ophidian sloth, imputed to the stay-at-home whose evils (*pāpmānaḥ*) still adhere to him.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "is the Comrade of the traveller," *carataḥ sākḥā* as in Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, VI. 2643, "The Friend is the guide on the way." Indra's character as leader, forerunner and guide is well established in RV. where, for example, he is *pūrvayāvan* in III.



All of his ills supine,<sup>1</sup>

Slain by the toil of his progress—

Keep on going, keep on going !

and adds that "Such knowledge as is not empirical is meaningless to us and cannot be described as knowledge." We agree that that kind of knowledge, or rather, gnosis, in which there is no distinction of knower from known (BU. IV. 3. 30). "There is no cessation of the knower's knowing, it is not, however, any second thing, other than and separated from himself, that he might know;" Plotinus, *Enneads*, V. 8. 10-11. "No vision unless in the sense of identification...It is the other, the Intellectual Principle that sees...itself;" similarly the Christian teaching that God's knowledge is a speculative knowledge, not derived from any source external to himself) is not what the modern scholar means by "knowledge." But such a limited sort of knowledge as the modern scholar lays claim to (even if we presume the unreality of all that is meant by a gnosis, "meaningless to us") is not what is intended by the Vedic texts when they speak of a knowing without duality. Unless we assume, at least "for the sake of argument" the validity of a gnosis, we are not equipped to understand, and therefore not equipped to translate the Vedic texts, ruthlessly logical as they are, once their fundamental assumptions have been accepted. Unless we accept these assumptions, our translation will amount to no more than a simple parsing; in order to translate without parody, we must proceed at least *as if* the basic assumptions held good.

As to the rendering of Ātman by body; we do not deny that in reflexive use, "those who can think of nothing more noble than bodies" are somewhat handicapped. If one believes that one's body is oneself, Ātman must often mean "body;" this is in fact the profane interpretation which is described in CU. VIII. 8. 5 as a "devilish doctrine" (*asura upaniṣad*). We also recall Śaṅkarācārya's scathing remarks in connection with BG. XIII. 2, "How is it, then, that there are Doctors who, like worldly men, maintain that 'I am so-and-so' and that 'This is mine'? Listen : it is because they think the body is theirself."

In the present context it might have been observed that the pilgrim is in search of *life*, and that "no one becomes immortal with the body" (SB. X. 4. 3. 9). Nor could it be primarily a "body" that would be thought of as thriving when "sins disappear," as Keith himself renders the following *śre...pāpmānaḥ*; on this basis one would have expected at least to find "his soul groweth," although from the point of view of the Vedic tradi-

His weal who sitteth up, up-sitteth too,<sup>1</sup>

But his who standeth, standeth up :

tion even this would have been unsatisfactory, since it is no more a soul than a body that is thought of as immortal there.

The rare word *bhūṣṇu* (= *bhaviṣṇu*) is significant. In Manu, IV. 135, Bühler renders by "one who desires prosperity." The verbal form is optative, or perhaps it would be better to say that it expresses a tendency. Derived from *bhu*, to "become," a comparison may be made with *bhūyas* "becoming in a greater degree," "becoming more," and with *bhūyisṭha*, "become in the greatest degree," "super," or in other words, "altogether in being." *Bhūṣṇur-ātmā* then implies that the true traveller's spirit is flourishing, progressing from potentiality to act, tending towards a perfected being. The Spirit in question is that Spirit which is seen but imperfectly in the animal (-man), the *paśu*, and is more and more clearly manifested in a Man, or Person, *puruṣa*—"He who knows more and more clearly his spiritual-essence (*yo ātmānam āvistārām veda*) enjoys an evident more (*āvīr bhūyas*)..." The spiritual-essence is more and more clearly manifested in the Man" (*puruṣe tv ēvāvistārām ātmā*). It is this sort of "moring" that the traveller enjoys,—he is becoming what he is (*wird was er ist*), while the stay-at-home remains empirically "himself" (the only "self" he knows).

It is, of course, the whole man, body, soul, and spirit, that thrives, cf. AB. III. 3 *sarvair āṅgaib sarvenātmanā samrddhyate ya evam veda*; and it is for this reason that, not intending to emphasize any one part of the pilgrim's constitution more than another, we have rendered *ātman* by "person" rather than by "spirit". "Person" (*puruṣa*) is a real equivalent, whether we consider a reference to "this man" (*ātman* in reflexive sense) or as referring to the Person, Universal Man and very Self the only knowing and discriminating subject in all things whatsoever (BU. III. 3. 11) and to which one should most resort (Ait. Up. V=AA. II. 5).

<sup>1</sup> "*Ṣṣṭe*," "lie down"; just as *Vṛtra*, smitten by Indra's bolt, "lies down" (*aśayāt*) in RV. I. 32. 7, and passim. For what should be understood by "evil" (*pāpman*) see BU. I. 3; evils are whatever is "misshapenly" (*apratirūpam*) spoken, inhaled, seen, heard, or conceived.

<sup>1</sup> The state of being implied by *āste* "sitteth up" is to be distinguished from that implied by the "sitting down" (root *niśad*) of the first verse. "Sitting up" we take to be the same as being "fain to cast off" in the fourth verse, while "sitting down" or "lolling" can hardly be differentiated from the "recumbence" of the fourth verse.

His weal who falleth down, lies down,  
But his who goeth is itself agoing<sup>1</sup>—

Keep on going, keep on going !

Kali his lot who lieth down,  
Dvāpara his who would fain cast off,  
Tretā his who standeth up :  
Kṛta he reacheth who moveth—

Keep on going, keep on going !

T'is the traveller that findeth the honey,  
The traveller the tasty fig<sup>2</sup> :  
Consider the fortune of the Sun,  
Who never tireth of travelling !

Keep on going, keep on going !

Two major aspects of our text remain to be discussed with special reference to the third and fourth verses. Each of these verses speaks of four conditions, though not in quite the same order. The four states are those of sitting down or recumbence, sitting up or being fain to cast off, standing up, and proce-

<sup>1</sup> Procedure (*caranā*) can also be represented as a climbing ; it is thus that one reaches the top of the tree, ascending these worlds step by step (*ākramanāir ākramāṇaḥ*, JUB. I. 3. 2); there the Sun, the Truth, awaits the climber, on guard at the doorway of the worlds ; and to say that if the climber has wings, he flies off, but otherwise falls (JUB. III. 13. 9, PB. XIV. I. 12, cf. V. 3.5) is the same as to say that if he can rightly answer the question "Who art thou," he is admitted (JUB. III. 14. 5), but if he cannot, is dragged away by the factors of time (JUB. III. 14. 2, cf. Cant. I. 8, *si ignoras te, egredere*).

<sup>2</sup> The "honey" (*madhu*) and the "tasty fig" (*svādum udumbaram*) are evidently reminiscent of RV. I. 164. 22. "Upon the Tree the eagles (incarnate spirits=immanent Spirit) eat of the honey...upon its top, they say, the fig is sweet" (*yasmin vrkṣe madhu adaḥ suparnā...tasyed ābuh pippalaṁ svādu agre*).

dure. In the fourth verse observe the sequence *sayānaḥ*, *saṃjibānaḥ*, *uttiṣṭha*, and *sampadyatē*; and compare RV. X. 53·8 where the long-sought Agni has appeared and having been called upon to "guard the pathways by contemplation wrought" and to "beget," i.e., as Griffiths, following Sāyaṇa's *janaya* = *utpādaya*, justly renders, "bring forth" the Heavenly Race, addresses the *mumukṣavaḥ* as follows: "Here flows the River of the Rock : lay hold, stand up (*ut tiṣṭhata*), cross over (*pratarata*), O my comrades (*sakḥāyaḥ*), there let us leave behind the ineffectual (*aśēvāḥ*) and cross unto the friendly (*śivān*) coursers (*vājān*).<sup>1</sup> Here there are also four conditions, those of an original recumbence (ophidian sloth) implied by the injunction to stand up, a readiness to abandon those who are to be left behind, a standing up, and a setting out (on the "ways by contemplation wrought")

<sup>1</sup> *Sremāṇa* : the fortune or brilliance (*śrī*) of the first verse, as an abstract quality or attribute of the Sun. English "fortune" conveys the content of "*śrī*" only in part. The best definition of *śrī* as a royal attribute, or majesty, will be found in SB. XI. 4. 3. 1 (see my "Janaka and Yājñavalkya" in IHQ. XIII. 274).

It must not be overlooked that the Way has been trodden by the Sun, solar Indra, himself. Ophidian *ante principium* (PB. XXV. 15. 4, and see my "Angel and Titan" in JAOS. 55), the Sun is dimmed, unfortunate, or inglorious (*aśrīra*) when still infected by "this evil" (*pāpāmuyā*) of "potentiality" (*kṛtyā*, RV. X. 85. 29-30; to be contrasted with *kṛtam* in its literal meaning of "act," in our fourth verse): but "even as Ahi doth, so doth he free himself from the night, from evil" (*pāpmanaḥ*, SB. II. 3. 1. 6), "even as Ahi, so is he (Indra) freed from all evil" (*pāpmanaḥ*, JB. II. 34); and "He who follows the same course shall shine with the glory of the Suns" (PB. XXV. 15. 4). In saying "Keep on going," the Comrade, although in disguise as a Brahman, is saying "Follow in my steps"; the Way is marked throughout by the divine *padāni*, *vestigia pedis*. ("Mark my footsteps, good my page").



towards a farther shore that has already been reached by those who are referred to as "friendly."<sup>1</sup> In the same way in RV. X. 124.3-4, Agni (whom we know to have possessed a titanic, autochthonic and ophidian nature *ante principium*) abandons (*jabāmi*) the fallen Agni, Soma and Varuṇa, bids "farewell" to the Titan Father, "chooses Indra," and "proceeds" (*ēmi*) from the non-sacrificial to the sacrificial part. Similarly *sthāṣṇu carisṇu*, in connection with the divine procession, where the Spirit, having long dwelt in the darkness, and in idleness (*na ca svaṁ kurut karma*) would now "stand up and move," Manu, I. 56. We find, in fact, throughout the Vedic tradition a regularly recurring and logical sequence of ideas represented by the use of the roots *śi* ("lie"), *hā* ("abandon") or an equivalent passive desiderative form of *muc* ("release"), *sthā* ("stand up") or equivalent *jan* "be born" or "come into existence,"<sup>2</sup> and *car* ("proceed") or equivalent *ē*, *gam*, *prapat*, *ruḥ* or *tar* : *saṁjibānaḥ* in our text being, accordingly, equivalent to *mumukṣuḥ*. On the other hand, the distinction of lying from standing and of standing from going, as also that of renunciation from possession, breaks down when the end of the road has been reached ; that end is not an *arrested*

<sup>1</sup> For those who are to be understood as having crossed over, and as released from death, see Br. I. 3. 10-16 : these are Voice, becoming Fire ; Smell, becoming the Gale ; Sight, becoming Sun ; Hearing, becoming the Airs ; and Intellect, becoming the Moon. Observe that the crossing or translation is also a transformation.

<sup>2</sup> As remarked by Sāyaṇa in comment on RV. V. 19. 1 *sthitam padārtham jātam* : conversely it is in the womb that the yet unborn "lie", as in RV. V. 78. 9 *śaśayānaḥ kumāro adhi mātari, niraitu jīvaḥ* "the prince (Agni) that lieth in the Mother, may he come forth alive."

motion, but a consummation\*in which there exists no longer any necessity for a locomotion: "Seated, he travels afar, and recumbent, goeth everywhere" (*āsīnō dūram vrajati, śayānō yāti sarvataḥ*, Kāṭha Up. II. 21).

The pilgrimage is a procedure from potentiality to act, non-being to being, darkness to light, that is in question. Observe the change of construction in the fourth line of the first verse; he who has successively been (in) three inferior states of being, now inasmuch as he proceeds (*caran*) reaches or attains (*sampadyatē*) the Kṛta state. Not only does *sampad* imply "success" or "final achievement" (cf. *sampatti* in this sense), but it should be noted that *sam* (here as in *sam-bodhi*, *sam-bhoga*, *sam-bhū* and the like) adds the value of completion, perfection, or universality to the root to which it is prefixed. *Sam* also adds to a root the meaning "with": *sampad* being thus not merely to "reach" but literally to "march with" or "accompany"; *sampad* implies an entering into and a coincidence with that which is reached, as in Chāndōgya Up. VI. 8.6, *vāg manasi...sampadyatē* and VIII. 3.4 *param jyotir upasampadya*.

Kṛta is then our traveller's goal. His procedure from potentiality to act can be expressed in familiar terms by saying that he is on his way to become a *kṛtsna-karma-kṛt* ("one who has performed the whole task," BG. IV. 18) and *kṛtakṛtyaḥ* ("one who has done what there was to be done," Aitarēya Āraṇyaka, II. 5, Maitri Up. II. 1 and VI. 30). We are by no means forgetting that Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā and Kṛta are throws in dicing, respectively one, two, three and

four, from lowest to highest. We had this in mind in employing the words "fortune" and "lot," and in the fourth verse might have rendered "Kali he throws...." But that the terms of a game are employed does not in the least preclude an anagogic (*paramārthika*) connotation: of which we have an admirable example in checkers, where to this day in Indian vernacular, the piece which succeeds in crossing the field and thus reaches the other side or further shore, is crowned king and called like the liberated Comprehensor, *kāmācārin*, a "Mover-at-will," being able, in fact, to occupy any square on the field. There is, accordingly, no need to treat a meaning as "throws of dice" and a meaning as "aeons" as incompatible alternatives.<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit, just as in Latin scholasticism, the word has multiple meanings, all of equal validity; as we have just seen, *kāmācārin* may mean either or both a "crowned piece" and/or a "Comprehensor." It is for the translator, if he can, to discover equivalent terms in which a corresponding series of meanings, and not only one of these meanings, inheres.

Finally, *kṛtam* implies "perfection" and corresponds to *kṛtātman*, "perfected spirit" as this term is

<sup>1</sup> For the association of ideas involved in our text, cf. AV. IV. 17. 7 "Death by hunger, likewise defeat at dice...we wipe off all that." When Devas and Asuras gamble, it is for stakes of life and death. Cf. Jeremy Taylor, cited in Oxford N.E.D., s.v. throw, II. 5, "They...cast a dice...of the greatest interest in the world, next to the last throw for eternity."

Very close to the thought of our text is that of CU. IV. 1. 6, "Even as the lower throws of the dice are consummated in the highest throw (*kṛtaṁ samyanti*), so to this man whatever good that beings do, all is consummated in him."

used in *Chāndogya Up.* VIII. 13, "I as *kṛtātman* am regenerated in the uncreated (*akṛtam*) Brahma-world." More often we find the term *sukṛtātman* as "perfected spirit;" and just as Śaṅkara explains *sukṛta* qualifying the (Brahma-) world in *Kaṭha Up.* III. 1 by the paraphrase *svakṛta*, "self-made," so, but without accepting his ethical connotation (since, as plainly stated in *Chāndogya Up.* VIII. 13 "neither *sukṛtam* nor *duṣkṛtam* can pass over the Bridge of the Spirit," cf. BG. V. 15 or as Eckhart puts it, "There neither vice nor virtue ever entered in"), we hold that *kṛtam* = *sukṛtam*, "perfection," and that a *sukṛtātman*, in the words of *Taittirīya Up.* II. 7, "is called 'per-fected' because it made itself" (*tad ātmānam akuruta, tasmāḍ sukṛtam ucyatē*),<sup>1</sup> cf. "*svayambhū*" = *autogenes*. It is, then, "only by keeping on" (*carāiva, carāiva*) that, as regarded from our present position, perfection can be achieved; but when this Perfection has been realised, it will not be found to have been effected by our toil, of which the only traces left will be the prints of our feet on the Way: our toiling was not essential to the *being* of this Perfection, our own Perfection, but only dispositive to our *realisation* of it. As Eckhart expresses it, "When I enter there, no one will ask me

<sup>1</sup> *Kṛtam* in *Īśā Up.* 17, *kṛtāni smara* must be similarly understood; it is well known what great importance is attached to the dying thought, as having a directive force, and in view of the fact that the dying man is thought of as an aspirant for passage through the midst of the Sun (previous verse 15, and cf. JUB. I. 3-5) it is inconceivable that he should be asked to consider past acts, which cannot follow him there; on the other hand, it can well be imagined that he is asked to consider that (Ātman) which has been "done," fulfilled, perfected and self-effected, to consider in other words that very *kṛtam* which in the fourth verse of our text is the traveller's goal.

whence I came or whither I went." The weary pilgrim is now become what he always was had he only known it, a Blast of the Spirit (*marutaḥ*, MU. II. 1), and as such no longer a toiler (*śramaṇa*) but in and of the Spirit that bloweth as it listeth—*vāyu*, *devānām ātmā*, (*yaś*) *carati yathā vaśam*, RV. X. 168.4. *Carāiva*, *carāiva*.

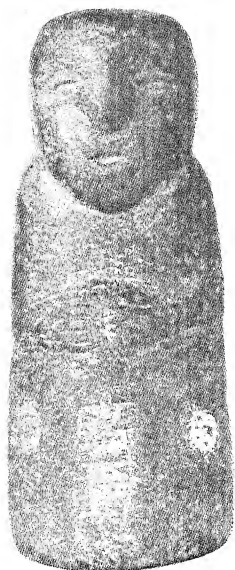
## A PROTO-INDIAN ICON

By REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

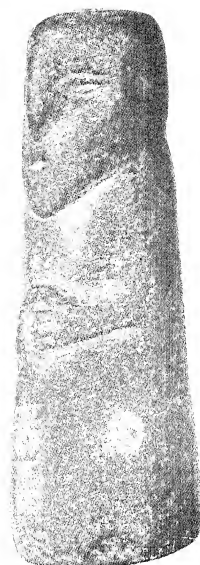
One evening in the month of July 1929, my friend the late Mr. K. E. Kotwal called on me, as he often did to inspect the new acquisitions of the Museum of our Research Institute, to show and comment upon some of his own acquisitions or to discuss problems of ancient Indian or Iranian art and numismatics. This time he had come to discuss a small ancient statue he had acquired for Re. 1/- in a bazar of Bombay.

"What is this statue?", he asked me while handing over to me that interesting specimen.

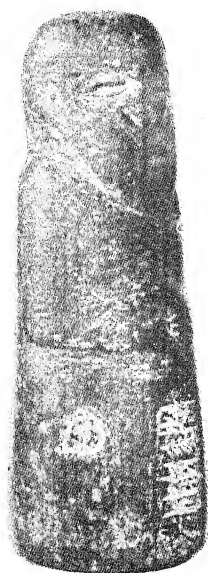
It was a block of black stone roughly carved into a human shape. A square topped head with pointed chin was the most characteristic feature of the statue. The broad nose appeared flattened and worn out by continuous rubbing. The eyes were big, the mouth small. Two small holes roughly marked the ears. The rest of the body was shapeless. It looked like an African fetish or a work of art of a prehistoric tribe. Yet the lower portion of the statue in spite of its being shapeless had two features which were very characteristic and full of significance. The hands of the person represented in this icon were joined in front of it, thus covering the non-existing waist; while under the hands an inscription enclosed within a *cartouche* ran perpendicularly. Another one in the



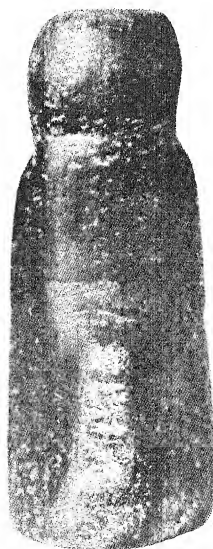
A Proto-Indian Icon  
Front View



A Proto-Indian Icon  
Left Side View



A Proto-Indian Icon  
Right Side View



A Proto-Indian Icon  
Back View





same position was engraved on the back, and two short ones within a circle could be detected on each side of the figure.

Paying attention to these two characteristics, I replied with some hesitation :

"The statue seems to be Sumerian. Both the position of the hands and the inscriptions remind one of the statues of kings and *patesis* of Sumer discovered after the Great War."

Yet my statement was not without doubts. Mr. Kotwal realized that without difficulty and consequently added forthwith : "Keep it yourself in the meantime and study it and when you have formed an opinion about it let me know."

Thus it happened that this interesting icon remained on my study table for over a month. During this period of time, I had an occasion to compare it with photographs of different Sumerian statues.

Undoubtedly, the image was very much like the early Sumerian images. The big eyes of our image separated by a very broad nose resemble the same organs in the figure of a man from Istabulat now kept in the Ashmolean Museum and in the archaic little statue of the Louvre Museum, though the nose of our icon looks flat owing to its having been rubbed. The whole head reminds one of the head of the image of the Sumerian *patesi* of the period of Ur-Ninâ now in the British Museum, No. 90929. The latter specimen in some respects seems to be a sort of replica of our image. The short size of the statue, the shapeless appearance of the body and the indefinite line

between head and trunk seem to suggest the same artistic ideals, though the icon under study clearly appeared to belong to an earlier period.

As regards the pose of the hands all the Sumerian images down to the famous statues of King Gudea and to that of the Governor of Lagash,<sup>1</sup> have their hands joined before the chest. Yet two slight differences may be noted in the way of joining the hands. Some keep the hands in such a way as to have the palms united, the fingers of each hand turning over the back of the other hand. Others join the hands in such a guise as to have the palm of one over the back of the other, this being completely hidden inside the former. The former pose is found in the images of a later age, Gudea, Ur-Ningursu, son of Gudea (in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen) and the above mentioned Governor of Lagash. But the latter pose of the hands belongs to an earlier period; thus for instance, the early statues from Tal Asmar, the statue of a man seated in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, the above referred to figure of a man in the Ashmolean Museum, the icon of Kur-lil from Al-'Ubaid, now in the British Museum, the archaic little statue of the Louvre Museum already mentioned above.

The statue under study offers a new pose of the hands all the fingers and thumbs of each hand are well seen; the tips of the fingers touch the tips of the fingers of the opposite hand. It is an attempt to carve the hands in a clasped pose. From every point

<sup>1</sup> Cahiers d'Art, *L'Art de Mesopotamie*.

of view this pose seems to be earlier than the early pose described above. The first attempt at joining the hands must have been to clasp them; the pose showing one hand over the other must have been the result of the difficulty of representing the hands in a clasped pose. Nevertheless, this second pose was not artistic, one hand remaining absolutely covered by the other. The third pose was then introduced that lasted till the end of the Sumerian rule.

On the lower portion of the statue four inscriptions enclosed within *cartouches* are incised. The system of inscribing such epigraphs on the lower portion of the statues is purely Sumerian. These inscriptions are also enclosed within lines. It is true that such inscriptions only appear in the statues of a later period: statues of King Gudea appear with inscriptions incised on the lower portion of his garment. So is also the statue of Ur-Ningirsu. The inscriptions of our statue are much shorter. Never more than a line and the side inscriptions have two or three characters only. I compared the characters of those inscriptions with the Sumerian characters and then I felt the greatest disappointment. There were certainly some characters of our inscriptions which were very similar to some characters of the Farah tablets, but certainly our script was not Sumerian script. (Then the tablets of Jemdet Nasr were not yet published. They would have given many more resemblances).

So when Mr. Kotwal called on me a month after, I could not give him a definite answer. The image was not Sumerian, specially on account of the characters of the inscriptions which were not Sumerian.

Yet, it resembled Sumerian images in a marvellous way. Some time afterwards my friend informed me that he had sent a photograph of the image to the British Museum, and they had replied to him from London that the image could not be properly classified.

Some years passed after these events during which the work of Sir John Marshall on *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization* had seen the public light, and some scholars had tried to decipher the cryptic characters of the famous seal inscriptions. The present writer counts himself among them. When he was well acquainted with those characters he easily realized that the characters of the little statue of Mr. Kotwal were of the same type as those of the seal inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. That gentleman had passed away in the meantime. His sons allowed me to inspect the specimen once more and I was thoroughly convinced of the identity of both scripts. Finally a price was agreed upon between Mr. Kotwal's sons and the present writer and thus the image was acquired for the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

The image is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high measuring in its base longest side 2 ins. It is a block of greenish basalt in which very small particles of pirite and mica, invisible to the naked eye, may be discovered through a powerful lens. Such stone may be easily found in the mountains of Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Kashmir.

As regards the general features of the image nothing can be added to the description made in

the beginning of this article. This is certainly striking that the foot of the statue which is a little convex is not circular in shape as it may appear in the photograph, but almost square. This square shape of the bottom of the figure causes its lower portion to look like a prism, the intersections of which are in front, and behind and on each side.

Coming down to the inscriptions, those which are in front and behind are incised on the roundish intersections spoken of above. Both are written in a line, the reading of which commences in the lower portion of the image.




The front inscription has six characters which according to the Mohenjo Daro system of writing read from right to left, as follows :



Sign No. 1 means "the sun," *el* corresponding to the Egyptian ☉ . In Mohenjo Daro sometimes it is written thus : ☽ .

Sign No. 2 ; H , means "a canal," *kāl*. Our sign therefore means "three canals," *mūnkāl*.




Sign No. 3 is a compound sign, its components being = , 1 and 2 .

= is never found alone but always in compound signs for instance:  ,  ,  , etc. It always reads *a*.



1 reads in the Mohenjo Daro sign list *tari* which reads "to dress," "to have," "to cut to pieces," "to destroy."

þ is the sign for "the moon," *nila*.

Therefore the whole sign reads *atarinila*, "the moon of the thrashing of the grain" (*Atari* is a word used only in the Sangam period of Tamil literature. It is found in *Pattupāṭṭu*, VI, 94. Properly it means "the thrashing of grain with cattle").

Sign No. 4 is sometimes written in the Mohenjo Daro script thus:  . It means "the back bone," "the back," *ven*; and phonetically also means "white." Yet here this sign seems to be purely phonetic. The real sign here was  *vēl*, but on euphonic grounds the *l* is to become an *n*. Hence the sign has been placed instead of  . *Vēl* is used in ancient Tamil literature for "king."

Sign No. 5 is an evident figure of a crab, *naṇḍ*. In

Mohenjo Daro it is always written  and , which forms evidently are later simplifications of the character of our inscription which is a clear pictograph.

Sign No. 6 in the Mohenjo Daro sign list reads *uḷavan* and means "farmer."

Therefore the whole inscription will read as follows :

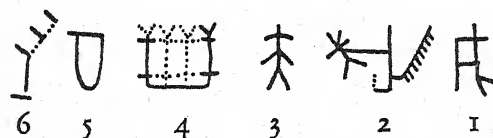
*El mūnkāl atarinila vēn naṇḍ uḷavan*

which means :

"The king farmer of the crab of the three canals of the sun and of the moon of the thrashing of the grain."

The inscription sounds a little cryptic at first sight, but it is not so. The strange phrase "farmer of the crab" is, as explained elsewhere, a title or denomination of the kings of Mohenjo Daro. The ancient name of this city seems to have been *Naṇḍūr*, "the City of the Crab."<sup>1</sup> Its king was, therefore, called the Farmer of the Crab.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of *Naṇḍūr* are called "Crabs."<sup>3</sup>

The inscription on the back of the image runs thus :






<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 24; *Mohenjo Daro and Sumer*, *Monumenta Nipponica*, I, No. 2.


<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.


<sup>3</sup> Marshall, M. D., No. 17.


This inscription also contains six signs which are interpreted as follows :

Sign No. 1 is the last sign of the preceding inscription  , *ulavan*, "farmer," plus the sign  , united by a ligature. This little sign in the Mohenjo Daro script always reads *il*, though it has different meanings :

 *ilil*, "in the house"


 *oril*, "one house"


 *ānil*, "the son of Ān"


 *nandil*, "of the Crab"

This sign, therefore, will read *ulavanil*, "of the farmer."

Sign No. 2 is a compound sign to which another sign has been added by ligature. These three signs read as follows :

 . In the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions this sign

is incised thus :  . It reads *oriḍa*, "one side."

 . A portion of the sign seems to be worn out. It reads *ten*, "south."






, *ḍoṇkal*, "lancer." Therefore the whole sign

will read : *oriḍatendḍoṇkal*, "the southern lancers of one side," i.e. of one regiment.

Sign No. 3 is a man covered with an umbrella. Umbrella is *kud* or *kude*, and man, *āl*. Therefore the sign will read *kudāl*. Now if we take "umbrella man" as the meaning of this word, the inscription does not make any sense. Apparently, this sign here has a purely phonetic value, for *Kūḍal* is the ancient name of the city of Madura.

Sign No. 4 is a little worn out. The whole sign appears like this :  . It is found both in

Mohenjo Daro and in Sumer inscriptions. It is a pictograph of a "garden" and therefore, in our Proto-Indian language will read *tōṭa*.

Sign No. 5 is also found in Mohenjo Daro. It represents a pot full and stands for "full" or "whole," i.e., *mul*. Here it is not used as an adjective qualifying the following word, but as an adverb qualifying the word *tōṭa*. Such use of this word is common even at present.

Sign No. 6 stands for a "tree" *maram* ; but since below the sign there is one stroke, which reads *or*, "one," the whole sign reads *maramor*, "trees."

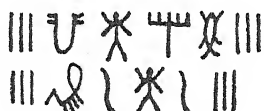
Thus the whole inscription will read :

*Uḷavanil oriḍa ten ḍoṇkal kūḍal tōṭa mul maramor*  
which means :

"The trees of the whole garden of Kūḍal of the southern lancers of one side (band) of the Farmer."

In order to understand this inscription well, it

must be remembered that the Mohenjo Daro script is *boustrophedon*, i.e., odd lines read from right to left, but even lines read from left to right. Yet if two lines of the same inscription are separated, i.e., not written in continuation, both may read from right to left. This happens for instance in the following inscription :



These two lines are written on two different faces of an oblong object. They are two verses which must evidently be read after one another. Yet the second verse if read from left to right cannot be scanned properly. Therefore even this second line originally separately from the first, must be read from right to left, thus :

*Mūn mīn per kaḍavuḷ adu mūn*

*Mūn ār kaḍavuḷ ār karumugil mūn*

which means :

“The three things (eyes) of the great god are  
three stars ;

The three rivers of the river god are the three  
rain clouds.”

Our two inscriptions though placed separately on the statue must be treated in the same way. Thus the first line of the inscription is that which is incised on the back of the image, but the second line was carved in front probably because this line contains the full title of the king : *nand ulavan*. Thus the

inscription runs as follows :



*naṇḍil oriḍa ten ḍoṇkal kūḍal tōṭa mul maramor  
el mūnkāl atarinila ven naṇḍulavan*

which means :

“The king, farmer of the Crab of the trees of the full garden of Kūḍal of the southern lancers of one band of the farmer, of the three canals of the sun, and of the moon of the thrashing of the grain.”

Before giving a full explanation of this inscription let us study the two short side inscriptions.

Enclosed within a small circle these two short inscriptions contain three or four signs. Both must be read in the same direction, following the opposite direction of the front inscription, *i.e.*, having the head of the statue to one's right and its bottom to the left. The first inscription should be read as if one were placed in the centre of the signs.

Inscription on the right of the image :




These four signs, though one is above the other three, are not to be considered to be in two different lines. So after reading the upper sign, the other three read from right to left, thus :

Sign No. 1 are four strokes that stand for the

numeral "four," *i.e.* *nāl*.

Sign No. 2 belongs to a very extensive family of phonetic signs that begin by *t*. This actually reads *ter*, "to investigate," but occasionally also phonetically means "chariot" in some inscriptions, and this seems to be the meaning on this inscription.

Sign No. 3 is half the original sign  . Both the complete sign and its half read *tan*, "to reduce," "to make gifts," "to be generous," "liberal," etc.

Sign No. 4 is "one" *or*.

The inscription will read :

*Nāl tēr tan or*

which means :

"The generous one of many chariots."

The other inscription of the left side runs as follows :



Sign No. 1 is the same as sign No. 2 of the preceding inscription, *tan*, "generous."

Sign No. 2 reads *kap*, "flag."

Sign No. 3 is "one" *or*.

The reading therefore will be this :

*tan kap or*

which means :

"The generous one of (one) flag."


Let us now explain all these epigraphs.



The long inscription first mentions the royal title of Mohenjo Daro that is "Farmer of the Crab" as explained above. Three adjectival phrases are pre-

fixed to this title :

- i. of the trees of the whole garden of Kūḍal of the southern lancers of one side of the farmer
- ii. of the three canals of the sun
- iii. of the moon of the thrashing of the grain.

These three things, *viṣ.*, "the trees of the garden," etc., "the three canals" and "the moon of the thrashing of the grain," seem therefore to be in a particular way connected with this king. He may have planted the trees of the garden, constructed the three canals and fixed a certain moon or lunation for thrashing the grain.

Now descending to each thing in particular we shall note the following : the tree garden mentioned in the inscription is said to be in Kūḍal. This is the old name of the city of Madura.<sup>1</sup> The *Madura Sthala Purāṇa* while narrating the legends concerning the foundation of Madura several times refers to the forest of trees that existed at the place where Madura was founded.<sup>2</sup> Kūḍal is mentioned in the Mohenjo Daro inscription twice, though using another sign in combination to obtain the same phonetic value. 

is a rope which is twisted in order to unite some objects. It means "to unite," *kūḍ*. If this sign is put in the hand of  "man," *āl*, thus :  ,

<sup>1</sup> In the Sangam period.

<sup>2</sup> Nelson, *The Madura Country*, III, pp. 6, 7, etc.

it reads *kūḍal*. Thus for instance :



This epigraph reads :

*Ir kūḍal ūril ire*

(Note that the construction sounds a little awkward for the participle *ire* cannot be found at the end of the phrase without a proper subject behind. This only confirms the suspicion that many of these short inscriptions are portions of longer writings.<sup>2</sup> For instance, if the inscription were thus : *Ir kūḍal ūril ire mīn* only, the construction would be perfect). The inscription means :

“Being in the city of the union of two (rivers ?)”  
In front of Madura two rivers meet, the Vaigai and the Kṛitamaḷ.

The other inscription is still shorter :



It reads :

*Or kūḍal adu*

and means :

“That (is) one Kūḍal.”

The numeral “one” is used as if it were an adjective : since Kūḍal means a number of things put together, *one* shows that they are not many any more, but one.

<sup>1</sup> *Illustrated London News*, October 4th, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Heras, *The Longest Inscription of Mohenjo Daro*, *Journal of Indian History*.

<sup>3</sup> Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro*, p. 171.

The garden referred to in the inscription is said to have belonged to the southern lancers of one side (or regiment) of the farmer himself. Or perhaps it means of one side of the country, *viṣ.*, the southern side, for the country of the Mīnas—who formed the bulk of the population of Mohenjo Daro—extended down to the South as we have already shown elsewhere. Vēlūr was its capital.<sup>1</sup> The king of all these Mīnas seem to have received the title of Mīnavan and had two fishes as the *lāñchana* of the tribe on his banner.<sup>2</sup> These were precisely the title and *lāñchana* of the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura from the first century A.D., who according to tradition had come down from the north. This tradition is confirmed by the *Mahābhārata* according to which the Pāṇḍya king was one of the rulers who fought at Kurukṣetra.<sup>3</sup>

The second object with which the title of the king is connected is the three canals of the sun. Canals are often mentioned in the inscriptions: one canal was built by the Paravas in the course of a full year, plus a month of the preceding year.<sup>4</sup> The Mīnas had also many canals in Mīnād.<sup>5</sup> These waterways were also common in the country of the Bilavas.<sup>6</sup> In any case this king seems to be the builder of these three canals, for otherwise you cannot explain this particular association of his title with them.

<sup>1</sup> Heras, *Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land, Indian Culture*, III, pp. 714-715.

<sup>2</sup> Heras, *The Mīnavan in Mohenjo Daro, Journal of Oriental Research*, X, pp. 281-288.

<sup>3</sup> *Sāphoparvan*, II, 52, 36; *Udyogaparvan*, V, 19, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 237.


<sup>5</sup> Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk., No. 8248.

<sup>6</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 65.

The third object mentioned in connection with the kingly title is "the moon of the thrashing of the grain." This is the first time that this agricultural operation is mentioned in the inscriptions from Mohenjo Daro. Yet, the harvest is very often spoken of in those ancient epigraphs.<sup>1</sup> One in particular refers to "the moon of the harvest of the Bilavas."<sup>2</sup> Our inscription refers to "the moon of the thrashing of the grain," as if this king had perhaps ordered that the thrashing of grain should be done during a certain period of the moon.

The other two short side inscriptions disclose two war titles of the king, one of which emphasizes the number of chariots of the king in opposition to the oneness of his flag, showing that there were no factions under him. Both style him "generous" as if this were a characteristic feature of that ruler.

What is the age of this piece of sculpture? Its workmanship alone would suggest a very primitive age. This surmise is confirmed by the shape of the

sign for the crab  which evidently is earlier than

the conventional forms  and  . Therefore

this would show that the image under study is earlier than the seals discovered at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Chanhü Daro, up to the present.

Moreover, we happily possess a few very striking

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., Nos. 33, 47, 175, 319, 357, 397, 400, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 69.



pieces of sculpture of that early civilization which will help us to assign a probable date to this icon. The nude torso and the headless dancing youth discovered at Harappa<sup>1</sup> evidently belong to a much later period. Earlier than these images seems to be the polychromed wooden statue discovered at Mohenjo Daro<sup>2</sup>, which seems to be the portrait of another king. But, both the perfection of the features of the person portrayed in it and the decoration of the garment evidently suggest an age later than that of our image. Much nearer to it are the heads and statues of plates XCIX and C.<sup>3</sup> No. 7 of pl. CXIC and No. 4 of pl. C seem to be of the same period or at least very near to it. Our statue therefore rightly claims a place among the earliest statues of the Proto-Indian civilization.

In connection with the emigrations of these Proto-Indian people, which I have elsewhere exposed,<sup>4</sup> the statue under study is evidently earlier than the earliest Sumerian statues we possess and must be placed before the emigration to Mesopotamia, for there is an evident gradation between it and those of Sumer.

What will finally be the date we may assign to this image? Since the earliest stone statues of Sumer discovered till the present were found in the Royal Cemetery of Ur,<sup>5</sup> which dates from 3,500 B.C. to

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, pls. X and XI.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pl. XCVIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Heras, *Mohenjo Daro and Sumer, Documenta Nipponica*, I, No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, p. 89. The

3,200 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> we may safely suggest the end of the fifth millennium B.C. as the probable date of this extraordinary piece of sculpture.

statues of Tell Asmar, earlier than these, though undoubtedly Sumerian, are influenced by another northern current of sculpture, which places them outside the purely Sumerian school. Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 88.

## CHANDESHVARA'S VIVĀDARATNĀKARA

We have been told that the *Vivādaratnākara*—the most authoritative *Nibandha* for *Maithilas*—is only a *verbatim* reproduction of the 'Vivāda' section of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataṛṇa*. Knowing as we do that Chandeshvara, in his work, has in several places quoted and discussed the opinion of the *Kalpataṛṇa*, we find ourselves unable to accept the above statement. Cases of such plagiarism in Sanskrit literature are not unknown ; but it does not appear to be true in the case in question : when it is found that Chandeshvara has referred to the work by name. Persons who may possess manuscripts of this section of the *Kṛtyakalpadrūma* will be doing a great service to the memory of *Chandeshvara* if they will compare the two works and publish the results of this comparison.

GANGANATH JHA

## DEVANĀGARĪ AND THE MUHAMMADAN RULERS OF INDIA

By HIRANANDA SASTRI

That India had one common alphabet during the Mauryan epoch of her history is a fact which is known to archaeologists, or rather to epigraphists, who have studied the inscriptions written in the early Brāhmī script. India in this case does not mean any particular part of the sub-continent going by that designation, but the whole of the vast land or country extending from Cape Comorin to the Himalayan regions. Aśoka the Great Maurya Emperor might not have ruled over the whole of the sub-continent, but the alphabet which he employed in his widely known edicts was used even by private individuals in regions which were not included in his vast Empire. Even in Ceylon this script was used in those days. Several inscriptions have been discovered in the extreme south of India, i.e. in the Tinnevely district, which were written in the Brāhmī *lipi* of the Mauryan type. Similar epigraphs are found in Ceylon also. This *lipi* was obviously employed because the people inhabiting those regions could read it. It gave rise to several alphabets which began to be used in different provinces. The forms of the letters got changed gradually. All the same they are the modifications, and the mother-script is Brāhmī which was once the common script of the

whole of India. An ordinary comparison will demonstrate the point and there is no need of entering into discussion over it here. One of these developments is termed Devanāgarī or Nāgarī. Why it is so called can not be affirmed definitely, but it was the alphabet of the *Nāgaras* or the highly civilised people. It assumed a somewhat settled shape about the 7th century of the Christian era, so much so that a chart of it was appended to the manuscript of the *Ushnīshavijayadbārīnī* sent to Japan along with other manuscripts now known under the name of Horiuzi palm-leaves, which, according to the Japanese tradition, certainly existed in the second half of the 6th century A.D. The late Dr. Bühler says about this alphabet: "It must be conceded that an alphabet closely resembling the modern Devanāgarī was in general use certainly in the 7th and 8th centuries and probably at a much earlier date." The evidence of the Samangadh grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga, which belongs to the year 754 A.D., would show that it was developed into this form in the 8th century of the Christian era. Bühler has already elucidated the point in his monumental work on Indian palaeography. About the 10th century A.D. the script became stereotyped and assumed a form which practically continues and will continue for ever. Slight differences are at times observable, but they are individual or idiosyncratic. The Jainas, it may be noticed in passing, had their own way of writing these letters. Practice is required to read them with ease. At the time of the advent of Islām there was practically one stereotyped form of Devanāgarī or Nāgarī, and it was

current chiefly in Northern India although instances of its use are found in the South also. The Jains, it may be remarked, were fond of it and wrote their books and letters in it. I possess Jaina manuscripts written in Aurangābād in this very alphabet and in the Vikrama year 1780 (=1723 A.D.) although the script of the local people then was not Nāgarī but Kanarese. Not only this, they seem to be the originators of Hindi poetry. The oldest *Dohās* yet known were written by the Jains. This fact has been elucidated by the versatile scholar in whose memory these lines have been written, my late lamented friend, nay brother Dr. K. P. Jayaswāl, the well-known champion of Hindi. If I am not mistaken, the oldest metrical works in Hindi are from the pen of the Jaina *munis* and the advocates of Hindi will bow down to them on this account. These works are no doubt in Prakrit, but that Prakrit is akin to Hindi and was its precursor. But this is not the point to be discussed here. The fact is that though there were several minor scripts in the north yet at the time of the Musalmān conquest Devanāgarī was the main alphabet employed by the rulers of the country. Al-Berūni, the famous Muhammadan scholar who entered the train of Mahamūd of Ghaznā during his expeditions thus speaks of it in his *Tabkik-i-Hind* ('An enquiry into India') which was finished about 1030 A.D. and is of very great value as an account of Hindu manners, science, and literature. "The Hindus had once forgotten the art of writing and that through a divine inspiration it was rediscovered by Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara." These remarks of the great Muhammadan

Sanskritist would show that in his age Devanāgarī was the common script of the Hindus. Mahamūd must have recognised it as the chief alphabet of India and consequently used it in his well-known silver coin he issued from Mahamūdpur or Lahore in the Hijri year 418 (=1027 A.D.). The coin has already been published. He got the *Kalimā* translated into Sanskrit and written on its obverse in this very alphabet of the persons who were to him Kāfirs or idolatrous unbelievers. It reads :

‘अव्यक्तमेकं मुहम्मद अवतार नृपति महमूद’

‘God is one invisible, Muhammad his representative, Mahamūd the king.’ The reverse of it gives अयं टंकम् महमूदपुरघटिते हिजिरियेन संवति ४१८, i.e., this coin was struck at Mahamūdpur (or Lahore) in the Hijri year 418. The Sanskrit is faulty, but that does not matter much in this case. The fact remains that a zealot of the type of Mahamūd of Ghaznā who had no soft corner in his heart for the Hindus employed their script on his coin and got the sacred *kalimā* written in it.

Muḥammad Bin Sām, the Sultān king of Delhi, in his gold coins even allowed the image of Lakshmi or the Goddess of Wealth to remain on the obverse and got the legend श्रीमुहम्मदविनिसाम् written on the reverse. The coins of Shamsu-d-dīn Altamash (1210-1235 A.D.) and of Ruknu-d-dīn Fīroz Shāh (1235-36 A.D.) give legends in Devanāgarī. Not only these Musalmān rulers, but the following ones also accommodated the Devanāgarī alphabet in their coins :

- (1) Jalālu-d-dīn Raziya, the well-known queen who ruled from 1236-1239 A.D.

- (2) Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām Shāh (1239-1241 A.D.).
- (3) Alāu-d-dīn Mas'aūd Shāh (1241-1246 A.D.).
- (4) Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd (1246-1265 A.D.).
- (5) Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban (1265-1287 A.D.).
- (6) Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād (1287-1290 A.D.).
- (7) Jalālu-d-dīn Fīroz II (1290-1295 A.D.).
- (8) Alāu-d-dīn Muhammad Shāh II (1295-1315).

Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq who ruled from 1320-1325 A.D. also employed this script on his coins where we find श्री सुलतां गयासुद्दीं. Also his successor Muhammad III. Bin Tughlaq has on some of his coins श्री: मोहमद written in this very script. During later times we find Sher Shāh the talented founder of the Sūrī dynasty, who wrested the Indian Empire from Humāyūn and reigned successfully from 1540-1545 A.D. marking his rule with several works of public utility. Using this script in writing legends on his coins. His successors Islām Shāh (1545-1552 A.D.) and Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (1552-56 A.D.) made similar use of it.

Further, we find that several other Musalmān rulers had no objection to the use of the Nāgarī *lipi*. For instance Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Ivāz who ruled Bengal from 1211-1216 A.D., Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Bahādur Shāh, who reigned from 1554-1560 A.D. and Dāūd Shāh Karārāni who governed the province from 1572-1576 A.D. wrote their legends in this script. The four independent Musalmān rulers who were the contemporaries of the Sultān kings of Delhi viz., Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qubāchā (1203-1298 A.D.), Jalālu-d-dīn of *Khawārizm* (1220-1224 A.D.), Saifu-d-dīn Al-Ḥasan Qurlagh (1239-



1249 A.D.) and Nāṣiru-d-dīn Muhammad Qurlagh (1249 A.D.) also marked their coins with legends in Hindi.

Further it may well be pointed out in this connection that one Sessanian dynasty which was established in western India after the invasion of the Huns used the Devanāgarī script on the coins along with the Pahlavī. One of these coins bears the name of Shāhī Tigin and the Nāgarī legend signifying "*King of India and Persia.*"

These facts would clearly demonstrate that Muhammadan rulers of various dynasties that governed India, ever since the 'Crescent' began to wave on her soil, were friendly to the script of Devanāgarī which is now in great disfavour of the Musalmān population of India. Exigencies of time required it, and the good will of the teeming millions of the Hindus also supported it. May the Indian Musalmāns take note of the facts given above and, leaving aside prejudices, if there are any, let Devanāgarī follow its course without interruption in India.

## SUNGA SCULPTURE FROM A PATNA MOSQUE

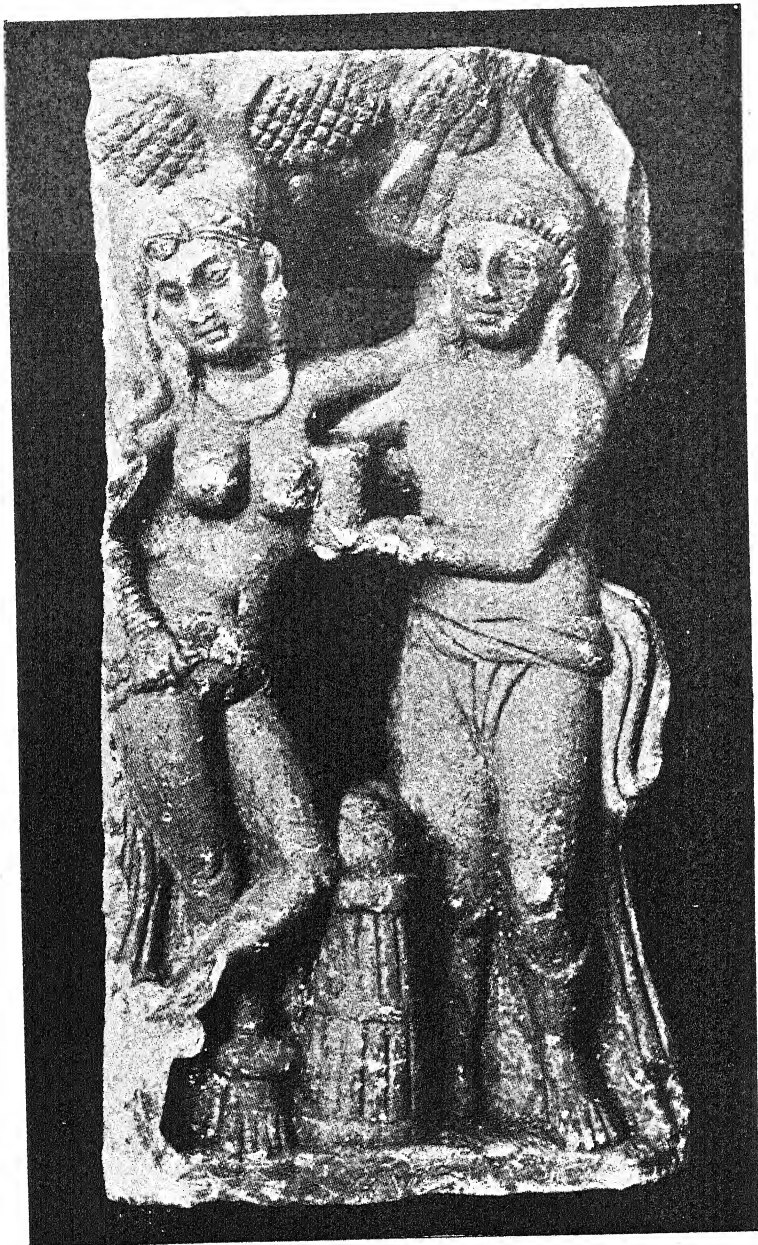
(WITH PLATE)

*By* A. BANERJI-SASTRI

There is an old mosque, called "Sher Shah's Mosque," in Mahalla Dholpura, Patna City. The local tradition is that it was built in the time of Sher Shah. It is now in a dilapidated condition. Out of the portions that are actually giving way, came out a piece of sculpture. Through the kind offices of the Mutwalli of the mosque, Maulana S. M. Qasim, the Curator of the Patna Museum, Mr. S. A. Shere brought the sculpture to the Patna Museum on the 11th August 1937. It bears No. 8178 in the Archaeological Register of the Patna Museum.

The stone measures 20"×10"×5", and is the same grey sandstone from Chunar used in the well-known Didargañj Yakṣī image without that image's polish. The piece is intact and was used as a prop in the masonry work with the front view built in and concealed.

Since the excavations at Kumrāhar in 1913-14 by Spooner, Patna has yielded Mauryan (III cen. B. C.) and Śuṅgan (II-I cen. B. C.) specimens of plastic art. Qualitatively the disparity was marked in the Maurya group. The Pārkhām statue and its female counterpart are crude works in comparison to the two Yakṣas



Śunga Sculpture from Patna Mosque



of Patna, the Dīdargañj Yakṣī, and the polished torso recently discovered from Lohanipur (Patna) and published in the J. B. O. R. S., June 1937. The Śuṅga group as represented at Patna, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñcī and Bārḥūt show a marked uniformity of conception and treatment.

Being struck by the powerful feeling for volume in the Bārḥūt sculptures, Marshall<sup>1</sup> had suggested the influence of Graeco-Bactrian artists from the 4th century B. C. on Mauryan art. The Śuṅgan art, however, is a continuation of the ancient and archaic art of woodcarving and clay sculpture.<sup>2</sup>

The present piece has all the characteristics of this native art :

- (i) It is evidently part of a frieze in a hedge or a wall : the close relationship between architecture and plastic art are typically Indian and best represented in Śuṅgan art at Bodh-Gayā, Bārḥūt and Sāñcī, where forms and figures are not erected in space but are a plastically felt and architecturally shaped mass.
- (ii) It represents two lovers under a tree. From the very beginning early Indian plastic art has depicted the human body framed in architecture and surrounded by landscape. The two figures here fill the space. The emphasis, however, is not on space, but the sum total of the two individual

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, C. H. I., p. 627.

<sup>2</sup> Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, p. 12.

figures and the tree.

- (iii) The most important feature of this Patna sculpture is that *chiaroscuro* which has remained the characteristic trait of Indian plastic art from the time of the Sungas in the II century B. C. till today. Note the dark back ground from which the two figures emerge so bright and clear. The effect is produced here not by connecting the shades but by making the two bodies stand close together. In the photograph the trunk of the tree almost protrudes between the two figures separating them and itself from the tree. The relief of the tree accidentally allows the ground to be perceived and intentionally indicates the locality.
- (iv) Lastly, this sculpture represents that phase of Indian sensualism that was not yet divorced from spiritualism.

The sculpture is almost a panel from the life of the Sunga king Agnimitra as described in Kālidāsa's famous drama *Mālavikāgnimitra*, where the king fell in love with Mālavikā, his Queen's protégée, and herself a princess in distress serving her mistress as a maid. Her embarrassed look with a hesitant hand posed on the king's neck accentuates the none too forward approach of the king holding a present with one hand and timidly twining the lady with the other and both fit in with an episode of the play.

It may, however, be a model of just another pair

of lovers, for the Sungan art comes spontaneously and voluntarily from the heart of India. As Bachhofer<sup>1</sup> has put it: "The whole people are now the customers and patrons; kings and citizens, artisans and monks being the founders."

<sup>1</sup> Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

## RĀJAH JHĀO LĀL OF THE OUDH COURT\*

By KALIKINKAR DATTA

Rājah Jhāo Lāl was the son of Lālā Gulāb Rāy *mutasaddie* (clerk), a Sākṣenā Kāyastha of Lucknow.<sup>1</sup> He was employed under the Oudh government since the time of Nawāb Shujā-ud-daulah,<sup>2</sup> and was a favourite attendant of Asaf-ud-daulah.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the administration of Asaf-ud-daulah (January 1775—March 1797), he held the post of superintendent of the *diwānkhānā*<sup>4</sup> and created much influence in the Oudh court due to the patronage of the Nawāb Wazīr.<sup>5</sup> He was then known as Lāluji.<sup>6</sup> Though he had his own wife and sons, he was addicted to debauchery,<sup>7</sup> the most common vice among the aristocracy of the age, and was also a very designing man, who sought to utilise the prevailing disorders in Oudh to his own advantage.

\*Based on some unpublished English letters (quoted in the appendix to this article), *Mirāt-ul-Ahwal* of Aka Ahmad Bahbahni (Manuscript no. 628 in the Oriental Public Library, Patna), and *Imād-us-Saadat* of Ghulām Ali (Lucknow text). Aka Ahmad Bahbahni came from Kirman to India in 1202 A.H. (1787 A.D.) and after travelling for some years finally settled at Patna, where he wrote this work in 1224 A.H. (1809 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> *Mirāt-ul-Ahwal*.

<sup>2</sup> *Imād*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Mirāt*.

<sup>4</sup> *Imād*, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* *Mirāt*.

<sup>6</sup> *Imād*, p. 129.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*



The rivalries and intrigues of the depraved Indian nobility of the 18th century form indeed a sad tale in the history of the time and was largely responsible for the administrative abuses, which ate into the vitality of the Delhi Empire and the different independent governments in the provinces. The consequent internal bankruptcy of these governments naturally brought external intervention and ultimately imposed foreign yoke upon them. This is very strikingly illustrated in the history of Oudh since the death of Shujā-ud-daulah on the 26th January, 1775. His weak successor Asaf-ud-daulah could not duly restrain the base intrigues of the nobles of his court, and the inevitable came after his death in March 1797.

The growing influence of Jhāo Lāl soon excited the jealousy of some prominent officers of Asaf-ud-daulah's court, like his deputy Husain Rezā Khān and others,<sup>1</sup> who succeeded in removing him from the post of the superintendent of the *divānkhānā*, which was conferred on Miān Basant.<sup>2</sup> But Jhāo Lāl still continued to enjoy the favour of his master, the Nawāb Wazīr, and consequently his influence in the court remained as dominant as before. He on his part formed a conspiracy against his enemies and poisoned Asaf-ud-daulah's mind against them to such an extent that the Nawāb Wazīr dismissed Husain Rezā Khān and Tikat Rāy from his service.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Cherry, Agent

<sup>1</sup> The names of these officers occur in a letter from Mr. Otto Ives, Resident at the Court of the Nawab Wazīr, dated Lucknow, May 20, 1793, to Mr. E. E. Pote, Commercial Resident at Patna (now preserved in the library of the B. and O. Research Society).

<sup>2</sup> Imād, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Mirāt.

to the Governor-General, supported the cause of the cashiered officers of Asaf-ud-daulah, who was thereupon prevailed upon by Jhāo Lāl to order Mr. Cherry to leave Lucknow.<sup>1</sup>

The Governor-General Sir John Shore could not remain indifferent to this state of things in Oudh. He proceeded to Lucknow, accompanied by Tafāzzul Husain Khān, formerly a tutor of Saadat Ali brother of Asaf-ud-daulah but then employed as the agent of the Oudh Nawab in Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> Tafāzzul Husain Khān acted as an intermediary in the negotiations between the Governor-General and the Nawāb Wazir of Oudh, and soon got himself appointed deputy of the latter in the vacancy caused by the dismissal of Husain Rezā Khān.<sup>3</sup> He impressed upon the Governor-General the necessity of removing Jhāo Lāl from Lucknow. He represented Jhāo Lāl as a man of low origin, from whom nothing but mischief could be expected, and who "was following the faith neither of the Muslims nor of the *Kāfirs* (unbelievers) but used to observe Nemaz and at the same time followed the customs of the Hindus."<sup>4</sup> The Governor-General at once expelled Bāluk Rām, the principal adherent of Jhāo Lāl, from Lucknow and soon asked Asaf-ud-daulah to follow the same course regarding the latter.<sup>5</sup> After some hesitation, the Nawāb gave his consent to

<sup>1</sup> Mirāt.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Mr. H. Beveridge writes in the *Calcutta Review* of 1883 that though a Hindu Jhāo Lāl "seems to have turned Mahomedan at Lucknow, and his daughters were afterwards married to Mahomedan grantees in Lucknow."

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

the proposal of the Governor-General, when the latter adduced some proofs of Jhāo Lāl's intrigues and ingratitude.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that Jhāo Lāl's intriguing nature had made him extremely unpopular in Lucknow. The author of *Mirāt-ul-Ahwal*, who was then at Fayzābād, writes that everyone, whom he happened to meet, expressed satisfaction at the expulsion of Jhāo Lāl and Bāluk Rām.

The Nawāb Wazir was generous enough to allow Jhāo Lāl to go out of the city with all that belonged to him. Jhāo Lāl was inclined to live at Benares but the Company's Government was opposed to it because of the proximity of the place to Oudh.<sup>2</sup> The Governor-General permitted him to reside at Azimābād (Patna) on an allowance and assured him that he "will find no restraint or molestation" in his person or property while he conducted himself "according to the Regulations of the Government to which all are subject who reside under its protection."<sup>3</sup>

Jhāo Lāl occupied a house in the Patna City near the *Chihil Satun*<sup>4</sup> and there is a *mabāllā* (quarter) in the

<sup>1</sup> *Mirāt*.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> A palace of forty pillars occupied by the Deputy Governors of Bihār. It stood just behind the mosque of Saif Khān's *mādrāsah*. (This *mādrāsah* stood on the bank of the Ganges east of Chimni Ghāt in Patna City. No remains of the *mādrāsah* can be traced now. But the mosque attached to it still remains.) Buchanan remarked about the *Chihil Satun* in 1811-12: "Chehel Sutoon, the palace of the Viceroy of Bihar, which has accommodated many personages of royal birth and which 50 years ago was in perfect preservation and occupied by the King's son (Shah Alam), can now be scarcely traced in a few detached portions retaining no marks of grandeur." Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. I, p. 71.

city known after him as Jhāoganj. His movements at Patna were strictly watched by the Company's government. He and his follower Bāluk Rām were suspected of being implicated in the conspiracy of Wazir Ali against the Company in 1798-99. Mr. Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna,<sup>1</sup> was therefore ordered by the Governor-General on the 22nd February, 1799, to apprehend Jhāo Lāl and his dependant Bāluk Rām, to "keep them in close custody" and to obtain possession of their private papers.<sup>2</sup> When somehow or other Jhāo Lāl went to Calcutta, the Governor-General expressed surprise at his "being suffered to repair to Calcutta without the permission of Government or without any intimation..... of the Rajah's design or of his actual departure" being sent to him by Mr. Henry Douglas.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Douglas was instructed on the 26th March, 1799, not to allow Rājah Jhāo Lāl "to quit Patna upon any pretence whatever, without the permission of Government....."<sup>4</sup> But by the month of July of the same year the suspicions against Jhāo Lāl and Bāluk Rām were proved to be "without foundation," the guards and restraints placed over them were removed, their papers were returned to them, and Jhāo Lāl was informed that "he may rely with the fullest confidence on the future

<sup>1</sup> Mr. G. F. Grand, the first Magistrate of the city of Patna, was succeeded by Mr. Henry Douglas in this office in 1792. The latter held it till his death in 1838 with occasional gaps; as for example, Mr. R. B. Gardiner acted as the Magistrate of Patna from the third week of October 1810—May 1811 and Mr. Thomas Fortescue from June to December 1811. Mr. Douglas returned to his post at the beginning of 1812.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

favour and protection of Government."<sup>1</sup> He was, however, kept under the restriction of not leaving "the place of his residence without the express permission of Government."<sup>2</sup>

During his residence at Patna, Rājah Jhāo Lāl was reduced to straits and made "repeated representations" to the Company's Government for pecuniary help. The Governor-General, Marquis of Wellesley, being satisfied that his "distresses are real" granted him a pension of Rs. 2,000 per mensem with effect from the month of October 1801, when the Governor-General himself visited Patna.<sup>3</sup> The pension was "to be merely personal" and "to be subject to abridgement or resumption in the event of any misconduct on his (Jhāo Lāl's) part."<sup>4</sup> In the month of January 1804, Rājah Jhāo Lāl submitted a memorial to the Governor-General "soliciting the British Government to procure the restitution of some property which he left in charge of a person, named Roy Jeswant Roy, at the period of his retirement from Lucknow" and "applying for a pass for protection of his family from Lucknow to Patna."<sup>5</sup> The Governor-General wrote to Mr. Henry Douglas to inform Rājah Jhāo Lāl that the Company's Resident at Lucknow had been directed to request the Nawāb Wazir of Oudh "to grant permission for his family to proceed to Patna,"<sup>6</sup> but that no interference could be made "in the settlement

<sup>1</sup> Vide Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

of his affairs.”<sup>1</sup> In the year 1807 a suit was instituted against Rājah Jhāo Lāl, by some Lucknow bankers, in the city court of Patna “for the recovery of a sum of money” stated by him “to have been borrowed for the use” of the late Nawab Wazir Asaf-ud-daulah. Rājah Jhāo Lāl thereupon submitted two memorials to the Governor-General in September 1807 and March 1808 “requesting that the Judge of Patna may be prohibited from taking cognizance of any suits of that nature which may be instituted” against him.<sup>2</sup> In view of the “uniform propriety” of Rājah Jhāo Lāl’s conduct during the period of his residence within the British dominions, the Government was desirous of manifesting towards him “every practicable degree of favour and indulgence,” but it regretted that a compliance with his request made at that time “exceeds the limits, which the British Government, with a view to the security of the rights of its subjects, has prescribed for the exercise of its authority.”<sup>3</sup> It refused to interfere in the administration of justice, which was “exclusively vested in the Courts of Judicature constituted for that purpose.”<sup>4</sup> Rājah Jhāo Lāl then raised the defence that he could not be sued as he was living at Patna under compulsion.<sup>5</sup> But his plea was overruled by the Sadar Diwāni Adālat in 1810.<sup>6</sup>

Bāluk Rām also was reduced to pecuniary dis-

<sup>1</sup> Vide Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> McNaughten’s Select Reports, Vol. I.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

treasury, and early in April 1807 he appealed to the Company's Government for a pension and for permission to return to Lucknow. The Governor-General did not grant him any pension but permitted him to go back to Lucknow to settle his affairs and accordingly authorised Mr. Henry Douglas to furnish him with the sum of Rs. 2,000 for the expenses of his journey to Lucknow, a letter of introduction to Colonel Collins, the Company's Resident in Oudh, and a *kebelāt* in the name of the Governor-General, of value not exceeding Rs. 500, "as a testimony of the satisfaction which the conduct of Roy Baulik (Bāluk Rām), during the period of his residence at Patna, has afforded the British Government." Bāluk Rām pressed for "further pecuniary assistance," to which the Government could not afford to consent.

## APPENDIX

1. "As the two Hircurrahs who accompany Rajah Jao Laul from Benares to Patna will be of no use after his arrival, Sir John Shore authorises me to request that you will dismiss them." Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to H. Douglas, dated Calcutta, 30th May, 1797.

2. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General to acknowledge the receipt of your arzie to his address (vide that received 2nd June, 1797) and to inform you, that your immediate compliance with his desire that you should take up your residence at Patna instead of Benares was very proper. He has further instructed me to add that you will find no restraint or molestation in your person or property while you conduct yourself according to the Regulations of Government to which all are subject who reside under its protection, and that in this confidence you will have no fears or apprehensions." Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to Rajah Jao Laul, dated 19th September annexed to a letter from Mr. N. B. Edmonstone to H. Douglas, dated 16th June, 1797.

3. "I am favoured with your letter (recapitulate that received 5th September) and am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General in reply to inform you, that he does not mean to impose any restrictions upon you as to the place of your residence and that you are at liberty to reside wherever you may find



it most convenient in full security within the Company's provinces except in the province of Benares."

Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to Rajah Jao Lall, dated 19th September 1797, annexed to a letter from N. B. Edmonstone to H. Douglas, dated 19th September, 1797.

4. "The Vice-President in Council having reason to believe that Rajah Jaou Loll, formerly in the service of the late Vizier AssufudDowlah, has been carrying on a correspondence with Vizier Ally, the Vice-President in Council desires that you will apprehend Jaou Loll and his dependant Balukram, and keep them in close custody in a House which you will provide for that purpose.

(ii) It should be an object of your particular attention to endeavour to obtain possession of the private papers of Jaou Loll and Balukram. To ensure the accomplishment of this object, it will be necessary that your measures should be taken with the utmost secrecy.

(iii) You will take Jaou Loll and Balukram into custody between the 17th and the 20th of next month, unless you should previously receive any application from the Magistrate at Benares to defer their apprehension to later date."

Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William the 22nd February, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at Patna.

5. "As however Jou Loll is a person who may reasonably be suspected of having entered with the views of Vizier Ally I have thought it would be proper to acquaint you with the circumstances that by

communicating it to the proper Civil Servant of the Company at Patna, a watch might be kept on the conduct of the person alluded to."

Letter from J. H. Craigg (? or Craigh), Officer Commanding at Dinapore, dated 25th February, 1799.

6. "I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to intimate to you his Lordship's desire that you will immediately take such measures as may be in your power without exciting the apprehensions or manifesting any suspicion of Rajah Jaoo Laul, for ascertaining the number and description of the persons composing his family and retinue, the nature and extent of his intercourse with Persons of rank and condition at Patna, as well as of his foreign Correspondence and connections ; and report to me for the information of his Lordship the result of your enquiries, together with such further circumstances of his general conduct, condition and views, as you may be already acquainted with or may be able to ascertain. His Lordship further desires that under the same precautions you will continue to keep yourself informed upon the points above mentioned, as far as may be practicable.

I am further directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to take the present occasion of intimating to you his surprise at Rajah Jaoo Laul's being suffered to repair to Calcutta without the permission of Government and without any intimation from you either of the Rajah's design or of his actual departure from Patna when you were officially informed that it was the pleasure of Government that he should reside.

In consequence of this omission the Rajah arrived in the neighbourhood of Calcutta before it was known to Government that he had quitted Patna, and his presence was the occasion of great trouble and embarrassment. His Lordship directs me to observe, that, the pressure and importance of other public affairs has alone prevented him from conveying to you His Sentiments upon this subject until now. His Lordship now instructs me to request that hereafter, you will not allow Rajah Jao Lall to quit Patna upon any pretence whatever, without the permission of Government, to which end, on receiving notice of any such intention on his part you will be pleased to signify to him the orders you have received, and require him to suspend it, until the pleasure of Government shall be known."

Letter from.....dated Fort William the 26th March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Judge and Magistrate at Patna.

7. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire, that you will withdraw the Guard placed over Rajah Jao Loll's House, and that you will inform him, that he is no longer to consider himself under restraint.

(ii) You will also inform him that all his papers will shortly be returned to him.

(iii) In communicating the above orders to Rajah Jao Loll, you will acquaint him that it has afforded the Vice-President in Council, the greatest satisfaction to find, that the suspicions which occasioned his being subjected to restraint, have proved without foundation, and that he may rely with the fullest

confidence on the future favor and protection of Government."

Letter from G. H. Burlow, dated Fort William the 25th July, 1799 to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna.

8. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire, that you will withdraw the Guard placed over Balluk Ram, at the same time informing him that he is no longer to consider himself under restraint.

You will likewise inform Balluk Ram that his papers will be returned to him in a few days."

Letter from John Stracey, Sub-Secretary, dated Fort William the 20th August, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna.

9. "His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General having taken into consideration the repeated representations of Rajah Jhao Laul respecting his pecuniary distresses and having reason to be satisfied, that whatever funds he might have possessed have been exhausted, and that his distresses are real, has been pleased to grant to Rajah Jhao Laul a pension of two thousand Rupees per Mensem to commence from the Month of October 1801 the date of the Governor-General's arrival at Patna.

(2) You will be pleased to communicate this arrangement to Rajah Jhao Laul, and to inform him that this pension is to be merely personal and is to be subject to abridgement or resumption in the event of any misconduct on his part.

(3) I am further directed to inform you that the existing restriction by which Rajah Jhao Laul is

prohibited from quitting the place of his residence, without the express permission of Government, is to continue in full force.

(4) I am also directed to inform you, that the payment of Rajah Jhaoo Laul's Pension and the immediate superintendence of his conduct are committed to your charge. Orders have accordingly been issued to the Collector of Bihar directing him to furnish you Monthly with the amount of the Pension from his Treasury to enable you to pay it to Rajah Jhaoo Laul.

(5) The Collector of Bihar has also been authorised to pay to you, for the same purpose, the arrears of pension due to Rajah Jhaoo Laul from the first of October 1801."

Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna, dated 10th November, 1802.

10. "I am directed by the Honourable the Vice-President to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th January last, transmitting a Memorial from Rajah Jhaoo Laul to Marquess Wellesley, soliciting the British Government to procure the restitution of some property which he left in charge of a person, named Roy Jeswant Roy, at the period of his retirement from Lucknow within the Company's Dominions ; and applying for a pass for the protection of his family from Lucknow to Patna, and to desire that you will inform Jhaoo Laul in reply, that the Resident at Lucknow has been directed to request His Excellency the Vizier to grant permission for his family to proceed to Patna ; but that no interference

can be made in the settlement of his affairs, as it appears on enquiry that Futteh Singh, the son of the late Roy Jeswant Roy, is gone to Patna and that Rajah Jhaoo Laul has no agent at present at Lucknow."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, 4th December, 1805, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna.

11. "I have received your two memorials on the subject of a suit which has been instituted against you in the City Court of Patna for the recovery of a sum of money stated by you to have been borrowed for the use of the Government of the late Vizier AssafooDawlah, and requesting that the Judge of Patna may be prohibited from taking cognizance of any suits of that nature which may be instituted against you.

(Vide memorials received 14th September, 1807 and 1st March, 1808.)

The uniform propriety of your conduct during the period of your Residence within the British Dominions, renders Government desirous of manifesting towards you every practicable degree of favor and indulgence, and of contributing to the ease and satisfaction of your mind. It is a subject of regret to me, therefore, that a compliance with your present request exceeds the limits which the British Government, with a view to the security of the rights of its subjects, has prescribed for the exercise of its authority.

It must be well known to you, that the administration of Justice is exclusively vested in Courts of

Judicature constituted for that purpose ; and that to secure the impartiality of investigation and decision, Government has expressly renounced the authority to interfere for the purpose of superseding or influencing the proceedings of those Courts. It will be evident to you, therefore, that the transmission of the prohibitory orders, which you have solicited to the magistrate of Patna, is altogether inadmissible.

I have directed Mr. Monckton to explain these circumstances more in detail to your agent, who will communicate them to you.

With regard to the payment of your pension through the Magistrate of Patna, the idea which you have associated with that mode of payment never occurred to the contemplation of the British Government. In consequence of the sentiments expressed in your last memorial upon this subject, however, I have issued orders authorizing the future payment of your stipend through the channel of the Collector of Behar."

Letter to Rajah Jhaoo Laul, dated the 28th March, 1808.

12. "I have the honor to transmit to you for the purpose of being delivered to Roy Baulik Ram, the enclosed letter which I have addressed to him by command of the Honourable the Governor-General, in reply to that which was enclosed in your private letter to Mr. Edmonstone of the 4th of June last.

Copies of my letter to Roy Baulik Ram, in the English and Persian languages, accompany for your information.

The Governor-General in Council does not consi-

der Roy Baulik Ram to possess any claim upon the British Government to a pension. In consideration of his pecuniary distress however, the Governor-General in Council is disposed to grant Roy Baulik Ram a small sum of money for the expenses of his journey to Lucknow, and accordingly authorizes you to advance him the sum of 2,000 Rupees for that purpose.

You will be pleased to notify the departure of Roy Baulik Ram from Patna to the Resident of Lucknow."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna, dated the 16th February, 1807.

13. "I have had the pleasure to receive your letter. (Recapitulate substance of that received 11th June).

With respect to your desire to return to Lucknow, you were informed, as you have correctly stated, that, His Excellency the Nabob Vizier being the independent Ruler of his own country, it was necessary to obtain His Excellency's consent to that measure ; and that Colonel Collins, the Resident at His Excellency's Court, had been desired to ascertain whether His Excellency had any objection to your returning to Lucknow. By a communication which has since been received from Colonel Collins, it appears that His Excellency has no objection to your return. I am therefore authorized and directed by the Honourable the Governor-General to inform you, that you are at liberty to proceed to Lucknow for the purpose of settling your affairs, and to fix your future residence



at any place which you may think proper.

In consideration of your pecuniary distress, the Governor-General has been pleased to authorize Mr. Douglas the Magistrate at Patna to advance you the sum of 2,000 Rupees for the expenses of your journey.

For further particulars I am directed to refer you to the verbal communication of Mr. Douglas."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to Roy Baulik Ram, dated the 16th February, 1807.

14. "I have the honor to transmit to you, for the purpose of being delivered to Roy Baulik Ram, the enclosed letter, which, by direction of the Honourable the Governor-General, I have addressed to him in reply to the Memorial which was transmitted in your address of the 4th ultimo.

Copies, in the English and Persian languages, of my letter to Roy Baulik Ram, accompany for your information.

I am directed to desire, that, in delivering my letter to Roy Baulik Ram, you will make a communication to him in the spirit of its contents, and endeavour to convince him of the inutility of his renewing his application for further pecuniary aid.

I am further directed to desire, that, on the departure of Roy Baulik Ram from Patna, you will furnish him with a letter of introduction to the Resident at Lucknow, and invest him with a Khellaut in the name of the Honourable the Governor-General, as a testimony of the satisfaction which the conduct of Roy Baulik Ram, during the period of his residence

at Patna, has afforded the British Government.

The Khellaut should not exceed the value 500 Rupees."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, Magistrate at the city of Patna, dated Fort William the 8th May, 1807.

15. "The Governor-General has perused the memorial which you addressed to him, in consequence of the communication made to you in my letter of the 16th February.

In a former memorial you requested permission to depart from Patna in search of a livelihood as the alternative of receiving a permanent provision from the British Government. The Governor-General could not consider you to possess any claim whatever to a pension, but consented to relieve you from the obligation of residing at Patna. The alternative, therefore, which you solicited has been granted. That indulgence, however, did not originate in any change of those sentiments with respect to your former conduct, which was the occasion of your being sent to Patna, but in motives of benevolence yielding to the urgency of your solicitation, and in the confidence that you would regulate your future conduct in a manner consistent with a just impression of the favor of the British Government.

If you have any claim to a provision, the Governor-General observes that your claim is upon Rajah Jhaoo Laul, whose immediate Dependant you are, yet, in consideration of your distress, as described in your memorials, the Governor-General was pleased to grant you the sum of 2,000 Rupees for the expense

of your journey to Lucknow.

The Governor-General is therefore under the necessity of declining compliance with your application for further pecuniary aid.

As a testimony of the satisfaction, however, which your conduct has afforded the British Government during the period of your residence at Patna, Mr. Douglas has been directed, on your departure from Patna; to invest you with a Khellaut in the name of the Honourable the Governor-General.

Mr. Douglas has further been desired to furnish you with a letter of introduction to the Resident at Lucknow."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to Roy Baulik Ram, dated 8th May, 1807.

16. "The Right Honourable the Governor-General has perused your Memorial to his address renewing your application for a provision from the British Government, and soliciting a letter from his Lordship to the Resident at Lucknow.

(Vide that received 30th of August, 1807).

"The Governor-General is perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances of your situation.

His Lordship observes that a due regard to the principles of Government rendered indispensably necessary those proceedings by which you were required to reside at Patna; that you have no claim whatever to a provision from the British Government; and that the British Government, in consenting to relieve you from the obligation of residing at Patna; in authorizing the Magistrate of that City to furnish

you with a letter of introduction to the Resident at Lucknow; in affording you pecuniary aid for the expenses of your journey to Lucknow; and in conferring on you the distinction of a Khellaut as a testimony of the satisfaction which your conduct has afforded during your residence at Patna, has manifested towards you the utmost limit of favor and indulgence. His Lordship therefore expects, that you will make a just return of gratitude for the favors which you have received, and that you will cease to prefer applications which cannot be complied with, and the reiteration of which after being repeatedly rejected, is inconsistent with the obligations of respect, and with those sentiments of devotion which you uniformly profess towards the British Government."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to Roy Baulik Ram, dated the 3rd November, 1807.

17. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th ultimo on the subject of the desire which Roy Baulik Ram has expressed to proceed to the Presidency, and of his having declined acceptance of the sum of 2,000 Rupees which, under his original resolution to return to Lucknow, was offered to him for the purpose of enabling him to defray the expenses of his journey to that place.

With respect to Roy Baulik Ram's desire to proceed to the Presidency, the Governor-General in Council is not aware of any objection to that measure, and observes that when Roy Baulik Ram was released from the obligation of residing at Patna, he received

the permission of Government to select the place of his future residence. His Lordship in Council therefore desires that you will signify to Roy Baulik Ram his compliance with his request to proceed to the Presidency, under his promise not to renew his former application. You will accordingly be pleased to invest Roy Baulik Ram in the name of the Right Honourable the Governor-General with the Khellaut which was authorized by the Instructions conveyed to you in my letter of the 8th May, 1807.

On the subject of Roy Baulik Ram's declining acceptance of the 2,000 Rupees, I am directed to observe that Government, not considering him to possess any claim to a pension, was only induced to offer that sum to him under his supposed inability, from the reiterated representation of his distress, to defray the expenses of his journey to Lucknow for the purpose of settling his affairs. Roy Baulik Ram will of course act as he thinks proper with respect to the acceptance of that donation ; but Government cannot consent to afford him any further pecuniary assistance."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated Fort William, 18th January, 1808.

## A NOTE ON A CURIOUS CUSTOM OF THE SANTAL PARGANAS

By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA

Men, in a very primitive stage of culture, have always endowed inanimate objects with life and personality and believe that these objects are capable of committing offences and are, therefore, liable to punishment. If a savage in this state of mentality stumbles against a stone and hurts his foot, he would chastise the stone as if it were a living creature which had bitten him. Traces of this state of mentality still survive among the children of civilized men. For instance, if a Bengali child slips his foot upon the floor and falls down thereupon and is pained thereby, or his head accidentally collides against the wall and is hurt or bruised thereby, his or her mother would console him or her by pretending to chastise the offending floor or wall which the child in his or her simplicity, believes has hurt or bruised him or her. According to an ancient English law which has been recently repealed, if a cart ran over a man in the street and killed him, or if a tree fell upon a man and crushed him to death, the cart and the tree used to be forfeited and sold and the sale-proceeds thereof were given to the poor.

Analogous to the aforementioned old English custom of *Deodand* is a curious custom which is pre-

valent in the Santal Parganas of the province of Bihar and Orissa. According to this custom, if a man's beast injures another man's beast, the injuring animal should be given, by way of penalty, to the owner of the injured animal. The prevalence of this custom in the Santal Parganas has been brought to light in the course of the hearing of a quaint case which was decided by a magistrate in Dumka, the headquarters station of the same district, and a short account of which case has been published in the following paragraph in *The Bihar Herald* (published from Bankipur) of Saturday the 18th November, 1933 :—

Interesting Case Decided at Dumka.

A quaint local custom, showing how the owner of an offending buffalo has to compensate the owner of an injured one by presenting him with the animal, was pleaded by an accused person belonging to the Dumka sub-division.

It transpired in the course of the evidence before the Magistrate that Sanu Mallik and several others had taken away a buffalo belonging to Babulal Mallik from the latter's hut.

Sanu, however, defended his action as a rightful one in exercise of a prevailing custom. As the leg of his buffalo had been broken by the complainant's, a *panchayet* was held and his right of possession of the complainant's buffalo was established. Evidence on this point was adduced by Sanu.

The trial has ended in an acquittal.

The aforesaid custom, which is prevalent in the Santal Parganas, is quite in consonance with justice and equity, for the owner of the injured beast suffers

some loss from his animal's having been disabled and, therefore, requires some compensation. The best way of compensating him is to make over the injuring beast to him so that, by employing it or making the best use of it, he may get some return for the value of his disabled animal. This custom bears some sort of analogy to one which is prevalent among the Iroquois, an American tribe of North America among whom a murderer is not punished with death, but has to pay a pecuniary compensation to the surviving relatives of the deceased person. The amount of pecuniary compensation or fine is graduated according to the degree of relationship in which the deceased person stands to his surviving relatives. The old English custom of "*Deodand*" though based on a benevolent motive, was neither equitable nor just, for the beast, or cart, or tree which had killed a man, ought, in all conscience, to have been given to the nearest surviving relative of the deceased, so that the latter might get some sort of compensation either by using it or by selling the same.

### *Postscript*

Since writing the above, I have come to know that, recently, two cases have been tried by the Courts of Justice at Paris, in one of which the accused was a pair of pigeons, and, in the other, the plaintiff was a chimpanzee. In the first of these two cases, the tenant of a tenement in Paris, sued his landlord for damages for loss caused to himself by the leakage of water from the roof of his habitation. The landlord pleaded in self-defence that he was not res-



possible for the leakage but that a pair of pigeons, which lived in the neighbourhood and used the roof of the plaintiff's tenement for their resting-place, was responsible for the leakage, inasmuch as they dropped their feathers and excrement there, which blocked up the rain-spout and thus caused the water to leak through the roof. At the suggestion of the court, the pair of pigeons was summoned to appear before the Court; and an advocate was briefed to defend the accused birds. He pleaded strenuously for the accused's innocence but to no purpose. The guilt was brought home to the accused birds; and the Court punished them by ordering them to be banished from the neighbourhood of the plaintiff's tenement.

In the second of these two cases, a film-play was to have been produced, in which one of the incidents was that a monkey should throw imitation cocoanuts from an imitation cocoanut palm-tree upon the heads of passers below. For this purpose, the producer of the play engaged a chimpanzee. But the imitation palm-tree was so unsteady that the anthropoid ape would not climb on to its top and throw the imitation cocoanuts therefrom. On this, the producer of the play dismissed the chimpanzee. The care-taker of the ape, thereupon, sued the producer for damages. The chimpanzee was brought into the court which coaxed it very much to climb upon the tree and to throw the nuts. But, instead of doing so, it climbed upon the railing of the witness-box and was ready to throw the ink-pots and the books upon the heads of the by-standers. Thereupon the court dismissed the plaintiff-chimpanzee's suit with costs which its

care-taker had to pay to the producer (defendant).

Even so late as 1836, a sow, which had killed a baby, was dressed in a woman's garb and executed. A horse, which had kicked a passer-by, was hauled up before the court, was tried and punished according to the degree of his delinquency. In such cases, the accused animals used to be executed after being dressed in a man's or a woman's garb according to their respective sexes.

During the Middle Ages, peasants often brought, before the ecclesiastical courts, cases against moles, caterpillars and green flies for damages caused to their standing crops by these latter; the dignitaries of the Church, who tried these cases, used to find these vermins guilty and delivered their judgments accordingly. An officer of the ecclesiastical court used to take the judgment to the field wherein the vermin lived and to read it out there.

In one case, the owner of a vineyard brought a case against some insect-pests which had caused damages to the vines. An advocate was briefed for defending the accused. He pleaded for his clients by stating that the latter had a right to live in the vineyard and that they would refrain from infesting the grape-vines if they were given a separate plot of land to live upon. This argument so much influenced the Court that it ordered a separate plot of vineyard to be given to the insect-pests for their habitation.

From the foregoing two cases which were recently tried before the Courts of Justice at Paris, we find that even at the present day, there prevails the

belief that even mammals and birds like human beings are responsible for the consequences of their actions.\*

\*For fuller details, *vide* the article entitled : *Animals on Trial* published in *The Hindu Illustrated Weekly* (published from Madras) for Sunday the 13th January, 1935.



APPENDIX TO J. B. O. R. S., VOL. XXIII

ADHYARDDHASATAKA

*"Hymn of One Hundred-fifty [Verses]"*

By  
MĀTRICETA

*Edited by*  
K. P. JAYASWAL  
AND  
RĀHULA SĀṆKRITYĀYANA



## PREFACE

*Adhyardha-śataka* is a famous work by the poet Mātṛceta, an elder contemporary of king Kaniṣka (78 A.D.). About the importance of the work and its author I may quote Dr. Winternitz<sup>1</sup>.—

King Kaniṣka at whose Court it is generally assumed that Aśvaghoṣa lived, also invited the poet Mātṛceta to the court. Mātṛceta replied in a letter, called the *Mahārāja-kanika-lekha*, which has come down in the Tibetan language; he asks the king to excuse him, as he is unable to come owing to his great age. The letter is a poem of 85 verses, containing chiefly admonitions to lead a moral life in the spirit of the Buddha. In verses running over with pity, the poet sends his letter by imploring the king most earnestly to spare the creatures of the forest, and to give up the chase. When the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (in the 7th century) was travelling in India, Mātṛceta was a very famous poet, and his hymns to Buddha were sung far and wide. The following legend, which I-tsing heard in India, testifies to his fame. Once when Buddha was walking through the forest, a nightingale began to sing sweet melodies, as though she were praising the glory of the Lord, whereupon Buddha said to his disciples that this nightingale would once be reborn as Mātṛceta. His most famous hymns are the Catuḥ-Śataka Stotra, "the Hymn of Four Hundred verses," and the Śatapañcāśika Stotra, "the Hymn of One Hundred and Fifty verses." Fragments of both of these have come down to us in Central Asian manuscripts. They are poems in Ślokas, in simple and unadorned but beautiful language, and they evidently impressed the faithful more by their pious thoughts than by their form. It is delightful, says I-tsing, to hear his "Hymn of 150 Verses" or

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 270-271

"Hymn of 400 Verses" recited in the assembly of monks. "These charming compositions," he says further, "are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain, rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like the Bodhisattvas Asaṅga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly. Throughout India everyone who becomes a monk is taught Mātṛceṭa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (Śīla). This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna schools." I-tsing cannot find words sufficient to extol the merits of these poems and he adds that there have been many commentators and imitators too. Thus the "Bodhisattva Jina" (an honourable title of the logician Dignāga) composed one verse to be placed before each of the one hundred and fifty verses of the Śatapañcāśika Stotra, and in this way compiled a hymn of 300 verses, known as the "mixed Hymn of praise."<sup>1</sup> I-tsing himself translated the "Hymn of 150 verses" into Chinese, and there are Tibetan translations of both hymns."

Śatapañcāśika<sup>2</sup> is a restoration from Tibetan into Sanskrit. The original name which is found in our manuscript, is Adhyarddha-Śataka. On the first cover leaf we also find the name *Vṛtta-Śataka-Stotra* which does not show an appropriate name of the work. Anyhow Adhyarddha-Śataka is no doubt the real name which means 150 verses.

Basing their support on Tibetan tradition some orientalist<sup>3</sup> think that Mātṛceṭa and Aśvaghoṣa are the same personality but that tradition is not supported by

<sup>1</sup> *Miṣṛaka-stotra*.

<sup>2</sup> JBORS., Vol. XXIII, part I, page 26.

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion see *Journal Asiatique*—Janvier-Mars 1936, pp. 62-121.



Indian or Chinese traditions. We know our manuscript gives the author's name as Mātṛceta but its Tibetan translation ascribes it to Aśvaghoṣa. We are not in a position to ascertain when this tradition began in Tibet.

Our reasons against the identification of Mātṛceta with Aśvaghoṣa are :—

(i) The Tibetan tradition at least in this respect is not trustworthy since it also identifies Mātṛceta and Aśvaghoṣa both with Āryasūra; (ii) in the colophon of the works of Aśvaghoṣa, generally, his name is given as “Sāketaka Āryasuvarṇākṣīputra” which is absent in both the present manuscript and its Tibetan translations; (iii) from the Chinese sources it is clear that both the names Mātṛceta and Aśvaghoṣa were equally famous in the Buddhist world when the Chinese pilgrims were in India, which goes against the identification of the two. If both were identical Chinese pilgrims ought to have referred to it in some place. (iv) king Kaniṣka invited Mātṛceta to his Capital. But he could not comply with the wishes as he was too old. His epistles to that king show that Mātṛceta did not go to the court of the king while Aśvaghoṣa was one of the active members of the Buddhist Council which was held under the patronage of Kaniṣka. (v) If we compare the present work with *Buddha-Carita* and *Saundara-nanda*, the two works by Aśvaghoṣa, we will find that the authors differ materially in their style, language and similes.

The popularity of *Adhyarddha-śataka* is due not only to its simplicity, good choice of words and easy and graceful style but it also serves the purpose of a manual of Buddhism for the novices. The chapters contain :

- I. The purpose of composition.
- II. Buddha's struggle for the perfection of his life.
- III. His unparalleled qualities.
- IV. His wonderful deeds.
- V. His perfection of body.
- VI. His great mercy.
- VII. His power and perfection of speech.
- VIII. His spotless law.
- IX. The benefits derived from the Buddha's deeds.
- X. His perfect method of conversion.
- XI. He suffered great hardships in the attainment of the Buddhahood.
- XII. His cleverness in the method of teaching.
- XIII. His great debt to humanity.

The work is based on the ancient Buddhist canon. In some places like the ślokas 12, 13, 17 and 18, Jātaka stories are pointed out; the ślokas 89, 111, 115 and 125 point to some events found in the Suttapiṭaka.

It is a mistake to imagine traces of Mahāyāna in any work which eulogises the sublime ideal of Bodhisattva. Such praise of a life of self-denial and suffering for the benefit of others is common to both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna schools. The Jātaka stories of the Hinayāna school are nothing but attempts to popularise the high ideal of a Bodhisattva. We find such passages in this work but on account of that it will be wrong to assume that Maṭrceṭa has some leanings towards the Mahāyāna school. The invention of Trikāya (three bodies) i.e. Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya and Niramāṇakāya, is no doubt the speciality of the Mahāyāna school, but from the verse 146, we know that our poet has no notion

of the theory of three bodies. There, instead of three bodies, he mentions only two Dharmakāya (the body of law) and Rūpakāya (the material body)—which is the notion found in the Hinayāna canon. In the *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta* of the Dighanikāya we find the Buddha exhorting his disciples at the time of his death to take refuge in the Dharma after the demise of his physical body.

*Ms.*

It was by a mere accident that I got five old palm leaves<sup>1</sup> in a very brittle state while exploring the manuscript library of Chag-pe-lha-khang of Lha-khang-chen-mo (Sa-skya) amongst the heap of many thousand Tibetan and Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. I was astonished to find it, the famous poem of Mātṛceta. The leaves are of the size of  $21\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ , each page containing 6 lines. The script is kuṭilā, what is called in Tibetan Var-ṭu (vartula). From the colophon we know that manuscript originally belonged to the Buddhist monk (Su)nayaśrīmitra.

Sunayaśrī was a famous Nepalese scholar who went to Tibet for the translation of Buddhist scriptures during the reign of king Ḥod Lde<sup>2</sup> (1060 A.C.).

Sunayaśrī founded a vihāra in the town of Pāṭan (Nepal) where they had very important collections of ancient Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. I visited it in the month of November, on my return from Tibet

<sup>1</sup> JBORS., XXIII, part I, p. 26 (no. 202).

<sup>2</sup> Buddhism in Tibet (तिब्बतमें बौद्ध-धर्म) appendix 16.

in 1934, in which year there was a great earthquake in the month of January. The vihāra was completely destroyed and I heard the heart-rending tragedy of those precious manuscripts. While the earthquake did great harm to the palaces of Kāthmāndu, Pāṭan and Bhātgaon and destroyed many historical temples, it also perpetrated many more cruel acts. One such event was told by the royal preceptor (Pt. Hemarāja Śarman), about the Sunayaśrī Vihāra in Pāṭan. In the store-house (Bhaṇḍār) on the upper story of the temple, there were about 70 or 75 very old palm-leaf manuscripts. The royal-preceptor many times tried his best to examine them but the custodian priests did not allow him on religious ground. During the last earthquake this vihāra was razed to the ground. Like other Nepalese vihāras (monasteries) this one is also converted into a laymen's residence. The people were provided with 40 or 50 workmen to help them in clearing the débris and removing the valuables. They utilized their services for the removal of their personal belongings and they did not care for the priceless manuscripts, since they were under the common custody. They were left to their fate. At the time when the rainy season was at its close, the royal-preceptor happened to be in that locality. At the sight of the place he remembered the manuscripts which he had so longingly wanted to see.

"There was a monastery here, which had some very old palm-leaf manuscripts." He asked.

"Why here it is razed to the ground. This is the ruin of that very temple." Was the reply he got.

"Where are those palm-leaf books?"

“They are buried under these débris.”

“What ! throughout the summer and the whole rainy season ?”

It was a great shock to the veteran scholar whose love of ancient manuscripts is proverbial.

He at once collected some workmen and began to dig the particular spot where the old library stood. But to his utter disgust he got nothing but the wood covers of those precious things. The rest was rotten and transformed into soft clay.

In the same vihāra there was a stucco image of Sunayaśrī, the upper portion of which was only preserved when I saw it. The remaining portion was destroyed during the earthquake. The image was life-like and a good piece of art. Not much care was bestowed on the preservation of the statue. I drew the attention of some of the prominent people, but I do not know if the image was taken any special care of.

The numerous mistakes found in the manuscripts show that its owner had very scanty knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. I am giving here the list of some of the common mistakes :

ब = व	द = द्	सु = शु
म्म = म्म	श = स	पान्सु = पांसु
नेनां = नैनां	ञ्ज = ज्ञ	श्चांशु = स्त्रांशु
न्तं = न्तः	प = य	सं = शं
स = श	ता = तं	सा = शा
उष्ण = दुष्क	शं = षं	स = श
जा = या	सि = शि	सूर = सुर

*Translation into Tibetan*

Adhyarddha-śataka was translated into Tibetan by Sraddhākaravarman (1040 A.C.) with the help of Lo-tsa-va Śakya-blo-gros.

The work was planned to appear under the joint editorship of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and myself. Since my late lamented friend answered the call from beyond, I was left alone to carry on the burden on my weak shoulders with a heavy heart.

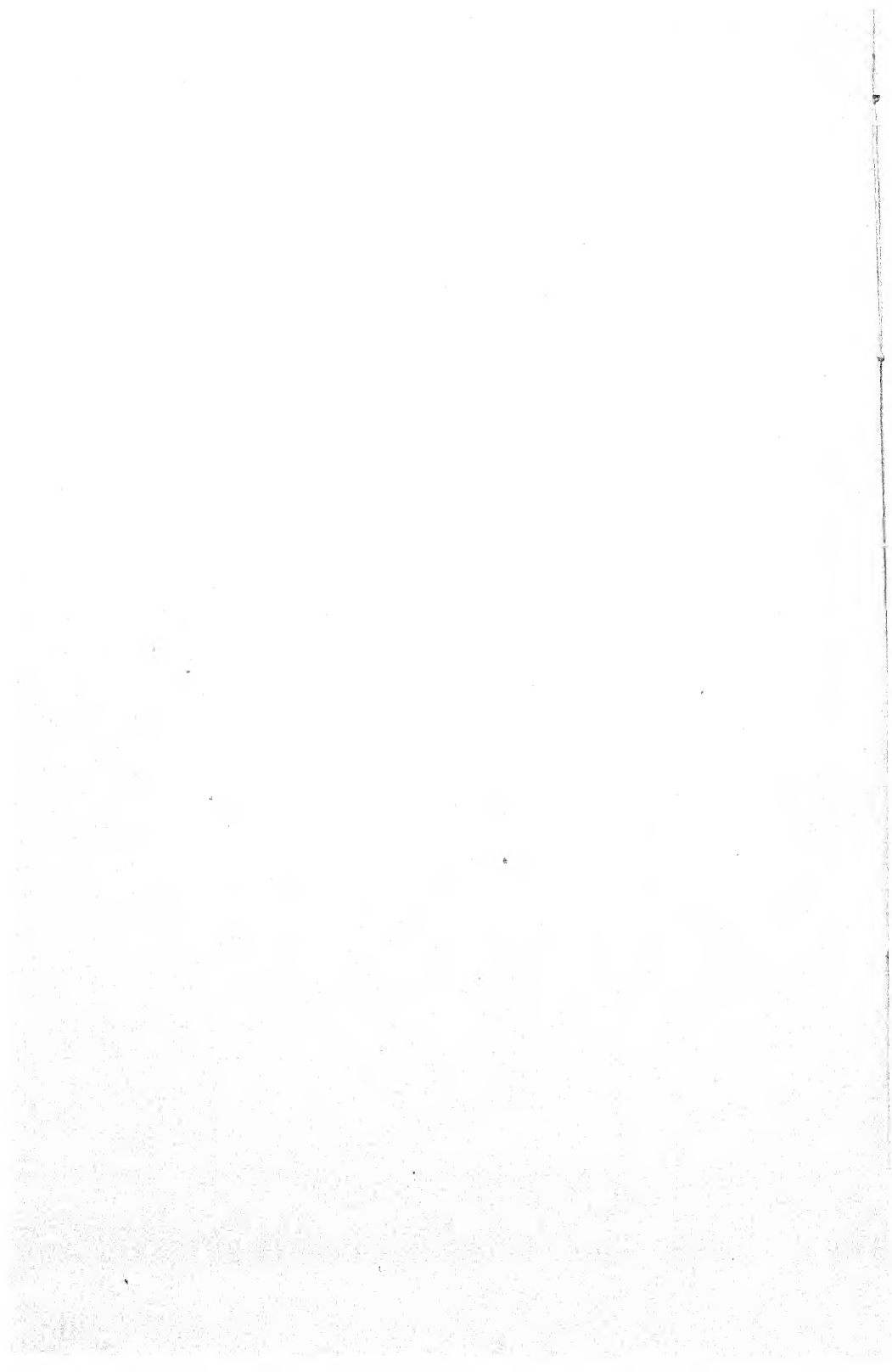
Patna

Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana.

21-8-1937.

आचार्य्यमातृचेटप्रणीतं  
अध्यर्द्धशतकम्

काशीप्रसादजायसवाल-राहुलसांकृत्यायनाभ्यां  
सम्पादितम्





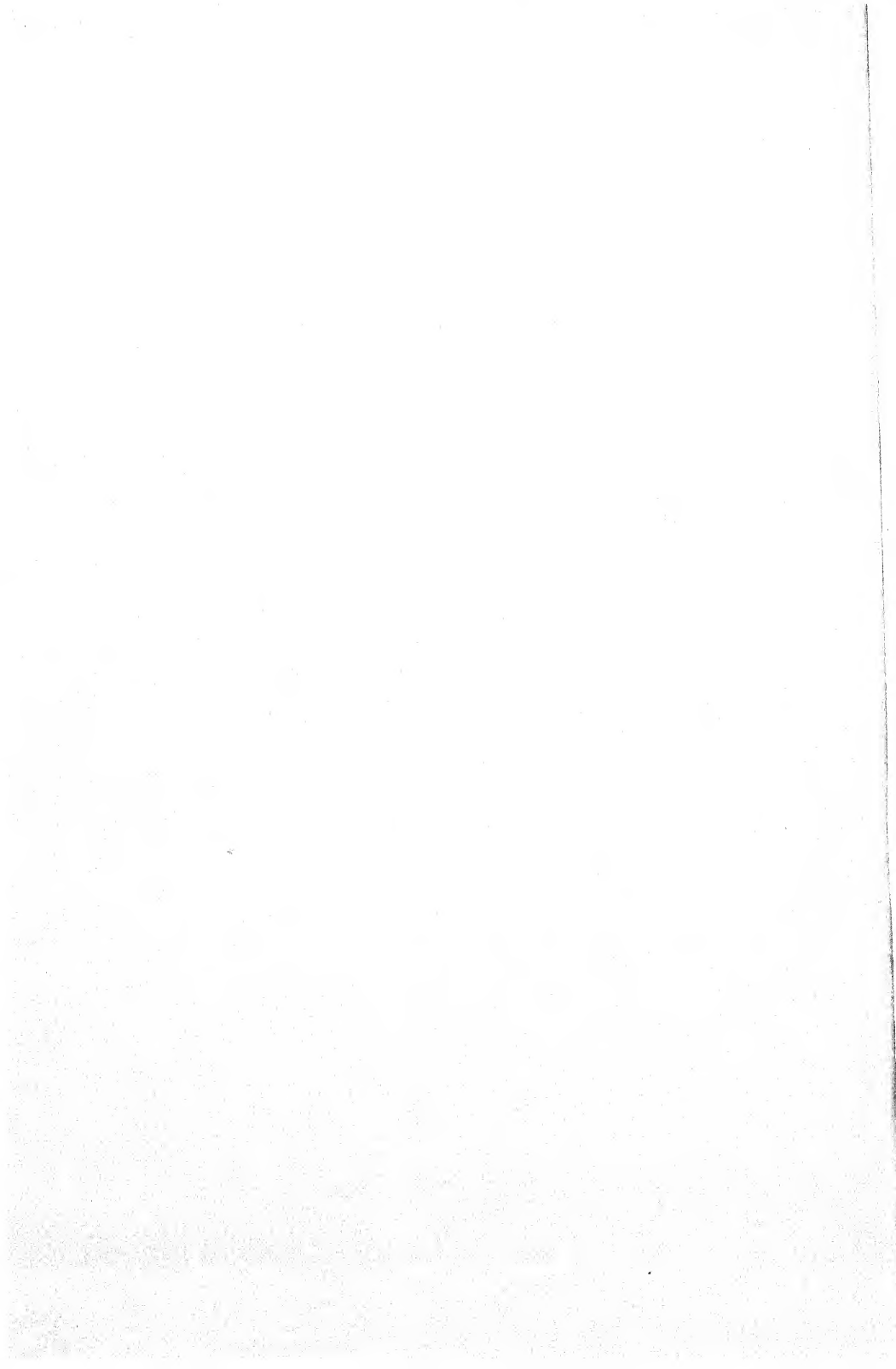
### MSS. CONSULTED

AS. Palm Leaf MS. in the Chhag-pe-lha-khang (Lha-khang-Chen-mo) of Sa-skya monastery (Tibet); which is the base of our text.

ANT. Nar-thang edition of Tanjur Bstod-tshogs ka pp. 122-29 (Block-print)

HS. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle's *manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* Vol. 1 (oxford, 1916, pp. 58-75) on verses 23-38, 48-74, 117-131, 144-150.

VP. (M.V. Poussin, JRAS. 1911; p. 764)



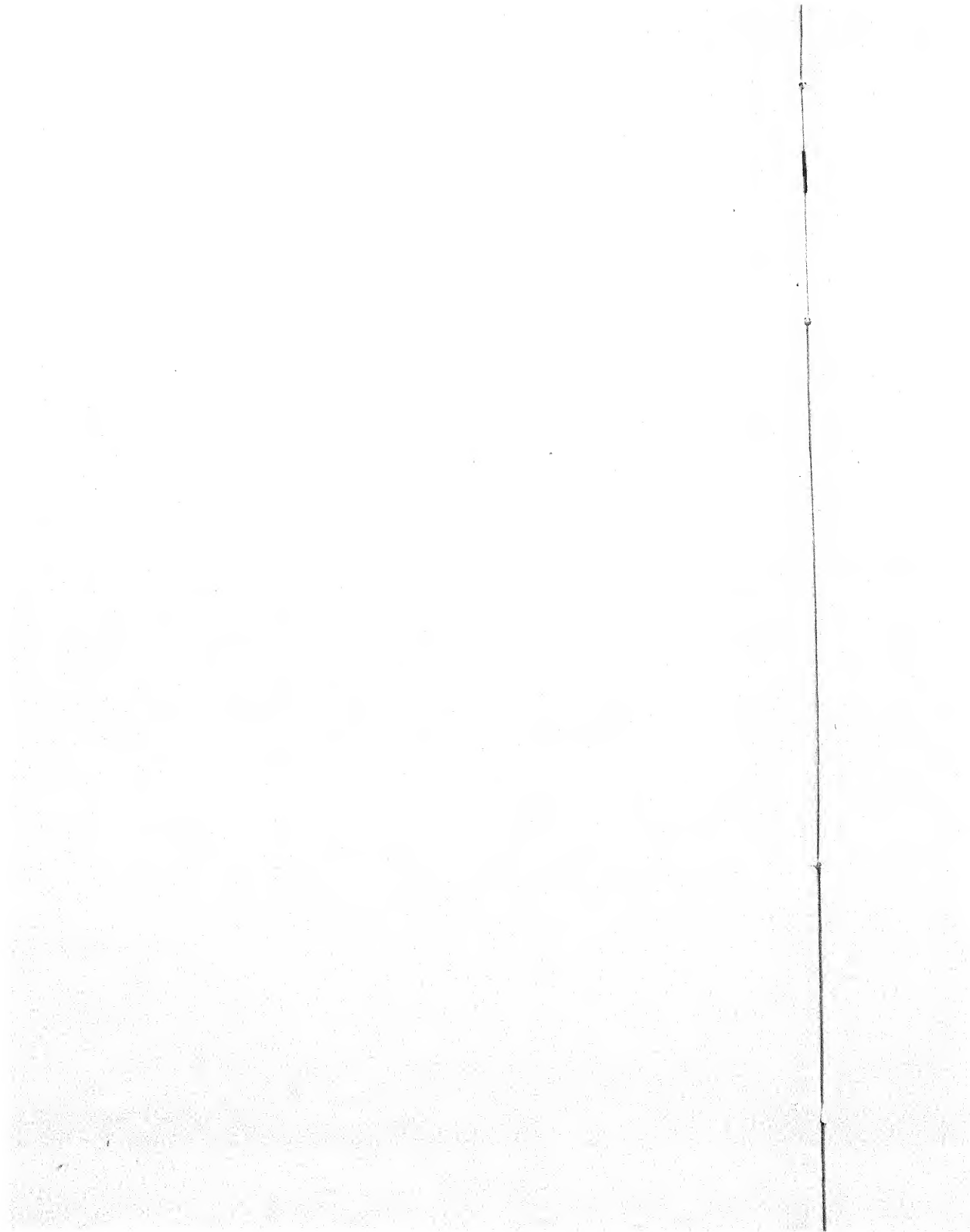




SunayaśrīMitra (1060 A.C.) of Nepal,  
the original owner of the MS.

## CONTENTS

	श्लोक नं०
१. उपोद्घातस्तवः	१
२. हेतुस्तवः	१०
३. निरूपमस्तवः	२७
४. अद्भुतस्तवः	४२
५. रूपस्तवः	५२
६. करुणास्तवः	५८
७. वचनस्तवः	६७
८. शासनस्तवः	८२
९. प्रणिधिस्तवः	९२
१०. मार्गवितारस्तवः	१०२
११. दुष्करस्तवः	११३
१२. कौशलस्तवः	१२४
१३. आनृण्यस्तवः	१३५



## अध्यर्द्धशतकम्

( १-उपोद्घातः )\*

१-नमो बुद्धाय ॥

ib १-सर्वदा सर्वथा सर्वे यस्य दोषा न सन्ति ह ।  
सर्वे सर्वाभिसारेण<sup>१</sup> यत्र चावस्थिता गुणाः ॥ (१)

२-तमेव शरणं गन्तुं तं स्तोतुन्तमुपासितुं ।  
तस्यैव शासने स्थातुं न्याय्यं यद्यस्ति चेतना ॥ (२)

३-सवासनाश्च ते दोषा न सन्त्येवास्य तायिनः ।  
सर्वे सर्वविदः सन्ति गुणास्ते चा<sup>१</sup>नपायिनः ॥ (३)

४-न हि प्रतिनिविष्टोपि मनोवाक्कायकर्मसु ।  
सह धर्मेण लभते कश्चिद् भगवतोन्तरम् ॥ (४)

५-सोहं प्राप्य मनुष्यत्वं ससद्धम्म<sup>(?र्म)</sup>महोत्सवं ।  
महार्णवयुगच्छिद्रकूर्मश्रीवार्पणोपमं ॥ (५)

६-अनित्यताव्यनुसृतां कर्मच्छिद्रससंशयां ।  
आत्तस<sup>(r)</sup>रां करिष्यामि कथं नेनां<sup>(?नैनां)</sup> सरस्व<sup>२</sup>तीं<sup>३</sup> ॥ (६)

७-इत्यसंख्येयविषया न वेत्स्यपि गुणान्मुनेः ।  
तदेकदेशप्रणयः<sup>३</sup> क्रियते स्वार्थगौरवात् ॥ (७)

८-स्वयम्भुवे नमस्तेस्तु प्रभूताद्भुतधर्मेण<sup>४</sup> ।  
यस्य संख्याप्रभावाभ्यान्न गुणेष्वस्ति निश्चयः ॥ (८)

९-इयन्त इति नास्त्यन्तं<sup>(?न्तः)</sup>चेदृशा इति का कथा ।  
पुण्या इत्येव तु गुणान् प्रति<sup>३</sup> ते मुखरा वयं ॥ (९)

उपोद्घातस्तवो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥ १॥

\* वक्कयोरभेदः, अनुस्वारस्य नत्वं सकारे परे बहुत्र दृश्यते

<sup>१</sup>ANT. सर्वप्रकारेण

<sup>२</sup>ANT. नात्तसारां० कथमात्मजिह्वां च

तद् धियं

<sup>३</sup>ANT. तदेकदेशयत्नः

<sup>४</sup>ANT. प्रभूतामितकर्मणे

## ( २-हेतुस्तवः )

- १०-विषह्यमविषह्यम्वेत्यवधूय विचारणां ।  
स्वयमभ्युपपन्नन्ते निराक्रन्दमिदं जगत् ॥ (१)  
११-अव्यापारितसाधुस्त्वं त्वमकारणवत्सलः ।  
असंस्तुतसखश्च त्वमनवस्कृत (?) बान्धवः<sup>१</sup> ॥ (२)  
१२-स्वमान्सान्यपि दत्तानि वस्तुष्व<sup>२</sup>न्येषु का कथा ।  
प्राणैरपि त्वया साधो मानितः प्रणयी जनः ॥ (३)  
१३-स्वैः शरीरैः स (?) शरीराणि प्राणैः प्राणाः शरीरिणां ।  
जिघांसुभिस्पात्तानां क्रीतानि शतशस्त्वया ॥ (४)  
१४-न दुर्गतिभयान्नेष्टामभिप्रार्थयता गतिं ।  
केवलाशयशुद्ध्यैव शीलं सात्मीकृतं त्वया ॥ (५)  
१५-जिह्मानां नित्यविक्षेपा<sup>३</sup>द्वजनान्नित्यसेवनात् ।  
कर्मणां परिशुद्धानां त्वमेकायनतां गतः ॥ (६)  
१६-पीड्यमानेन बहुस (?) शस्त्वया कल्याणचेतसा ।  
क्लेशेषु विवृतन्तेजो जनः क्लिष्टोनुकम्पितः ॥ (७)  
१७-परार्थे त्यजतः प्राणान् या प्रीतिरभवत्तव ।  
न सा नष्टोपलब्धेषु प्राणिषु प्राणिनाम्भवेत् ॥ (८)  
2a १८-य हुजा (?)<sup>४</sup> निर<sup>५</sup>पेक्षस्य च्छिद्यमानस्य ते सकृत् ।  
बधकेष्वपि सत्त्वेषु कारुण्यमभवत् प्रभो ॥ (९)  
१९-सम्यक्सम्बोधिबीजस्य चित्तरत्नस्य तस्य ते ।  
त्वमेव धीर सारज्जो (?)<sup>६</sup>दूरे तस्येतरो जनः ॥ (१०)  
२०-नाकृत्वा दुष्करं कर्म दुर्लभं लभ्यते पदं ।  
इत्यात्मनिरपेक्षेण वीर्यं सम्बद्धितं त्वया ॥ (११)  
२१-विशेषोत्कर्षनियमो न कदाचिद<sup>७</sup>भूतव ।  
अतस्त्वयि विशेषाणां च्छिन्नस्तरतमक्रमः ॥ (१२)  
२२-सुसुखेष्वपि सङ्गोभूत् सफलेषु समाधिषु ।  
न ते नित्यानुबद्धस्य महाकरुणया हृदि ॥ (१३)  
२३-त्वादृशान् पीडयत्येव नानुगृह्णाति तत्सुखं ।  
प्रणीतमपि सद्बृत्तं प<sup>८</sup> (?) य दसाधारणं परैः ॥ (१४)

<sup>१</sup> ANT. असम्बद्धः<sup>२</sup> ANT. कदाचित्



- २४-त्रिमिश्रात् सारमा<sup>१</sup>दत्तं सर्वं पीतमकल्मषं।  
 त्वया मुक्तं दु(?)<sup>२</sup> भक्तं तु विषवत् परिवर्जितं ॥ (१५)  
 २५-क्रीणिता<sup>३</sup> (?तं) रत्नसारज्ञ प्राणैरपि सुभाषितम्।  
 पराक्रान्तं त्वया बोधौ तासु तासूपपत्तिषु ॥ (१६)  
 २६-इति त्रिभिरसंख्येयैरेवमुद्यच्छता त्वया।  
 व्यवसायद्वितीयेन प्राप्तम्पदमनुत्तरम् ॥ (१७)  
 हेतुस्तवो नाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ॥ २ ॥

## ( ३-निरुपमस्तवः )

- २७-अकृत्वेष्वाम्बिशिष्टेषु<sup>४</sup> हीनाननवमत्य च।  
 अगत्वा सदृशैः स्पृष्ट्वा त्वं लोके श्रेष्ठतां गतः ॥ (१)  
 २८-हेतुष्वभिनिवेशोभूद् गुणानान्न फलेषु ते।  
 तेन सम्यक् प्रतिपदा त्वयि<sup>५</sup> निष्ठां गुणा गताः ॥ (२)  
 २९-तथात्मा प्रचयन्नीतस्त्वया सुचरितैर्यथा।  
 पुण्यायतनतां प्राप्तान्यपि पादरजांसि ते ॥ (३)  
 ३०-कर्शं(?)<sup>६</sup> यित्वोद्धृता दोषा बर्द्धयित्वा विशोधिताः।  
 गुणास्तेन सुनीतेन परां सिद्धित्वमध्यगाः ॥ (४)  
 ३१-तथा सर्व्वाभिसारेण दोषेषु प्रहृतं त्वया।  
 यथैषामात्मसन्ताने वासनापि न शेषिता ॥ (५)  
 ३२-तथा सम्भृत्य सम्भृत्य त्वयात्मन्याहिता गुणाः।  
 प्रतिरूपकमप्येषां यथा नान्यत्र दृश्यते ॥ (६)  
 ३३-उपघातावरणवन्मितकालं प्रदेशि<sup>७</sup> च।  
 सुलभातिशयं सर्व्वमुपमावस्तु लौकिकम् ॥ (७)  
 ३४-अद्व<sup>८</sup>न्दिनामगम्यानां ध्रुवाणामनिर्वर्तिनां।  
 अनुत्तराणां का तर्हि गुणानामुपमास्तु ते ॥ (८)  
 ३५-गोष्पदीभावतां याति गाम्भीर्यं लवणाम्भसः।  
 यदा<sup>९</sup> ते बुद्धिगाम्भीर्यमगाधापारमीक्ष्यते<sup>१०</sup> ॥ (९)

<sup>१</sup> HS. सारमे . . . । <sup>२</sup> ANT. त्वया सन्निहितम् ॥ HS. सूक्तं दुरुक्तं तु ॥  
<sup>३</sup> HS. क्रीणिता । <sup>४</sup> ANT. तव । <sup>५</sup> HS. अद्वन्दि० ।  
<sup>६</sup> HS. यथा । <sup>७</sup> HS. ० मिष्यते ।

- 2b ३६-सि(?शि)रीषपक्षमा<sup>१</sup>ग्रलघु स्थैर्य<sup>२</sup>भभवति पार्थिवं ।  
 अकम्प्ये<sup>३</sup> सर्वधर्माणां त्वत्स्थैर्येभिमुखीकृते ॥ (१०)  
 ३७-अज्ञानतिमिरघ्नस्य ज्ञानालोकस्य ते मुने ।  
 न रविर्विषये भूमि खद्योतीमपि विन्दति ॥ (११)  
 ३८-मलिनत्वमिवायान्ति शरच्चन्द्राम्बराम्भसां ।  
 तव<sup>४</sup> वा शुद्धिचेष्टानां शुद्धिं प्रति विसु(?शु)द्वयः ॥ (१२)  
 ३९-अनेन सर्वं व्याख्यातं<sup>५</sup> यत्किञ्चित् साधु लौकिकं ।  
 दूरे हि बुद्धधर्माणां लोकधर्मास्तपस्विनः ॥ (१३)  
 ४०-यस्यैव धर्मरत्नस्य प्राप्त्या प्राप्तस्त्वमग्रतां ।  
 तेनैव केवलं साधौ साम्यन्ते तस्य च त्वया ॥ (१४)  
 ४१-आत्मेच्छा च्छलमात्रं तु सामान्योपा<sup>६</sup>न्मु (?पांसु) किञ्चन ।  
 यत्रोपक्षिप्य कथ्येत सा वक्तुरतिलोलता ॥ (१५)  
 निरुपमस्तवो नाम तुतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥ ॥<sup>७</sup>

( ४-अद्भुतस्तवः )

- ४२-प्रतन्विव<sup>८</sup> हि पश्यामि धर्मतामनुचिन्तयन् ।  
 सर्वैश्च वर्जितम्मारविजयं<sup>९</sup> प्रति ते जगत् ॥ (१)  
 ४३-महतोपि हि संरम्भात् प्रति हन्तुं समुद्यतान् ।  
 क्षमाया नातिभारोस्ति पात्रस्थाया विशेषतः ॥ (२)  
 ४४-यत्तु मारजयस्त्वत्कं<sup>१०</sup> सुमहत् क्लेशवैशसं (?)<sup>११</sup> ।  
 तस्यामेव कृतं रात्रौ तदेव परमाद्भुतं ॥ (३)  
 ४५-तमोविधमने भानोर्यः<sup>१२</sup> स<sup>१३</sup> हृश्रांशु(?श्रांशु)-मालिनः ।  
 वीर विस्मयमागच्छेत् स तीर्थविजये<sup>१४</sup> तव ॥ (४)  
 — ४६-सरागो वीतरागेण जितरोषेण रोषणः ।  
 मूढो विगतमोहेन त्रिभिर्नित्यं जितास्त्रयः ॥ (५)

<sup>१</sup> HS. ० पक्ष ० ।      <sup>२</sup> HS. अकम्प्ये ।      <sup>३</sup> HS. न च वाग्बुद्धि-  
 देहानां ।      <sup>४</sup> तत्र बहिः पंक्ति—प्रत्याख्यातमित्यर्थः ।      <sup>५</sup> Ibid—वराकाः ।  
<sup>६</sup> ANT. महद्वि      <sup>७</sup> ANT. श्रद्धां      <sup>८</sup> ANT. माराभिषमनं  
<sup>९</sup> ANT. क्लेशवर्जनं      <sup>१०</sup> ANT. तमो विधमनं भानोर्यत्      <sup>११</sup> ANT  
 किं तीर्थं ०

४७-प्रसं(?)सं)ससि च सद्धर्मानसद्धर्मान् विगर्हसि ।

अनुरोधविरोधौ च न स्तः सदसतोस्तव ॥ (६)

४८-नैवाहंत्सु न तीर्थेषु प्रतिधानुनयं प्रति ।

यस्य न\* चेतसोन्यत्वं तस्य ते का स्तुतिर्भवेत् ॥ (७)

४९-गुणेष्वपि न संगोभूत्<sup>१</sup> तृष्णा<sup>२</sup> न गुणवत्स्वपि ।

अहो ते सुप्रसन्नस्य सत्वस्य<sup>३</sup> परिशुद्धता ॥ (८)

५०-इन्द्रियाणां प्रसादेन नित्यकालानपायिना ।

मनो<sup>४</sup> नित्य<sup>५</sup>प्रसन्नन्ते प्रत्यक्षमिव<sup>६</sup> दृश्यते ॥ (९)

५१-आवालेभ्यः प्रसिद्ध(१)स्ते<sup>७</sup> मतिस्मृतिविशुद्धयः ।

गमिता<sup>८</sup> भावपिशुनैः सुव्याहृतमुचेष्टितैः ॥ (१०)

अद्भुतस्तवो नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥

( ५-रूपस्तवः )

५२-उपसा(?)शा)न्तं च कान्तं च दीप्तमप्रतिधाति च ।

निभृतञ्चोर्जितञ्चेदं रूपझकमिव नाक्षिपेत्<sup>९</sup> ॥ (१)

५३-येनापि शत<sup>१०</sup>शो दृष्टं योपि तत् पूर्वमीक्षते ।

रूपं प्रीणाति ते चक्षुः समन्तदुभयोर<sup>११</sup>पि ॥ (२)

3a ५४-अ(१)सेचनकभावाद्धि सौम्यभावाच्च ते वपुः ।

दर्शने दर्शने प्रीतिं विदधाति नवान्नवां ॥ (३)

५५-अधिष्ठानगुणैर्गात्रमधिष्ठातृगुणैर्गुणाः<sup>१२</sup> ।

परया सम्पदोपेतास्तवान्योन्यानुरूपया ॥ (४)

५६-क्वान्यत्र सन्निविष्टाः स्युरिमे तथागता गुणाः<sup>१३</sup> ।

ऋते रूपात्तवैवास्माल्लक्षणव्यक्तितोज्ज्वलात्<sup>१४</sup> ॥ (५)

\*HS. ते ।

<sup>१</sup>VP. HS. सङ्गोस्ति (V. Poussin Stein Ms.) <sup>२</sup>VP. HS.

दृष्टो <sup>३</sup>VP. HS. बलस्य <sup>४</sup>VP. HS. चेतो <sup>५</sup>VP. HS. नित्यं

<sup>६</sup>VP. HS. प्रत्यक्षमेव <sup>७</sup>VP. HS. प्रसिद्धयन्ते <sup>८</sup>VP. उत्तम <sup>९</sup>AS.

नाक्षिपेत् <sup>१०</sup>AS. सतसो <sup>११</sup>VP. HS. ० रिदम् <sup>१२</sup>VP. गण.

ANT. मिथः <sup>१३</sup>VP. ANT. HS. ० सुस्थितो भूयादयं तथागतो गुणः

<sup>१४</sup>ANT. HS. ० लक्षणव्यञ्जनोज्ज्वलात्

५७—धन्यमस्मीति ते रूपं वदतीवा<sup>१</sup>श्रिता<sup>१</sup>न् गुणान् ।  
 मुनिक्षिप्ता वयमिति<sup>२</sup> प्रत्याहुरिव<sup>३</sup> तद्गुणाः ॥ (६)  
 रूपस्तवो नाम पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ॥ ॥

( ६—करुणास्तवः )

५८—सर्वमेवाविशेषेण क्लेशैर्बद्धमिदञ्जगत् ।  
 त्वं जगत्क्लेशमोक्षार्थं<sup>४</sup>म्बद्धः<sup>५</sup> करुणया चिरं ॥ (१)  
 ५९—कन्नु प्रथमतो वन्दे त्वाम्महाकरुणामुत् ।  
 ययैवमपि दोषज्ञः त्वं संसारे धृतश्चिरं ॥ (२)  
 ६०—विवेकसुखसात्म्यं<sup>६</sup>स्य यदाकीर्णस्य ते गताः<sup>७</sup> ।  
 काला लब्धप्रसरया तत्ते करुणया कृतं<sup>८</sup> ॥ (३)  
 ६१—शान्तादरण्याद् ग्रामान्तं त्वं हि नाग इव ह्लादात् ।  
 विनेयार्थं करुणया विद्ययेवावकृ<sup>९</sup>ष्यसे ॥ (४)  
 ६२—परमोपस्र<sup>१०</sup>(?श)मस्थोपि करुणापरवत्तया ।  
 कारितस्त्वम्पदन्यासं<sup>१०</sup> कुशीलवकलास्वपि ॥ (५)  
 ६३—ऋद्धिर्यां सिंहनादा ये<sup>११</sup>(?) स्वगुणोद्भावनान्नाश्च याः ।  
 वान्तेच्छोपविचारस्य कारुण्ये निकषस्स<sup>११</sup> ते ॥ (६)  
 ६४—परार्थैकान्तकल्याणि<sup>१२</sup> कामं स्वाश्रयनिष्ठुरा<sup>१३</sup> ।  
 त्वय्येव केवलन्नाथ करुणाऽकरुणाऽभवत्<sup>१४</sup> ॥ (७)  
 ६५—तथा हि<sup>१५</sup> कृत्वा शतधा<sup>१६</sup> धीरा वलिमिव क्वचित् ।  
 परेषामर्थसिद्धयर्थं त्वाम्बिदक्षिप्तवतीदृ<sup>१७</sup>शः ॥ (८)  
 ६६—त्वदिच्छयैव तु व्यक्तमनुकूला प्रवर्तते ।  
 तथा<sup>१८</sup> हि बाधमानापि त्वां सती नापराध्यते ॥ (९)  
 करुणास्तवो नाम षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ॥ ॥

<sup>१</sup>VP. ० वाश्रितां <sup>२</sup>VP. HS. वयमपि <sup>३</sup>HS. ० रेव । <sup>४</sup>VP.  
 ० मोक्षार्थो ० चितः <sup>५</sup>HS. धृतः or यतः । <sup>६</sup>ANT. विवेकसुखव्यक्तस्य  
<sup>७</sup>ANT. यद् गणान्तर्गमनम् <sup>८</sup>VP. HS. मतं <sup>९</sup>VP. विद्ययैवागतः  
 पुनः <sup>१०</sup>ANT. कारितस्त्वत्पदन्यासः VP. HS. ० पदं नाथ <sup>११</sup>VP.  
 HS. कारुण्यनिकषस्स ते <sup>१२</sup>VP. परार्थैकान्तभद्राणि ANT. पदार्थैकान्त-  
 भद्राणि <sup>१३</sup>VP. HS. स्वार्थैक्याशयं ० ANT. स्वार्थं निष्ठुरा  
<sup>१४</sup>HS. भवेत् । <sup>१५</sup>VP. ANT. तथाहि । AS. भवे हि <sup>१६</sup>AS.  
 सतधा । HS. बहुधा । <sup>१७</sup>VP. HS. दिशः ANT. ० तीदृशी

## ( ७-वचनस्तवः )

- ६७-सुपदा<sup>१</sup>नि महार्थानि तथ्यानि मधुराणि च ।  
 गूढोत्तानोभयार्थानि समासव्यासवन्ति च ॥ (१)  
 ६८-कस्य न स्यादुपश्रुत्य वाक्यान्येवम्विधानि ते ।  
 त्वयि प्रतिहतस्यापि सर्वज्ञ इति निश्चयः ॥ (२)  
 ६९-प्राये<sup>२</sup>ण मधुरं सर्व<sup>३</sup>मगत्या किञ्चिदन्यथा ।  
 वाक्यन्तवार्थसिध्या तु<sup>४</sup> सर्वमेव सुभाषितम् ॥ (३)  
 ७०-यच्छलक्षणं यच्च परुषं यद्वा तदुभयान्वितं ।  
 सर्वमेवैकरसताम्विचार्ययति<sup>५</sup> ते वचः ॥ (४)  
 ७१-अहो सुपरि<sup>६</sup>शुद्धानां कर्मणां नैपुणं परं ।  
 यैरिदं वाक्यरत्नानामीदृशं भाजनं कृतं ॥ (५)  
 ३b ७२-अस्माद्धि ने<sup>७</sup>नेत्रसुभगादिदं श्रुति<sup>८</sup>मनोहरं ।  
 मुखात् क्षरति ते वा<sup>९</sup>क्यञ्चन्द्राद् द्रवमि<sup>१०</sup>वामृतं ॥ (६)  
 ७३-रागरेणुं प्रशमयद् वाक्यन्ते जलदायते ।  
 वैनतेयायते द्वेषभुज<sup>११</sup>ङ्गोद्धरणं प्रति ॥ (७)  
 ७४-दिवाकरायते<sup>१२</sup> भूयोप्यज्ञानतिमिरन्नुदत् ।  
 शक्रायुधायते मानगिरीनभिर्विदारयत् ॥ (८)  
 ७५-दृष्टार्थत्वादवितथं निःक्लेशत्वादनाकुलं ।  
 गमकं सुप्र<sup>१३</sup>युक्तत्वात् त्रिकल्याणं हि ते वचः ॥ (९)  
 ७६-मनांसि तावच्छ्रोतॄणां हरन्त्यादौ वचांसि ते ।  
 ततो विमृष्यमाणानि रजांसि च तमांसि च ॥ (१०)  
 ७७-आश्वासनं व्यसनानां त्रासनं च प्रमादिनां ।  
 सम्बेजनं च सुखिनां योगवाहि वचस्तव ॥ (११)  
 ७८-विदुषां प्रीतिजननं मध्यानाम्बुद्विबर्द्धनं ।  
 तिमिरघ्नञ्च मन्दानां सार्वजन्यमि<sup>१४</sup>दम्बचः ॥ (१२)

<sup>१</sup>AS. सूपादीनि    <sup>२</sup>VP. ANT. प्रेयस्    <sup>३</sup>VP. ANT.  
 अपि    <sup>४</sup>AS. ० सर्वोपीति    <sup>५</sup>AS. सुपरिसु०    <sup>६</sup>AS. अस्माद् विनेव  
<sup>७</sup>VP. वचनं    <sup>८</sup>VP. HS. ० दिवामृतं    <sup>९</sup>VP. सर्व    <sup>१०</sup>VP. मध्य-  
 न्दिनायते ANT. आतपत्रायते

- ७९-अपकर्षति दृष्टिभ्यो निवर्णिमुपकर्षति ।  
 दोषान्निःकर्षति गुणान् वाक्यन्तेभिप्रवर्षति ॥ (१३)  
 ८०-सर्वत्राव्याहता बुद्धिः सर्वत्रोपस्थिता स्मृतिः ।  
 अवन्ध्यन्तेन<sup>१</sup> सर्वत्र सर्वम्ब्याकरणन्तव ॥ (१४)  
 ८१-यन्नादेशे न चाकाले नैवापात्रे प्रवर्त्तसे ।  
 वीर्यं सम्यगिवारब्धन्तेनामोघम्बवचस्तव ॥ (१५)  
 वचनस्तवो नाम सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ॥०॥

( ८-शासनस्तवः )

- ८२-एकायनं सुखोपायं स्वनुबन्धि निरत्ययं ।  
 आदिमध्यान्तकल्याणन्तव नान्यस्य शासनं ॥ (१)  
 ८३-एवमेकान्तकान्तन्ते दृष्टिरागेण वालिसा (? शाः) ।  
 मतं यदि विगर्हन्ति नास्ति दृष्टिसमो रिपुः ॥ (२)  
 ८४-अन्यं (?) <sup>२</sup> भुङ्क्त्वा यदस्यार्थे जगतो व्यसनं बहु ।<sup>४</sup>  
 तत्संस्मृत्य विरूपेपि स्थेयन्ते शासने भवेत् ॥ (३)  
 ८५-प्रागेव हितवक्तुश्च हितकर्तुश्च शासनं ।  
 कथन्न नाम कार्यं स्यादादीप्तशिरसापि ते ॥ (४)  
 ८६-भुजिष्यता बोधिसुखं त्वद्गुणापचितिः शमः ।  
 प्राप्यते त्वन्मतात् सर्वमिदं भद्रचतुष्टयं ॥ (५)  
 ८७-त्रासनं सर्वतीर्थ्यानां नमुचेरुपतापनं ।  
 आश्वासनन्नुदेवानान्तवेदं वीर शासनं ॥ (६)  
 ८८-त्रैधातुकमहाभै<sup>३</sup>ममसङ्गमनवग्रहं ।  
 शासनेन तवाक्रान्तमन्तकस्यापि शासनं ॥ (७)  
 ८९-त्वच्छासननयज्ञो हि तिष्ठेत् कल्पमपीच्छया ।  
 प्रयाति तत्र तु स्वैरी यत्र मृत्योरगोचरः ॥ (८)  
 ९०-आगमस्यार्थचिन्ताया भावनोपासनस्य च ।  
 का<sup>४</sup>लत्रयविभागोऽस्ति नान्यत्र तव शासनात् ॥ (९)

<sup>१</sup>ANT. अबध्यं तेन

<sup>२</sup>ANT. अन्यद्

<sup>३</sup>ANT. ० महाभौम०

९१-एवं कल्याणकलिलन्त<sup>१</sup> वेदमृषिपुङ्गव ।

शासनं नाद्रियन्ते यत् किं वैश(श)तरन्ततः<sup>२</sup> ॥ (१०)

शासनस्तवो नामाष्टमः परिच्छेदः ॥०॥

( ६-प्रणिधिस्तवः )

९२-श्रवणं तर्पयति ते प्रसादयति दर्शनं ।

वचनं ह्लादयति ते विमोचयति शासनं ॥ (१)

९३-प्रसूतिर्हर्षयति<sup>१</sup> ते बुद्धिर्नन्दयति प्रजाः ।

प्रवृत्तिरनुगृह्णाति निवृत्तिरुपहन्ति च ॥ (२)

९४-कीर्तनञ्जकित्विषहरं स्मरणं ते प्रमोदनं ।

अन्वेषणम्मतिकरं परिज्ञानं विशोधनं ॥ (३)

९५-श्रीकरन्तेभिगमनं सेवनं धीकरम्परं ।

भजनन्निर्भयकरं शङ्करं पर्युपासनं ॥ (४)

९६-शीलोपसस्पदा शुद्धः प्रसन्नो ध्यानसम्पदा<sup>२</sup>

त्वं प्रज्ञ(या) सदाक्षोभ्यो हृदः पुण्यमयो महान् ॥ (५)

९७-रूपन्द्रष्टव्यरत्नन्ते श्रव्यरत्नं सुभाषितं ।

धर्मो विचारणारत्नं गुणरत्नाकरो ह्यसि<sup>३</sup> ॥ (६)

९८-त्वमोघैरुह्यमानानां द्वीपस्त्राणं क्षतात्मनां ।

शरणम्भवभीरूणां मुमुक्षूणाम्परायणं ॥ (७)

९९-सत्पात्रं शुद्धवृत्तत्वात् सत्क्षेत्रं फलसम्पदा ।

सन्मित्रं हितकारि<sup>४</sup>त्वात् सर्वप्राणिभृतामसि ॥ (८)

१००-प्रियस्त्वमुपकारित्वात् सुर(?सुर)तत्त्वान्मनोहरः ।

एकान्तकान्तः सौम्यत्वात् सर्वैर्वहुमतो गुणैः ॥ (९)

१०१-हृद्योसि निरवद्यत्वाद् रम्यो वाग्रूपसौष्ठवात् ।

धन्यः सर्वार्थसिद्धत्वात् (I)ङ्गाल्यो गुणसंश्रयात् ॥ (१०)

प्रणिधिस्तवो नाम नवमः परिच्छेदः ॥०॥

<sup>१</sup>ANT. कल्याणकलितं

<sup>२</sup>ANT. किं वै दुःखतरन्ततः

<sup>३</sup>ANT. त्वञ्च रत्नाकरो ०

( १०—मार्गावतारस्तवः )

- १०२—स्थायिनान्त्वं परिक्षेप्ता वि<sup>१</sup>नियन्तापहारिणां ।  
समाधाता विजिम्हानां प्रेरको मन्दगामिनां ॥ (१)  
१०३—नियोक्ता धुरि<sup>२</sup> दान्तानां खट्व(?)<sup>३</sup> च्छानामुपेक्षकः ।  
अतोसि नरदम्यानां सत्सारथिरनुत्तरः ॥ (२)  
१०४—आपन्नेष्वनुकम्पा ते प्रभ्यस्थे (?)<sup>४</sup> प्वर्थकामता ।  
व्यसनस्थेषु कारुण्यं सर्वेषु हितकाम्यता ॥ (३)  
१०५—विरुद्धेष्वपि वात्सल्यं प्रवृत्तिः<sup>५</sup> प<sup>६</sup>तितेष्वपि ।  
रौद्रेष्वपि कृपालुत्वं का नामेयन्तवार्यता ॥ (४)  
१०६—गुरुत्वमुपकारित्वान्मातापित्रोर्येदिष्यते ।  
केदानीमस्ति गुरुता त्वय्यत्यन्तोपकारिणि ॥ (५)  
१०७—स्वकार्यनिरपेक्षाणां विरुद्धानामिवात्मनां ।  
त्वं प्रपातटमर्थीनां<sup>७</sup> प्राकारत्वमुपागतः ॥ (६)  
4b १०८—लोकद्वयोपकाराय लोकातिक्रमणाय<sup>८</sup> च ।  
तमोभूतेषु लोकेषु प्रज्ञालोककृते त्वया ॥ (७)  
१०९—भिन्ना देवमनुष्याणामुपभोगेषु वृत्तयः ।  
धर्मसंभोगसामान्यास्त्वय्यसम्भेदमागताः ॥ (८)  
११०—उपपत्तिवयोवल्गु<sup>९</sup> देशकालनिरत्ययं ।  
त्वया हि भगवन् धर्मसर्वातिथ्यमिदं कृतं ॥ (९)  
१११—अविस्मितान् विस्मितवत् स्पृहयन्तो गतस्पृहान् ।  
उपासते<sup>१</sup> प्राञ्जलयः श्रावकानपि ते सुराः ॥ (१०)  
११२—अहो संसारमण्डस्य बुद्धोत्पादस्य दीप्तता ।  
मानुष्यं यत्र देवानां स्पृहणीयत्वमागतं ॥ (११)  
मार्गावतारस्तवो नाम दशमः परिच्छेदः ॥ ॥

( ११—दुष्करस्तवः )

- ११३—खेदः शम<sup>१</sup> सुखज्यानिरसज्जनसमागमः ।  
द्वन्द्वान्याकीर्णता चेति दोषांश्च<sup>२</sup> न (?) गुणवद् बहून् ॥ (१)

<sup>१</sup>ANT. पथि    <sup>२</sup>ANT. सुखस्थे    <sup>३</sup>ANT. उपकारः    <sup>४</sup>ANT. प्रपाततमः स्थानां    <sup>५</sup>ANT. विद्या    <sup>६</sup>ANT. सम    <sup>७</sup>ANT. दोषान्



- ११४-जगद्धिता<sup>१</sup>र्थध्यवासि<sup>२</sup>यदसङ्गेन चेतसा ।  
 का नामासौ भगवती बुद्धानाम्बुद्धधर्मता ॥ (२)  
 ११५-कदन्नान्यपि भुक्तानि क्वचित् क्षुदधिवासिता ।  
 पन्थानो विषमाः क्षुण्णाः सुप्तं<sup>३</sup> गोकण्टकेष्वपि ॥ (३)  
 ११६-प्राप्ताः क्षेपावृता<sup>४</sup> सेवा वेशभाषान्तरं<sup>५</sup> कृतं ।  
 नाथ वैनैयवात्सल्यात् प्रभुणापि सता त्वया ॥ (४)  
 ११७-प्रभुत्वमपि<sup>६</sup> ते नाथ सदा नात्मनि विद्यते ।  
 वक्तव्य<sup>७</sup> इव सर्वैर्हि स्वैरं स्वार्थे नियुज्यसे ॥ (५)  
 ११८-येन केनचिदेव त्वं यत्र तत्र यथा तथा ।  
 चोदितः<sup>८</sup> स्वां प्रतिपदं कल्याणीन्नातिवर्त्तसे ॥ (६)  
 ११९-नोपकारपरप्येवमुपकारपरो जनः ।  
 अपकारपरेपि त्वमुपकारपरो यथा ॥ (७)  
 १२०-अहितावहिते शत्रौ<sup>९</sup> त्वं हितावहितः सुहृत् ।  
 दोषान्वेषणनित्येपि गुणान्वेषणतत्परः ॥ (८)  
 १२१-यतो निमन्त्रणन्तेभूत् सविषं सहुताशनं ।  
 तत्राभूदभिसंयानं सदयं सामृतञ्च ते ॥ (९)  
 १२२-आक्रोष्टारो<sup>१०</sup> जिताः क्षान्त्या द्रोग्धा<sup>११</sup> स्वस्त्ययनेन च ।  
 सत्येन चापवक्तारस्त्वया मैत्र्या जिघांसवः ॥ (१०)  
 १२३-अनादिकालप्रहृता बह्व्यः प्रकृतयो नृणां ।  
 त्वया विभावितापायाः क्षणेन परिर्वर्त्तिताः ॥ (११)  
 दुष्करस्तवो नाम एकादशमः प(रि)च्छेदः ॥ ॥

( १२-कौशलस्तवः )

- १२४-यत् सौरत्यङ्क गतास्तीक्ष्णाः कदर्याश्च वदा<sup>१२</sup>न्यतां ।  
 क्रूराः पेशलतां यातास्तत् तवोपायकौशलं ॥ (१)<sup>६</sup>  
 १२५-इन्द्रियोपशमो नन्दे मानस्तब्धे च सन्नतिः ।  
 क्षमित्वञ्चाङ्गुलीमाले कन्न विस्मयमानयेत् ॥ (२)

<sup>१</sup> ANT. ० तार्थरक्तोसि <sup>२</sup> VP. HS. सुप्तो <sup>३</sup> VP. प्राज्याक्षेपा  
 कृता । HS. प्रज्याक्षेपाकृते । <sup>४</sup> VP. विषभाषान्तरं । HS. वेष ० ।

<sup>५</sup> ANT. दास <sup>६</sup> HS. चोदितः । <sup>७</sup> VP. आक्रोब्धार <sup>८</sup> VP.  
 HS. द्रुग्धाः <sup>९</sup> VP. HS. वदन्नुताम्

- १२६—बहवस्तृणशय्यासु हित्वा शय्यां<sup>१</sup> हिरण्मयीं ।  
 अशेरत<sup>२</sup> सुखन्धीरास्तृप्ता धर्म्मरसस्य ते ॥ (३)  
 १२७—पृष्टेनापि क्वचिन्नोक्तमुपेत्यापि कथा कृता ।  
 तर्पयित्वा<sup>३</sup> परत्रोक्तं कालाशयविदा त्वया ॥ (४)  
 १२८—पूर्वन्दानकथाद्या<sup>४</sup> भिश्चेतस्युत्पाद्य सौष्ठवं ।  
 ततो धर्म्मो गतमले वस्त्रे रङ्ग इवापितः ॥ (५)  
 १२९—न सोस्त्युपायः शक्यो वा<sup>५</sup> येन न व्यायतन्त्वया ।  
 घोरात् संसारपातालादुद्धर्त्तुं कृपणं जगत् ॥ (६)  
 १३०—ब्रह्मनि<sup>६</sup> बहुरूपाणि वर्चांसि चरितानि च ।  
 विनेयाशयभेदेन तत्र तत्र शतानि<sup>६</sup> ते ॥ (७)  
 १३१—विशुद्धान्यविरुद्धानि पूजितान्यर्जितानि<sup>७</sup> च ।  
 सर्वाण्येव नृदेवानां हितानि महितानि च ॥ (८)  
 १३२—न हि कर्त्तुञ्च वक्तुञ्च बहु साधु च शक्यते ।  
 अन्यथानन्यथावादिन् दृष्टन्तदुभयन्त्वग्रि ॥ (९)  
 १३३—केवलात्मविशुद्ध्यैव त्वया पूतञ्जगद् भवेत् ।  
 यस्मान्नैवम्विधं क्षेत्रन्त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्यते ॥ (१०)  
 १३४—प्रागेवात्यन्तनष्टानामनादौ भवसंकटे ।  
 हि<sup>८</sup>ताय सर्वसत्त्वानां यस्त्वमेवं समुद्यतः ॥ (११)  
 कौशलस्तवो नाम द्वादशमः परिच्छेदः ॥ ० ॥

( १३—आनृण्यस्तवः )

- १३५—न तां प्रतिपदम्बेधि स्याद् ययापचितिस्तव ।  
 अपि ये परिनिर्व्वान्ति तेपि ते नानृणा जनाः ॥ (१)  
 १३६—तव ते च स्थिता धर्मे स्वार्थमेव तु कुर्वते ।  
 यः श्रमस्तन्निमित्तन्तु तव का तस्य निष्कृतिः ॥ (२)  
 १३७—त्वं हि जागर्षि सुप्तानां सन्तानान्यवलोकयन् ॥  
 अप्रमत्तः प्रमत्तानां सत्त्वानाम्भद्रबान्धवः ॥ (३)

<sup>१</sup> VP. HS. शय्या हिरण्मयाः <sup>२</sup> AS. अशेरत । HS. अशेरते ।

<sup>३</sup> ANT. उपगम्य <sup>४</sup> VP. न कोप्युपायश्शक्योस्ति, ANT. ० चर्या वा

<sup>५</sup> ANT. वर्णेषु <sup>६</sup> ANT. कृतानि <sup>७</sup> ANT. अहितानि

१३८-क्लेशानां बध आख्यातो मारमाया विघाटिता<sup>१</sup> ।

उक्तं संसारदौरात्म्यमभया दिग् विदर्शिता ॥ (४)

१३९-किमन्यदर्थकामेन सत्वानां कर्णायता ।

करणीयम्भवेद् यत्र न दत्तानुनयो<sup>५</sup> भवान् ॥ (५)

१४०-यदि संचारिणो धर्म्माः स्युरिमे नियतं त्वया ।

देवदत्तमुपादाय सर्वत्र स्युर्निवेशिताः ॥ (६)

१४१-अत एव ज(ग)न्नाथ नेहान्योन्यस्य कारकः ।

इति त्वमुक्तवान् भूतञ्जगत् संज्ञपयन्निव ॥ (७)

१४२-चिराय भुवि सद्धर्मं प्रेर्य लोकानुकम्पया ।

बहूनुत्पाद्य सच्छिष्यांस्त्रै<sup>६</sup> लोक्यानुग्रहक्षमान् ॥ (८)

१४३-साक्षाद् विनेयवर्गीयान् सुभद्रान्तान्विनीय च ।

ऋणशेषं किमद्यापि सत्वेषु यदभूत्तव ॥ (९)

१४४-यस्त्वं समाधिवज्रेण तिलशोऽस्थीनि चूर्णयन् ।

अतिदुष्करकारित्वमन्तेपि न विमुक्तवान् ॥ (१०)

१४५-पराथविव मे<sup>३</sup> धर्मरूपकाया<sup>३</sup> विति त्वया ।

उष्ण (?) दुष्क) रस्यास्य<sup>३</sup> लोकस्य निर्वाणे<sup>१</sup>पि विदर्शितम् ॥ (११)

१४६-तथा हि सत्सु<sup>४</sup> संक्राम्य<sup>४</sup> धर्मकायमशेषतः ।

तिलशो रूपकाय<sup>६</sup>ञ्च भि<sup>७</sup>त्वासि परिनिर्वृतः ॥ (१२)

१४७-अहो स्थितिरहो वृत्तमहो<sup>८</sup> रूपमहो गुणाः ।

न नाम बुद्धधर्माणामस्ति कि<sup>९</sup>ञ्चिदनद्भुतं ॥ (१३)

१४८-उपकारिणि चक्षुष्ये<sup>१०</sup> शान्तवाक्कायकर्मणि ।

त्वय्यपि प्रति ह्यन्ते<sup>२</sup> पश्य मोह<sup>१</sup>स्य रौद्रतां ॥ (१४)

१४९-पुण्योर्दधि रत्ननिधिं धर्मराशिं गुणाकरं ।

ये त्वां सत्त्वा नमस्यन्ति तेभ्योपि सुकृतन्नमः ॥ (१५)

<sup>१</sup>ANT. निर्दर्शिता <sup>२</sup>VP. ANT. पदार्थमेवेमे० कायाः कृता इति । <sup>३</sup>VP. त्वया विदवासिलोकेऽस्मिन् निर्वाणमुपदर्शितम् । ANT.

दुरास्थ्यमस्य० <sup>४</sup>ANT. सुतेषु <sup>५</sup>HS. सद्धर्म्य <sup>६</sup>VP. ०मान्विद्य

त्वमेव परि० <sup>७</sup>HS. हित्वासि <sup>८</sup>VP. HS. अहोनीतिरहो स्थानमहो

<sup>९</sup>VP. कश्चिदविस्मयः <sup>१०</sup>VP. ANT. हितकृत्त्रेसुभगे । HS. चाक्षुषे ।

<sup>११</sup>VP. मोहा अमर्षणाः

१५०-अक्षयास्ते गुणा नाथ शक्ति<sup>१</sup>स्तु क्षयिणी मम ।

अतः प्रसङ्गभीरुत्वात् स्थीयते न वितृप्तिः ॥ (१६)

१५१-अप्रमेयमसंख्येयमचिन्त्यमनिदर्शनं ।

स्वयं<sup>२</sup>मेवात्मना<sup>३</sup>त्मानं त्वमेव ज्ञातुमर्हसि ॥ (१७)

१५२-न ते गुणादशावयवोपि कीर्त्तितः परा च नस्तुष्टिरवस्थिता हृदि ।

अकर्षणैव महाह्रदाम्भसां जनस्य तर्षाः प्रशमं<sup>३</sup> व्रजन्ति ह ॥ (१८)

१५३-फलोदयेनास्य शुभस्य कर्मणो मुनिप्रसादप्रतिभोद्भवस्य मे ।

असद्वितवर्ककुलमारु<sup>४</sup>तिरितं प्रयातु चित्तं जगतां विधेयतां ॥ (१९)

आनृण्यस्तवो नाम त्रयोदशमः परिच्छेदः ॥ ॥

अध्यर्द्धशतकं समाप्तम् ॥

कृतिराचार्यमातृचेटस्य ॥<sup>४</sup>

ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्र(भ)वा हेतुन्तेषान्तथागतो ह्यवदत् (।)

तेषाञ्च यो निरोध एवम्वादी महाश्रमणः ॥

देय धर्म्मोयि<sup>५</sup> प्रवरमहायानजा(?या)यिनां परम सा(?शा)क्यभिक्षु (सु)-  
नयश्रीमित्र(स्य 1070 A.C.) यदत्र पुण्यन्तद(?द्) भवत्वाआ(?) चार्यो-  
पाध्यायमातापितृपूर्वजानामङ्कृत्वा शा(?स)कलसत्त्वरासे(?शे)रनुत्तरज्ञानफल(।)-  
वाप्तय इति ॥०॥

<sup>१</sup>VP. क्षीणन्तु वेतनं मम    <sup>२</sup>VP. भवतो हि स्वरूपत्वं त्वय्येव ज्ञायते  
स्वयं    <sup>३</sup>AS. प्रसमं    <sup>४</sup>ANT. महापण्डिताचार्यब्राह्मणा इव घोषेण  
कृतमध्यर्द्धशतकस्तोत्रं समाप्तम् । भारतीयपण्डितेन श्रद्धाकरवर्मणा (1040 A.C.)  
लो(क)च(क्षुषा) शाक्यमतिना चानूदितम् ।

## APPENDIX I

	श्लोकाङ्कः	श्लोकाङ्कः
अङ्गुलीमालम्	१२५ नमूचिः	८७
देवदत्तः	१४० भगवान्	४,११०
नन्दः	१२५ मारः	४२,१३८

---

## APPENDIX II

	श्लोकाङ्कः		श्लोकाङ्कः
अचिन्त्यः	१५१	आदिमध्यान्तकल्याणम्	८२
अतिलोलता	४१	आदीप्तशिराः	८५
अधिवासिता	११५	आशयशुद्धिः	१४
अधिष्ठाता	५५	आश्वासनम्	७७
अधिष्ठानम्	५५	आसेचनकभावः	५४
अनादिः	१२३	इन्द्रियाणि	५०
अनित्यता	६	इन्द्रियोपशमः	१२५
अनुत्तरम् (ः)	२६, ३४	ईर्ष्या	२७
अनुरोधः	४७	उपकर्षति	७९
अनुकम्पा	१०४	उपकारः	११९
अन्तकः	८८	उपपत्तयः	२५
अन्वेषणम्	९४	उपमावस्तु	३३
अपकर्षति	७९	उपायकौशलम्	१२४
अपचितिः	१३५	उपासनम्	९०
अपवक्ता	१२२	उपोद्घातः	९
अपहारिणः	१०२	ऋणशेषम्	१४३
अभिनिवेशः	२८	ऋते	५६
अभिसंयानम्	१२१	ऋद्धिः	६३
अमोघम्	८१	ऋषिपुङ्गवः	९१
अर्थकामता	१०४	एकान्तकान्तम् (ः)	८३, १००
अर्हन्तः	४८	एकायनम्	८२
असंख्येयः	२६, १५१	एकायनता	१५
अहितावहितः	१२०	ओषाः	९८
आक्रोष्टारः	१२२	कदन्तानि	११५
आगमः	९०	कदर्यः	१२४
आत्मसन्तानम्	३१	करुणा	५८, ६३

श्लोकाङ्कः	श्लोकाङ्कः
करुणायन् १३९	गुणरत्नाकरः ९७
कर्म २०, ७१, १५३	गुणाकरः १४९
कल्पः ८९	गुणापचितिः ८६
कल्मषम् । अ- २४	गुस्त्वम् १०६
कल्याणकलिलम् ९१	गोकण्टकाः ११५
कल्याणचेताः १६	गोप्यदीभावता ३५
कल्याणी ११८	जगत् १०, ४२, ५८, १२९
कारूप्यम् १८, ६३, १०४	जलदायते ७३
कालाशयवित् १२७	जिघांसवः १३, १२२
किल्बिषहरम् ९४	जिह्माः १५
कीर्त्तनम् ९४	ज्ञानालोकः ३७
कीर्त्तितः १५२	ज्यानिः ११३
कुशीलवः ६२	तथ्यानि ६७
कूर्मग्रीवा ५	तपस्विनः ३९
कृपणम् १२९	तमांसि ७६
कृपालुत्वम् १०५	तर्षाः १५२
क्रूराः १२४	ताथागताः ५६
क्लेशाः १६, ५८, १३८	तायिनः ३
क्ष्णः १२३	तिमिरघ्नम् ७८
क्षतात्मानः ९८	तीक्ष्णाः १२४
क्षमा ४३	तीर्थ्याः ४८, ८७
क्षमित्वम् १२५	तीर्थ्यविजयः ४५
क्षयिणी १५०	तुष्टिः १५२
क्षान्तिः १२२	तृणशय्याः १२६
क्षुण्णाः ११५	त्रासनम् ८७
क्षेत्रम् १३३	त्रिकल्याणम् ७५
क्षेपावृताः ११६	त्रैधातुकम् ८८
खट्वाङ्काः १०३	दन्ताः १०३
खद्योती ३७	दर्शनम् ५४
खेदः ११३	दानकथा १२८
गुणाः ३०, ७९	दिवाकरायते ७४

	श्लोकाङ्कः		श्लोकाङ्कः
दीप्तम्	५२	निःकर्षति	७९
दुर्गतिः	१४	निष्कृतिः	१३६
दुष्करम्	२०	नृदेवाः	८७, १३१
दृष्टार्थत्वम्	७५	न्याय्यम्	२
दृष्टिः	७९	पदम्	२०
देवाः	११८, १०९	पदन्यासः	६२
दोषः	१	पन्थानः	११५
दोषज्ञः	५९	पराक्रान्तम्	२५
दौरात्म्यम्	१३८	परायणम्	९८
द्रष्टव्यरत्नम्	९७	परिक्षेप्ता	१०२
द्रोघा	१२२	पर्युपासनम्	९५
धन्यम्	५७	पात्रस्था	४३
धर्मः	४, ९७, १४०	पादरजांसि	२९
धर्मकायः	१४६	पार्थिवम्	३६
धर्मता	४२	पुण्ययत्नता	२९
धर्मरत्नम्	४०	पुण्योदधिः	१४९
धर्मरसः	१२६	पेशलतां	१२४
धर्मराशिः	१४९	प्रकृतयः	१२३
धूः	१०३	प्रचयः	२९
ध्यानसम्पत्	९६	प्रजाः	९३
ध्रुवाः	३४	प्रणयः	७
नरदम्याः	१०३	प्रणयी	१२
नागः	६१	प्रणीतम्	२३
नाथः	१५०	प्रतनु	४२
निकषः	६३	प्रतिषः	४८
निःक्लेशत्वम्	७५	प्रतिनिविष्टः	४
निदर्शनः । अ—	१५१	प्रतिपदा	२८, ११८, १३५
निमन्त्रणम्	१२१	प्रत्यक्षम्	५०, १०७
नियोक्ता	१०३	प्रभुः	११६
निराक्रन्दम्	१०	प्रमादिनः	७७
निर्वाणम्	७९	प्रमेयः । अ—	१५१



	श्लोकाङ्कः		श्लोकाङ्कः
प्रवृत्तिः	९३	महार्णवः	५
प्रसङ्गभीस्त्वम्	१५०	महार्थानि	६४
प्रसादः	५०	महितानि	१३१
प्रसूतिः	८३	मानस्तब्धः	१२५
प्रशमः	१५२	मारमाया	१३८
प्रीणाति	५३	मारविजयः	४२
प्रीतिः	५४, ७८	मुखराः	९
प्रेरकः	१०२	मुनिः	७
फलोदयः	१५३	मुनिप्रसादप्रतिभोद्भवः	१५३
बलिः	६४	मुमुक्षवः	९८
वधकाः	१८	मैत्री	१२२
बुद्ध धर्मता	११४	योगवाहि	७७
बुद्धाः	११४	रङ्गः	१२८
बुद्धिः	९३	रजांसि	७६
बुद्धिबर्द्धनम्	७८	रत्ननिधिः	१४९
बुद्धोत्पादम्	११२	रत्नसारङ्गः	२५
बोधिसुखम्	८६	रविः	३७
भयः । अ-	१३८	रागरेणुः	७३
भक्तम्	२४	रिपुः	८३
भगवती	११४	रूपकायः	१४६
भगवान्	४, ११०	लवणाम्भः	३५
भद्रचतुष्टयम्	८६	लोकानुकम्पा	१४२
भावनम्	९०	वत्सलः	११
भावपिशुनानि	५१	वदान्यता	१२४
भुजिष्यन्	८६	वस्त्रम्	१२८
मधुराणि	६७	वात्सल्यम्	१०५
मनांसि	७६	वासना	३१
मनुष्याः	१०९	विक्षिप्तवती	६५
मनोवाक्कायकर्माणि	४	विघाटिता	१३८
मन्दगामिनः	१०२	विचारणारत्नम्	९७
महाकरुणा	२२	विजित्माः	१०२

	श्लोकाङ्कः		श्लोकाङ्कः
वितथम् । अ—	७५	शरणम्	९८
वितर्कः । असद्	१५३	शरीरिणः	१३
वितृप्तिः	१५०	शासनम्	२, ८२, ८५, ८७, ८८, ९१, ९२
विदांशिता	१३८	शीलम्	१४
विनियन्ता	१०२	शीलोपसम्पत्	९६
विभावितः	१२३	शुभम्	१५३
विनेयवर्गीया	१४३	श्रमः	१३६
विमिश्रम्	२४	श्रवणम्	९२
विरुद्धाः	१०५	श्रव्यरत्नम्	९७
विरोधः	४७	श्रावकाः	१११
विवेकः	६०	श्रीकरम्	९५
विशोधनम्	९४	श्रुतिमनोहरम्	७२
विषह्यम्	१०	श्लक्ष्णम्	७०
विषह्यम् । अ—	१०	संख्या	८
वीरः	४५	संचारिणः	१४०
वीर्यम्	२०	संज्ञपयन्	१४१
वैनतेयायते	७३	सत्क्षेत्रम्	९९
वैनेयम्	११६	सत्पात्रम्	९९
व्यसनम्	८४	सत्यम्	१२२
व्यसनस्थाः	१०४	सत्त्वाः	१४९
व्यसनिनः	७७	सद्धर्माः	४७
व्याकरणम्	८०	सन्नतिः	१२५
व्यायतम्	१२९	समाधाता	१०२
व्यासः	६७	समाधिवज्रम्	१४४
व्याहता । अ—	८०	समासः	६७
शक्तिः	१५०	समुद्यतः	१३४
शङ्करम्	९५	सम्बोधिबीजम्	१९
शमः	८६	संरम्भः	४३
शमः	११३	सरस्वती	६
शरच्चन्द्रः	३८	सर्वविदः	३
शरणम्	२	सर्वाभिसारः	१, ३१

श्लोकाङ्कः	श्लोकाङ्कः
सवासनाः ३	सेवाः ११६
संवेजनम् ७७	सौम्यभावः ५४
ससद्धर्मः ५	सौरत्यम् १२४
संसारः १२९	सौष्टवम् १२८
संसारमण्डम् ११२	स्थायिनः १०२
संस्तुतसखः । अ- ११	स्पर्द्धाः २७
सहस्रांशुमाली ४५	स्पृहयन्तः १११
साक्षात् १४३	स्मरणम् ९४
सात्म्यम् ६०	स्वस्त्ययनम् १२२
सारम् २४	स्वयम्भूः ८
सारथिः १०३	स्वार्थः १३६
सिहनादः ६३	स्वैरम् ११७
सुखम् ६०	हितं १३१
सुचरितानि २९	हितकर्ता ८५
सुपदानि ६७	हितकाम्यता १०४
सुभद्राः १४३	हितवक्ता ८५
सुभाषितम् २५,	हिरण्मयी १२६
६९, ९७	हीनाः २७
१११	हृदाभः । महा- १५२
सुराः	



# ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO ARTICLES

	PAGE
Adhyardhaśataka of Mātrīceta. <i>Edited by K.P. Jayaswal and Rāhula Sāṅkerityāyana</i> (Appendix to J. B. O. R. S.) .. .. . Preface ..	i—viii
Contents ..	I
Text.. ..	I—14
Appendices ..	I—7
Ancient Indian Coins. <i>By Sir Richard Burn, Kt.</i> ..	269—272
Aya Months. <i>By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.</i>	261—268
Bodh Gayā Temple, Some Remarks on the Models of, found at Narthang. <i>By C. E. A. Oldham Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., (Retd.)</i> .. .. .	418—428
Branding Seals of the Second Century A. D. (with plate). <i>By K. P. Jayaswal</i> .. .. .	128—129
Chandēśvara's Vivādaratnākara. <i>By Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganatha Jha., M.A., D.Litt.</i> .. ..	491
Devanāgarī and Muhammadan Rulers of India. <i>By Dr. Hiranand Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.</i> ..	492—497
Devicandragupta and its Author. <i>By Dr. Sten Konow, Oslo</i> .. .. .	444—451
Firoz Shah Tughluq, An Account of. <i>By Professor K. K. Basu, M.A.</i> .. .. .	97—112
Gāthās of Zarathuṣtra Yasna Hā, 29 <i>By Professor Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D., (Marburg)</i> .. ..	232—260
Hindu Coins, Numismatic Notes on Some of Pre-Christian Centuries. <i>By K. P. Jayaswal</i> .. ..	148—149
Hindu Conception of Moral Science. <i>By Professor C. C. Sinha</i> .. .. .	58—81
Jain Image of Maurya Period (with 4 plates and 1 map). <i>By K. P. Jayaswal</i> .. .. .	130—132
Letter to the Secretary <i>From Sir E. A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (Retd.)</i> .. .. .	397—398

	PAGE
Kāśī Bābā, Cult of, among the Binds of Bihar. By <i>Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.</i> .. .. .	365—376
Kashi Prasad Jayaswal. By <i>Dr. Rajendra Prasad, M.A., M.L., D.Litt.</i> .. .. .	399—402
Kanishka, Date of, Vindicated. By <i>Dr. A. Banerji- Sastri, M.A., D. Phil.</i> .. .. .	113—117
K. P. Jayaswal—the Barrister, and Man—A Character Sketch. By <i>P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law</i> .. .. .	403—417
Mālavas, 4th Century B.C. to 4th Century A.C. (with an Appendix). By <i>Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.</i> .. .. .	287—318
Nāga, Notes on the Cult of the Godling, in South Bihar and on a Rain-Compelling Rite connected therewith. By <i>Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.</i> ,	118—127
Nāgadvīpa, Identification of. By <i>Vasudeva S. Agra- wala, M.A.</i> .. .. .	133—137
Obituary Notice—Kashi Prasad Jayaswal. By <i>Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.</i> .. .. .	382—385
Organisation of Public Services, during the Mughal Period 1526 to 1707, A.D. By <i>Professor Sri Ram Sharma</i> .. .. .	175—231
Pilgrim's Way. By <i>Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy</i> .. .. .	452—471
Proto-Indian Icon (with plate). By <i>Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M.A.</i> .. .. .	472—490
Puṣyamitra family, Dynastic Names of the Kings of. By <i>J. C. Ghosh, M.A.</i> .. .. .	353—364
Rajah Jhaolal of the Oudh Court. By <i>Dr. K. K. Dutta, M.A., Ph.D.</i> .. .. .	502—509
Saltpetre Industry of India in the Seventeenth Cen- tury, with special reference to Bihar. By <i>Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M.A.</i> .. .. .	319—352
Sanskrit Kṣ in Pāli. By <i>Dr. S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D.</i>	82—96
Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet (with 6 plates and 1 Table of Figures used therein) .. .. .	1—57
Santhal Parganas, Note on a curious custom of. By <i>Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.</i> .. .. .	524—529

Śuddhiratnākara, An unpublished Smṛiti manuscript of Mithilā. By <i>Bhabatosha Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L.</i>	
<i>Kāvyatīrtha</i> .. .. .	138—142
Śuṅga Sculpture from Patna Mosque, (with plate). By <i>Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D. Phil.</i> ..	498—501
Vestiges of Totemism, Note on, among the Binds of Bihar. By <i>Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.</i> ..	143—147
Vigrahavyāvartanī By <i>Āchārya Nāgārjuna</i> with Author's own commentary. Edited by <i>K. P.</i> <i>Jayaswal and Rābula Sāṅkṛityāyana—</i>	
Appendix to J. B. O. R. S.	
Preface ..	i—x
Contents ..	i—2
Text ..	i—31
Appendices ..	i—9
Virakal and Sati Memorial Stones at Buddhpur, and Burām (with plates). By <i>E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I.,</i> <i>I.C.S. (Retd.)</i> .. .. .	429—443

# ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF NAMES OF CONTRIBUTORS WITH THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	PAGE
Agrawala, V.S., M.A.—	
Identification of Nāgadvīpa .. ..	133
Banerji Sastri, A., M.A., D.Phil.—	
(1) Aya Months .. ..	261
(2) Date of Kanishka Vindicated ..	113
(3) The Mālavas, 4th Century B.C. to 4th Century A.C., (with an appen- dix) .. ..	287
(4) Obituary Notice—	
Kashi Prasad Jayaswal ..	382
(5) Reviews and Notices of Books—	
(a) The Child in Ancient India	380
(b) The Mahābhārata, (Virāṭaparva)	273
(c) Municipal Administration and Finance in Pre-British days	150
(d) Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, 1740—1770, Vol. I .. ..	151
(e) The Test of Man, being the Translation of Puruṣaparīkṣā of Vidyāpati .. ..	377
(f) Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Com- memoration Volume ..	381
(6) Śuṅga Sculpture, from a Patna Mosque (with plate) .. ..	498
Basu, K. K., M.A.—	
An Account of Firozshah Tughluq ..	97
Bhattacharya, Bhabatosh, M.A., B.L., Kāvya-tīrtha—	
The Śuddhiratnākara, an unpublished Smṛiti Manuscript of Mithilā .. ..	138



	PAGE
Burn, Sir Richard, Kt.—	
Ancient Indian Coins .. .. .	269
Coomaraswamy, Dr. Ananda K.—	
The Pilgrim's Way .. .. .	452
Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A., Ph.D.—	
Raja Jhao Lal of the Oudh Court ..	502
Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S., (Retd.)—	
Letter to the Secretary B. O. R. S. .. ..	397
Ghosh, J. C., M.A.—	
The Dynastic Name of the Kings of the Puṣya- mitra family .. .. .	353
Heras, Rev. H., M.A., S.J.—	
A Proto-Indian Icon (with plates) ..	472
Jayaswal, K. P.—	
(1) Branding Seals of the Second Century A.D. (with plate) .. .. .	128
(2) Jain Image of the Maurya Period (with 6 plates and 1 map) .. .. .	130
(3) Numismatic Notes on Some Hindu Coins of the Pre-Christian Centuries. ..	148
Jayaswal, K. P. and Sāṅkṛityāyana, Rev. Rāhula.—	
Vigrahavyāvartanī. By <i>Āchārya Nāgārjuna</i> , with Author's own commentary—	
Appendix to J.B.O.R.S.	
Jha, Dr. Ganganatha, M.A., D.Litt., Mahāmaho- pādhyāya—	
Chandēśvara's Vivādaratnākara .. .. .	491
Katre, Dr. S. M., M.A., Ph.D.—	
Sanskrit Kṣ in Pāli .. .. .	82
Konow, Dr. Sten—	
The Devicandragupta and its Author .. ..	444
Manuk, P. C., Barrister-at-Law—	
Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the Barrister and Man—	
A Character Sketch .. .. .	403
Mitra, Sarat Chandra, M.A., B.L.—	

	PAGE
(1) A Note on a Curious Custom of the Santhal Parganas .. ..	524
(2) A Note on the Vestiges of Totemism among the Binds of Bihar ..	143
(3) Notes on the Cult of the Godling Nāga in South Bihar and on a Rain-Compel- ling Rite connected therewith ..	118
(4) On the Cult of the Godling Kāsī Bābā among the Binds of Bihar ..	365
Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I., I.C.S., (Retd.)— Some Remarks on the Models of the Bodh Gaya Temple at Narthang .. ..	418
Patel, Dr. Manilal, Ph. D.— The Gāthās of Zarathuṣtra—Yasna Hā, 29 ..	232
Prasad, Rajendra, M.A., M.L., D.Litt.— Kashi Prasad Jayaswal .. ..	399
Sastri, Dr. Hirananda, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.— Devanāgarī and Muhammadan Rulers of India	492
Sharma, Sri Ram— The Organisation of Public Services during the Mughal Period .. ..	175
Sinha, C.C.— Hindu Conception of Moral Science ..	58
Sāṅkṛityāyana, Rev. Rāhula, Mahā Paṇḍita— (1) Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet (with plates and a Table of Figures) ..	I
(2) Adhyardhaśataka of Mātricheṭa	
Appendix to J.B.O.R.S.	
Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, M.A.— The Saltpetre Industry of India in the Seven- teenth Century with special reference to Bihar .. ..	319
Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S., (Retd.)— Virakal and Satī Memorial Stones at Buddh- pur and Burām (with plates) .. ..	429

# ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO PLATES, MAPS, TABLES, ETC.

Names	FACING PAGE
Autograph of Vibhūti-chandra .. .. .	10
Branding Iron Seals (Nālandā) .. .. .	128
Gaya Stone Model of Mahābodhi, found at Nārthang	17
Indian Bronze Images (1) found at Sa-Skya ..	9
Indian Bronze Images (2) found at Sa-Skya ..	9
Inscribed Indian Bronze, 7th Cen. found at Sa-Skya	3
(a) Inscription on the Satī Memorial Stone No. 5	438
(b) Inscription on the Satī Memorial Stone No. 7	438
Jain Tīrthaṅkara, found at Lohanipur, Patna; Statue with Maurya Polish (Front) .. .. .	130
Jain Tīrthaṅkara, found at Lohanipur, Patna; Statue with Maurya Polish (Side) .. .. .	130
Jain Tīrthaṅkara, found at Lohanipur, Patna; Statue with Maurya Polish (Back) .. .. .	130
Jam-Yang-Kundub Hierarch of Sa-Skya .. .. .	3
Leaves of Illustrated MSS. found at Ngor Monastery	20
Lohanipur Silver Coins, (ob) .. .. .	130
Lohanipur Silver Coins, (re) .. .. .	130
Lohanipur, Unpolished statue of Tīrthaṅkara ..	130
Native States of Northern India .. .. .	297
Palm-leaf MSS. being examined by Rev. Rāhula Sāṅ- kṛityāyana, at Sa-Skya .. .. .	10
Plan of the Ancient Brick Structure exposed at Lohanipur, Patna .. .. .	132
Proto-Indian Icon, Front View .. .. .	472
Proto-Indian Icon, Left Side View .. .. .	472
Proto-Indian Icon, Right Side View .. .. .	472
Proto-Indian Icon, Back View .. .. .	472

	PAGE
Satī Memorial Stones found near the Temple at Buddhpur .. .. .	436
Satī Memorial Stones found outside the village at Buddhpur .. .. .	436
Śunga Sculpture from Patna mosque .. .. .	498
Sunayaśrimitra of Nepal Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII part IV.	
System of Figures of Alphabet of MSS. discovered ..	21
Wooden Model of Mahābodhi found at Narthang ..	17

## ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

	PAGE
The Child in Ancient India .. .. .	380
The Mahābhārata, Virāṭaparva .. .. .	273
Municipal Administration and Finance in Pre- British days .. .. .	150
Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, 1740— 1770, Vol. I .. .. .	151
The Test of Man, being the Translation of the Puruṣa Parīkṣā of Vidyāpati .. .. .	377
Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume	381



# GENERAL INDEX TO J.B.O.R.S. 1937

## A

	PAGE
Abbreviations, List of, used in 'Saltpetre Industry in India' .. .. .	351
Accounts of Firozshah Tughluq .. ..	97
Accounts of the B.O.R.S. 1936-37 .. ..	162
Accounts, Annual, of the B.O.R.S. 1936-37, Income	394
Accounts, Annual, of the B.O.R.S. 1936-37, Expenditure .. .. .	395
Accounts, Statement of, April 1936—February 28, 1937, B.O.R.S. .. .. .	163
Āchārya Nāgārjuna's Vīgrahavyāvartanī with Author's own Commentary. Appendix to J.B. O.R.S. Vol. XXIII.	
Action, Rājasika .. .. .	72
Action, Sāttvika .. .. .	72
Action, Tāmasika .. .. .	72
Activity, Intellectual .. .. .	62
Activity, Moral .. .. .	64
Activity, Volitional .. .. .	60
Actuals of the B.O.R.S. up to February 28, 1937 ..	164
Adbhutastavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII	4—5
Adhyardhaśataka of Mātrīceta. Appendix to J.B. O.R.S. Vol. XXIII.	
Administration, Municipal and Finance, in Pre-British days, Review of .. .. .	150
Agent, Rājasika .. .. .	71
Agent, Sāttvika .. .. .	71
Agent, Tāmasika .. .. .	71
Ancient India, the Child in, Review of .. ..	380
Ancient Indian Coins .. .. .	269
Annual Accounts, 1936-37, B.O.R.S. (Expenditure)	395

	PAGE
Annual Accounts, 1936-37, B.O.R.S. (Income) ..	394
Annual General Meeting of the B.O.R.S., Proceedings of, held on March 17, 1937 .. ..	166
Annual Report of B.O.R.S. for 1936-37 .. ..	157
Ānṛiṇyastavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII	12—14
Appendix I to Adhyardhaśataka, Name of some Buddhist Sages found therein. Appendix to the J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	I
Appendix II to Adhyardhaśataka, Alphabetical Index to Names occurring therein. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII ..	2—7
Appendix to Mālavas 4th Century B.C.—4th Century A.C. (Native States of Northern India C. X—VI Centuries B.C. .. .. facing ..	287
Appendix I to Vighrahavyāvartanī, Alphabetical Index to verses occurring therein. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	I—3
Appendix II to Vighrahavyāvartanī, (Index of Proper Names occurring therein) Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	4
Appendix III to Vighrahavyāvartanī, Index to subjects dealt with and names found therein. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	5—9
Archaeological Evidence on the History of the Mālavas	311
Articles, Leading of J.B.O.R.S. .. .. 1, 175 and 287	
Āśvaghōṣa, reasons against identification with, of Mātricheṭa. Preface to Adhyardhaśataka, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	iii
Author of Devicandragupta, Identification of ..	444
Aya Months .. ..	261

## B

Barlow, G. H., Letters from, to H. Douglas about Rajah Jhao Lal .. ..	511, 514
Bengal Subah, Studies in History of, 1740-70, Vol. I. Review of .. ..	150



	PAGE
Bhatnagar, B. G., Municipal Administration and Finance in Pre-British Days, Review of ..	150
Bibliography to the paper, on "Organisation of Public Services during the Mughal Period." ..	229
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council held on August 15, 1937	388
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council held on February 14, 1937	153
Bodh Gaya Temple, Some Remarks on Models of, found at Narthang .. ..	418
Books and Journals, Reference, on "The Saltpetre Industry of India in the Seventeenth Century with special reference to Bihar .. ..	352
Branding Seals of the Second Century A.D. ..	128
British days, Pre-, Municipal Administration and Finance in .. ..	150
Buddhist Records, 7th—6th Century B.C. on the History of the Mālavas .. ..	308
Buddhist Sanskrit Works, Recovery of, in Tibet ..	160
Buddhpur Memorial Stones .. ..	430
Buddhpur Temple, Description of .. ..	433
Burām Memorial Stones .. ..	442

## C

Chañḍeśvara's Śuddhiratnākara, description of MSS. of .. ..	138
Chañḍeśvara's Vivādaratnākara. A short Review of Chhag-pe-lha-khang, in Lha-Khang Chhenmo of Sa-Skya Monastery, list of MSS. found at ..	491
Characteristics of Moral Science .. ..	21
Character Sketch, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the Barrister and Man .. ..	80
Child in Ancient India, Review of .. ..	403
Coins, Ancient Indian, being a Rejoinder to Jayaswal's Article "New Coins of Nāga Vākātaka Period" published at p. 70 of J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXII .. ..	380
	269

	PAGE
Coins, Hindu, of Pre-Christian Centuries, Numismatic Notes on .. .. .	148
Commemoration Volume of the J.B.O.R.S., Jayaswal	397
Commemoration Volume, Vijayanagara, Sexcentenary Volume, Review of .. .. .	381
Contents of Adhyardhaśataka. Appendix to J.B.O. R.S. Vol. XXIII .. .. .	I
Contents of Vighrahavyāvartanī, Appendix to J.B.O. R.S. Vol. XXIII .. .. .	I
Council Meeting of the B.O.R.S., held on August 15, 1937, Proceedings of .. .. .	388
Council Meeting of the B.O.R.S. held on February 14, 1937, Proceedings of .. .. .	153
Craigg, J. H., Letter from, on the affairs of Rājāh Jhao Lal .. .. .	512
Cult of Godling Kāśī Bābā among the Binds of Bihar	365
Cunningham, A., on the Satī Monuments. . . . .	435
Curious Custom, Note on, of the Santal Parganas, on the Prosecution of Animals, and compensation for damages to them .. .. .	524

## D

Date of Kanishka Vindicated .. .. .	113
Date of Inscription on the Satī Memorial Stones ..	434
Datta, Kali Kinkara, History of the Bengal Subah. Vol. I. Review of .. .. .	151
Description of the Buddhpur Temple .. .. .	433
Description of MSS. of Adhyardhaśataka, Preface to it .. .. .	v
Deshpande, Kamalabai, The Child in Ancient India, Review of .. .. .	380
Devanāgarī and Muhammadan Rulers of India ..	492
Devicandragupta and its Author Viśākhadatta ..	444
Dhruvadevī, the heroine of Devicandragupta ..	450
Douglas, H., Letters to, from G. H. Burflow ..	511, 514
Douglas, H., Letter to, from John Stracey ..	514
Douglas, H., Letter to, from N. B. Edmonstone ..	510, 515

# INDEX

535

	PAGE
Dumka, An interesting case of prosecution of animals, decided at .. .. .	525
Duşkarastavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII, Part IV .. .. .	10—11
Duty, What is ? .. .. .	70
Dynastic Name of the Kings of the Puşyamitra family	353

## E

Edmonstone, N. B., Letter from, to H. Douglas ..	510, 511
Edmonstone, N. B., Letter from, to Rajah Jhao Lal	511
Empire Nanda, An Account of .. .. .	287
Enclosure wall of the Bodh Gaya Temple ..	420
End of Moral Science .. .. .	75
Ethical Explanation .. .. .	68
Ethical Problems .. .. .	69
Ethics is a Science .. .. .	75
Ethics is less than a Science .. .. .	76
Ethics is more than a Science .. .. .	77
Ethics is a Practical Science .. .. .	78
Exorcist in Trouble, Story of an <i>Ojha</i> who went to expel the evil spirits, a mother was possessed of	373
Explanation, Ethical .. .. .	68
Explanation, Psychological .. .. .	66
Explanation, Theological .. .. .	67

## F

Firozshah Tughluq, An Account of .. .. .	97
--	----

## G

Gateways of the Bodh Gaya Temple .. .. .	423
Gāthās of Zarathuṣṭra, Yasna Hā, 29 (Text and Translation) .. .. .	232
G. H. Burlow, Letters from, to Henry Douglas ..	511, 514
Godling Nāga, Notes on the Cult of, in south Bihar and on a Rain—compelling Rite connected therewith .. .. .	118

	PAGE
Godling Kāsi Bābā, Cult of, among the Binds of Bihar .. .. .	365
Good, What is ? .. .. .	69
Great Temple, description of .. .. .	424
Grierson, Sir G. A., The Test of Man, Review of	377

## H

Happiness, Rājasika .. .. .	73
Happiness, Sāttvika .. .. .	73
Happiness, Tāmasika .. .. .	73
H. Douglas, Letters to, from G. H. Burlow, concerning Rajah Jhao Lal .. .. .	511, 514
Henry Douglas, Letters to, from J. Monckton concerning Rajah Jhao Lal .. .. .	516, 518, 520
Henry Douglas, Letters to, from John Stracey concerning Rajah Jhao Lal .. .. .	514
Hetustavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII..	2
Hindu Coins of Pre-Christian Centuries, Numismatic Notes on .. .. .	148
Hindu Conception of Moral Science .. .. .	58
His Excellency's Speech at the close of the lecture of the Rev. A. B. Govinda, at the Annual General Meeting of the B.O.R.S. 1937 .. .. .	171
His Excellency's Speech introducing the Lecturer, the Rev. A. B. Govinda at the Annual General Meeting of the B.O.R.S. .. .. .	168
History of Bengal Subah, 1740-70 Vol. I, Studies in, Review of .. .. .	151
Honorary Members, List of, of the B.O.R.S. .. .. .	276

## I

Icon, Proto-Indian .. .. .	472
Identification of Mātriceṭa with Aśvaghōṣa, reasons, against. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII. Preface to Adhyardhaśataka .. .. .	iii
Identification of Nāgadvīpa, with the Nicobar islands	133

# INDEX

537

## PAGE

Images, Jain, of Maurya Period, found at Lohanipur, Patna, Description of .. .. .	130
India, Devanāgarī, and Muhammadan Rulers of ..	492
Industry, Saltpetre, of India, in the Seventeenth Cent- uries, with special reference to Bihar .. ..	319
Intellectual Activity .. .. .	62
Interesting case, story of, decided at Dumka ..	525

## J

Jain Images of the Maurya Period, found at Patna, A Description of .. .. .	130
Jayaswal Commemoration Volume of the J.B.O.R.S.	397
Jayaswal (Dr.) K. P., the Barrister, and Man, A Cha- racter Sketch .. .. .	403
Jayaswal, Kashi Prasad, A life sketch .. ..	399
Jayaswal, Kashi Prasad, Obituary Notice ..	382
Jhao Lal, Rajah of the Oudh Court .. ..	502
John Stracey, Letter from, to Henry Douglas, con- cerning Rajah Jhao Lal .. .. .	514
Journal of the B.O.R.S., a short description of, Vol. XXII .. .. .	159

## K

Kalikinkar Datta, Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-70, Vol. I. Review of .. .. .	151
Kamalabai Deshpande, The Child in Ancient India, Review of .. .. .	380
Kanishka, Date of, Vindicated .. .. .	113
Kārikāpratīkānukramaṇī, or Index to the beginning words of the stanzas of Vīgrahavyāvartanī. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Part III, Appendix I ..	1
Karuṇāstavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII	6
Kauśalastavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII	11
Kāśī Bābā, the Godling, Cult of, among the Binds of Bihar .. .. .	365
Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, A Short Life Sketch ..	399

	PAGE
Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, Obituary Notice .. ..	382
Kings of the Puṣyamitra family, Dynastic Name of ..	353
K. P. Jayaswal, the Barrister and Man, A Character-Sketch .. .. .	403

## L

Leading Articles, published in J.B.O.R.S. .. 1, 175, 287	
Letter from J. H. Craigg, concerning Rajah Jhao Lal	512
Letter from John Stracey to Henry Douglas ..	514
Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to Rajah Jhao Lal ..	511
Letter from the All India Ninth Oriental Conference to the Secretary B.O.R.S. .. .. .	386
Letter from . . . . . to Henry Douglas .. ..	513
Letters from G. H. Burlow to Henry Douglas ..	511, 514
Letters from J. Monckton to H. Douglas ..	516, 518, 520
Letters from J. Monckton to Roy Baulik Ram	519, 521, 522
Letter to Henry Douglas .. .. .	513
Letter to Rajah Jhao Lal .. .. .	517
Letter to the Secretary, B.O.R.S. from Sir E. A. Gait	397
Library of the B.O.R.S., Addition of books to, during the year 1936-37, and a Report of its progress ..	159
Life and Works of Nāgārjuna, Preface to Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Part III .. .. .	I
Life Members, List of, of the B.O.R.S. on 31st December 1936 .. .. .	277
List of Abbreviations, used in the Article on the Salt-petre Industry etc. .. .. .	351
List of Members, Honorary, of the B.O.R.S. on 31st December 1936 .. .. .	276
List of Members, Life, of the B.O.R.S. on 31st December 1936 .. .. .	277
List of Members, Ordinary, of the B.O.R.S. on 31st December 1936 .. .. .	278

## M

Mahābhārata, 5th Century B.C., Evidence of, on the Mālavas .. .. .	309
Mahābhārata, Virāṭaparva, Review of .. ..	273



	PAGE
Mahābhārata War, C. 1000 B.C. . . . .	305
Mālavas, 4th Century B.C. to 4th Century A.C. . .	287
Mālavas C. 1000-450 B.C. . . . .	304
Mālavas C. 1000-403 B.C. . . . .	307
Mālavas, C. 403-327-230 B.C. . . . .	316
Mālavas, C. 230 B.C.-330 A.C. . . . .	317
Manbhum, Report of the Archaeological Survey, Annual, 1902-3 . . . . .	432
Man is a Moral Being . . . . .	60
Man is an End to Himself . . . . .	59
Man is Epitome of the Universe.. . . .	58
Mansabdar, Salary of . . . . .	177
Manuscripts, Search for, Report of . . . .	162
Mārggāvātārastavaḥ, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Part IV	10
Maru. Mention of . . . . .	307
Mātrīceta, Adhyardhaśataka of, Appendix to J.B.O. R.S. Part IV.	
Mātrīceta, Identification of, with Aśvaghoṣa, Reason against. Preface to Adhyardhaśataka . . .	iii
Maurya Period, Jain Image of, found at Patna . .	130
Meeting, Annual, General, B.O.R.S. Proceedings of, held on March 17, 1937 . . . . .	166
Meeting, Council, B.O.R.S. Proceedings of, held on August 15, 1937, Bihar and Orissa Research Society . . . . .	388
Meeting, Council, Proceedings of, held on February 14, 1937, Bihar and Orissa Research Society . .	153
Meetings, of the B.O.R.S., details of . . . .	159
Members, Honorary, List of B.O.R.S. . . . .	276
Members, Life, List of, B.O.R.S. . . . .	277
Members, List of, of B.O.R.S. on the 31st December 1936 . . . . .	276
Membership of the B.O.R.S. . . . .	157
Members, Ordinary, List of, B.O.R.S. . . . .	278
Memorial Stones, Satī and Virakal, at Buddhpur and Burām . . . . .	429

	PAGE
Metaphysical Problems .. ..	74
Method of paying the salaries to officers .. ..	200
Methods of Moral Science .. ..	80
Models of the Bodh Gaya Temple, Remark on, found at Narthang .. ..	418
Monastery, Chhag-pe-lha-khang in Lha-Khang-Chh- enmo of Sa-Skya, list of MSS. found at ..	21
Monastery, Ngor, list of MSS. found at .. ..	53
Monastery, Rta-nag Thub-stan, list of MSS. found at	53
Monastery, Şhalu, list of MSS. found at ..	33
Monckton, Letters from, to H. Douglas ..	516, 518, 520
Monckton, J. Letters from, to Roy Baulik Ram	519, 521, 522
Months, Aya .. ..	261
Moral Activity .. ..	64
Moral Science, Characteristics of .. ..	80
Moral Science, End of .. ..	75
Moral Science, Methods of .. ..	80
Moral Science, Hindu Conception of .. ..	58
Moral Science, Origin of .. ..	66
Moral Science, Problems of .. ..	69
Moral Science, Utility of .. ..	79
MSS. consulted, Adhyardhaśataka, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	i
MSS. consulted, Vigrahavyāvartanī, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	1
MSS., Palm leaf, Sanskrit, found in Tibet, List of ..	1
MSS. Photographed or Copied, List of .. ..	54
Mughal Period, Public Services, organisation of, during .. ..	175
Muhammadan Rulers of India and Devanāgarī ..	492
Municipal Administration and Finance in Pre- British Days .. ..	150

## N

Nāgadvipa, Identification of, with the Nicobar Islands	133
--	-----



	PAGE
Nāga, Godling, Notes on the Cult of, in South Bihar and on Rain-Compelling Rite connected therewith .. .. .	118
Nāgārjuna, Āchārya, His Vighrahavyāvartanī, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII.	
Nāgārjuna Āchārya, Life and Works of Preface to, Vighrahavyāvartanī .. .. .	i
Namānukramaṇī, to Vighrahavyāvartanī, Appendix II to Appendix to the J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII ..	4
Nanda Empire .. .. .	287
Native States of Northern India, Appendix facing	287
Nature of the Subject .. .. .	70
Ngor Monastery, List of MSS. found at ..	53
Ninth, Oriental Conference, All India, Letter from..	386
Nirupamastavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII	3
Niṣāda .. .. .	308
Northern India, Native States of, Appendix facing Page .. .. .	287
Note on a curious Custom of the Santhal Parganas ..	524
Note on the Vestiges of Totemism, among the Binds of Bihar .. .. .	143
Notes, Numismatic, on Some Hindu Coins of Pre-Christian Centuries .. .. .	148
Notes on the Cult of Godling Nāga, in South Bihar and on a Rain-Compelling Rite connected therewith .. .. .	118

## O

Obituary Notice—Kashi Prasad Jayaswal ..	382
Ordinary Members of the B.O.R.S., List of ..	278
Organisation of Public Services during the Mughal Period .. .. .	175
Oriental Conference, All India, Ninth, Letter from, to the Secretary, B.O.R.S. .. .. .	386
Origin of Moral Science .. .. .	66
Oudh Court, Rajah Jhao Lal, of .. .. .	502

## P

	PAGE
Palm-leaf MSS. Sanskrit, found at Tibet .. ..	I
Paris, An interesting case decided at, in which a pair of pigeons was prosecuted .. ..	526
Patna Mosque, Śuṅga Sculpture from .. ..	498
Pilgrim's Way .. ..	452
Post-script on the paper, Notes on a curious Custom of the Santhal Parganas .. ..	526
Pratidhistavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Part IV	9
Pre-British Days, Municipal Administration and Finance in .. ..	150
Preface to Adhyardhaśataka, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	i—viii
Preface to Vighrahavyāvartanī, Appendix to J.B. O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	i—x
Problems, Ethical .. ..	69
Problems, Metaphysical .. ..	74
Problems of Moral Science .. ..	69
Problems, Psychological .. ..	70
Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the B.O.R.S. held on August 15, 1937 .. ..	383
Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the B.O. R.S. held on February 14, 1937 .. ..	153
Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the B.O.R.S. held on March 17, 1937 .. ..	166
Proto-Indian Icon .. ..	472
Psychological Explanation .. ..	66
Psychological Problems .. ..	70
Public Services, Organisation of, during the Mughal Period .. ..	175
Puruṣa Parīkṣā, The Test of Man, Review of ..	377
Pūrvaṇapakṣaḥ, Bhāvanām śūnyatā na yuktā. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	i—10
Puṣyamitra family, Dynastic Names of the Kings of	353

## R

	PAGE
Rajah Jhao Lal, Letter to .. .. .	517
Rajah Jhao Lal, Letter to, from N. B. Edmonstone ..	511
Rajah Jhao Lal of the Oudh Court .. ..	502
Rājasika Action .. .. .	72
Rājasika Agent .. .. .	71
Rājasika Happiness .. .. .	73
Reasons against the Identification of Mātrīceta with Aśvaghōṣa. Preface to Adhyardhaśataka, Ap- pendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	iii—iv
Records, Buddhist, 7th-6th Century B.C. on the History of the Mālavas .. .. .	308
Recovery of Buddhist Sanskrit works in Tibet ..	160
Reference Books and Journals, on the Paper on the Saltpetre Industry .. .. .	352
Remarks on the Models of the Bodh Gaya Temple, found at Narthang .. .. .	418
Report, Annual for 1936-37, B.O.R.S. .. ..	157
Report of the Annual Archaeological Survey of Manbhum, Extracts from .. .. .	432
Right, What is ? .. .. .	69
Roy, Baulik Ram, Letters to, from J. Monckton	519, 521, 522
Rta-nagThub-stan Monastery, List of MSS. found at	53
Rūpastavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII..	5—6

## S

Salary of Mansabdars .. .. .	177
Salary, payment of, method .. .. .	200
Saltpetre Industry of India, in the Seventeenth Cen- tury with special reference to Bihar .. ..	319
Sanskrit Kṣ in Pāli .. .. .	82
Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS., Second Search of, in Tibet	1
Sanskrit works, Buddhist, Recovery of, in Tibet ..	160
Santhal Parganas, a Note on a curious custom of ..	524
Śāsanastavaḥ. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII	8
Śataka, Adhyardha—, of Mātrīceta, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. .. .	1-14

	PAGE
Śatapañcāśikā, Description of, Appendix to J.B.O.R.	
S. Part IV .. .. .	ii
Satī and Virakal Memorial Stones at Buddhpur and	
Burām .. .. .	429
Sāttvika Action .. .. .	72
Sāttvika Agent .. .. .	71
Sāttvika Happiness .. .. .	73
Satvanta, Mention of .. .. .	307
Science, Moral, Hindu Conception of .. .. .	58
Sculpture, Śuṅga, from Patna Mosque .. .. .	498
Seals, Branding of the Second Century A.D. .. .. .	128
Search for Manuscripts in Mithilā, Report of .. .. .	162
Search, Second, of Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet .. .. .	I
Secretary B.O.R.S. a Letter to, from Sir Edward A.	
Gait, on the death of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal .. .. .	397
Śhalu Monastery, List of MSS. found at .. .. .	33
Sources, Original on "The Saltpetre Industry" .. .. .	351
Sources, Secondary, on "The Saltpetre Industry" .. .. .	351
Speech, His Excellency's, at the close of the lecture of	
the Rev. A. B. Govinda at the Annual Meeting	
of the B. O. R. S. 1937 .. .. .	171
Speech, His Excellency's, introducing the Lecturer	
Rev. A. B. Govinda, at the Annual Meeting of	
the B.O.R.S. 1937 .. .. .	168
Statement of Accounts of B.O.R.S. from April, 1936,	
to February 28, 1937 .. .. .	163
Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, Vol. I. 1740-	
70, Review of .. .. .	150
Subject, nature of .. .. .	70
Śuddhiratnākara of Chaṇḍeśvara, an unpublished	
Smṛiti Manuscript of Mithilā .. .. .	138
Sukhthankar V. S., The Mahābhārata, Virāṭaparva,	
Review of .. .. .	273
Śuṅga Sculpture from Patna Mosque .. .. .	498

# INDEX

345

## T

	PAGE
Table of existing Grades and Number of offices in	186
Table of salaries for highest grade of various ranks in the reign of Akbar, Shah Jahan and Shahjahanzeb	185
Tāmasika Action .. .. .	72
Tāmasika Agent .. .. .	71
Tāmasika Happiness .. .. .	73
Temple, Great, Description of .. .. .	424
Temple, Models of the Bodhi Tree found at Nath- ang, Some Remarks on .. .. .	418
Test of Man, being the translation of the Puruṣapa- rīkṣā, of Vidyapati. Review of .. .. .	377
Tibet, Recovery of Buddhist Sanskrit work in .. .. .	160
Totemism, vestiges of, among the Binds of Bihar, a Note on .. .. .	143
Translation into Tibetan of Adhyardhaśataka, Ap- pendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII. Preface .. .. .	viii
Translation into Tibetan of Vighrahavyāvartanī. Ap- pendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII. Preface .. .. .	viii

## U

Universe, Man is Epitome of .. .. .	58
Unpublished Smṛiti Manuscript of Śuddhiratnākara	138
Upodghātaḥ to Adhyardhaśataka, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. .. .	i
Utility of Moral Science .. .. .	79
Uttarapakṣaḥ, Bhāvānam Śūnyatā Yuktā. Appen- dix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. .. .	10—31

## V

Vacanastavaḥ, Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII	7
Vestiges of Totemism among the Binds of Bihar .. .. .	143
Vidyāpati Ṭhākura, the Test of Man, being the trans- lation of Puruṣa Parīkṣā of, Review of .. .. .	377
Vighrahavyāvartanī, of Āchārya, Nāgārjuna, with Author's own Commentary. Appendix to J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII.	

	PAGE
Vigrahavyāv.	
dix I to Appendix J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII ..	1—3
Vindication of the ..	113
Vijayanagara Sixcentary Commemoration Volume,	
Review of .. ..	381
Virakal and Satī Memorials .. ..	
Burām .. ..	429
Viśākhadatta, the author of .. ..	444
Viśayasūci to Viśākhavyāvanī, Appendix to	
J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXIII .. ..	1—2
Vivādaratnākara of Chandeśvara .. ..	491
Volitional Activity .. ..	60
W	
Wall, Enclosure of the Bodh Gaya Temple ..	420
Way, Pilgrim's .. ..	452
What is Good? .. ..	69
What is Right? .. ..	69
Z	
Zarathuṣṭra, the Gāthās of, Yasna Hā, 29 ..	232